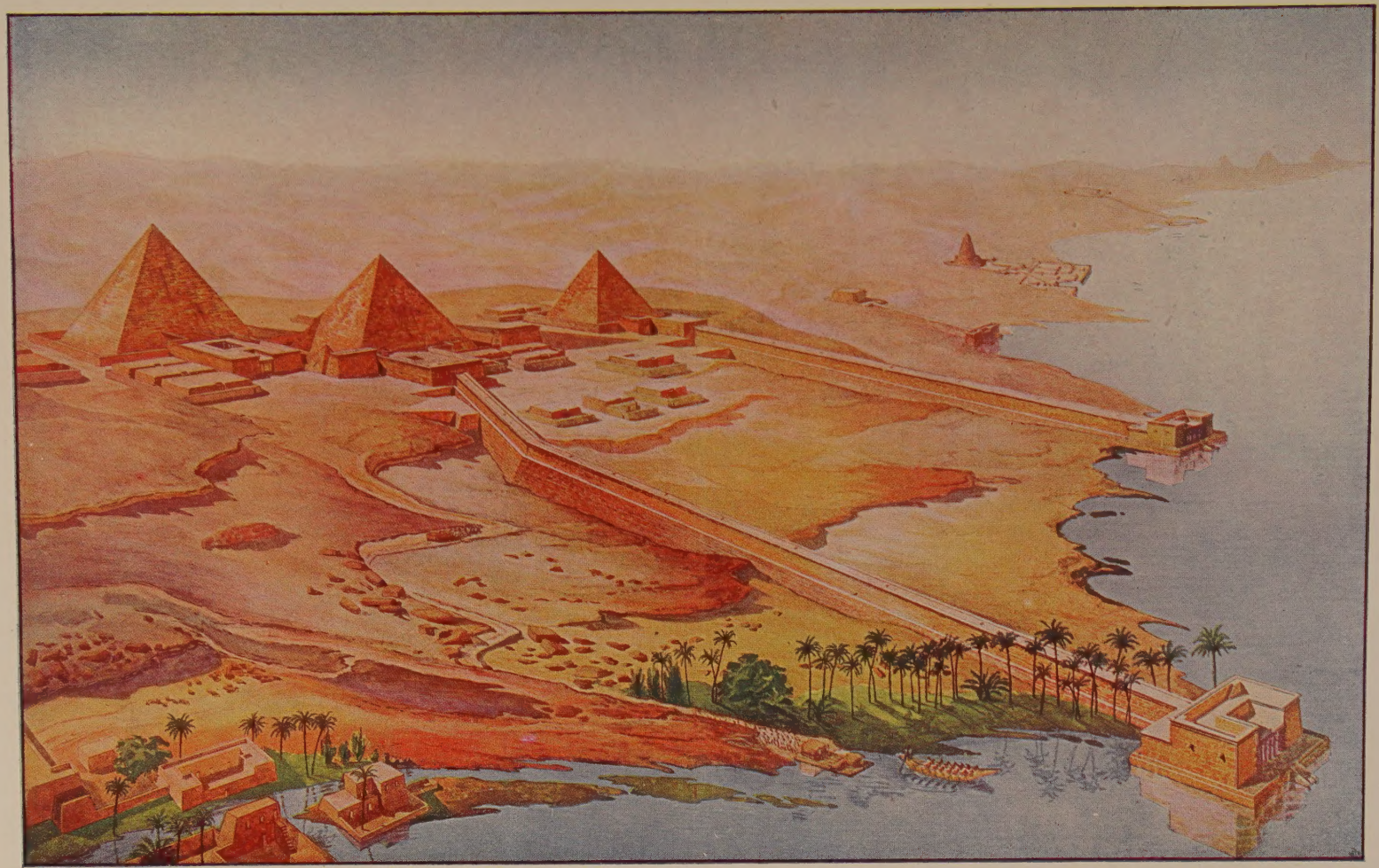

THE PYRAMIDS OF ABUSIR AS THEY APPEARED IN THE TIME OF THEIR BUILDER, KING NE-UESER-A, ABOUT 3600 B.C.

This beautiful reconstruction is the work of Herr Borthardt, the well-known German Egyptologist, and is reproduced by permission of Messrs. Heinrichs, of Leipzig, from his "Grabdenkmal des Konigs Ne-user-Ra."

The Book of History

A History of all Nations

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WITH OVER 8000 ILLUSTRATIONS

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

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Volume V

THE NEAR EAST

The Hebrew Peoples
Persia . Arabia . Asia Minor
Heroic Age of Islam

EGYPT

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THE HEBREW PEOPLES

THE MAKING OF THE TWO NATIONS

BY far the best known of all Oriental peoples are the tribes which form the last components of the second great Semitic migration of the Nearer East. These are the Hebrew tribes, whose home, the farthest toward the desert, would in itself indicate that they came as the last of the great "Canaanite" migration, driven on by the precursors of the next, the Aramæan. These are the tribes which combined themselves into the people of Israel, and their neighbours who dwelt still further toward the desert, the Edomites, Moabites, and Ammonites.

The Tell el-Amarna letters prove the advance of Hebrew tribes in the land as early as the fifteenth century B.C.; one nation in particular comes prominently forward, which expanded from the north—namely, the Amorites. These appear to the Israelites, in the writing which presents the oldest form of their tradition, as the inhabitants from whom they must wrest the land; when the Israelites marched in, the former had already become occupants instead of immigrants. We may thus regard the Israelites as the next stratum after the Amorites, and may place their immigration somewhat ater. The earliest mention of Israel is contained in an inscription of the Pharaoh Meneptah II., about 1200 B.C. Whether that is, however, the tribal federation which we understand by this name, or some forgotten tribe, of which no record is left in Biblical tradition except the name of the collection of tribes banding round it and its sanctuary, must remain at present an unsolved question.

The Coming of the Israelites

Within recent years much progress has been made in the true understanding and interpretation of the books of the Bible which have come down to us, and it has been demonstrated that the Biblical narrative is of a more composite character than had formerly been supposed, and embodies traditions of widely different origin and value. Historical criticism assumes that the Biblical narratives are to be treated as human documents, and are to be submitted to the same critical tests which are applicable to all other records of antiquity. It will, of course, on the other hand, be maintained that such methods are invalid when applied to the sacred narrative, and that any conclusions reached thereby must be rejected. From that point of view any historic account that deviates from the Biblical narrative will be repudiated.

Historic Value of the Bible

The historical, or, as they should rather be termed, narrative books of the Bible, in the form in which they are now extant, are the work of a late period. The peculiar nature of the use made in antiquity of separate documents allows us to dissect the books into their component parts, so that we are in a position to distinguish the different authorities with some confidence, and to weigh the evidence of one against another.

The result of this division of sources, which is most apparent in the Pentateuch, is as follows. Two ancient documentary writings, designated, according to the name used for God by their respective writers, as Elohist and Jehovist, had been combined in very early times. The writing of the Elohist is indeed the more ancient, because it alone still preserves recollections of the actual conditions of remote antiquity. For instance, it represents that the Land of Promise must be won from the Amorites; whereas the Jehovist usually speaks of Canaanites—that is, it applies to the older inhabitants a general

Elohist and Jehovist

designation taken from the name of the country. The Elohist retains in its traditions traces of a post-Israelite immigration of Edom, Moab, and Ammon; while the Jehovist, which judges from the standpoint of later times, regards these tribes as already settled in their homes at the time of the immigration of Israel. Both writings were probably intended as introductions for annals, each of which was brought down to the time of its author. Of the strictly historical parts of these "Annals" only inconsiderable fragments have been preserved for us, which deal especially with the later period of the kings, and are easily distinguishable by their scanty form; other portions have been replaced in the revisions of later times mainly by accounts of the Prophets, of which the nature is best represented by the stories of Elijah and Elisha. This "Prophetic Code" is based on the point of view prevalent in the period about 600 B.C., after the introduction of Deuteronomy, although it is still imbued with the spirit of the older period.

The Prophetic Code

The Deuteronomic code, on which the hierarchical constitution was based, was introduced by Josiah. Its contents are preserved for us in the legislative portions of Deuteronomy, the Fifth Book of Moses. This law acquired its true importance only during the exile in Babylonia, when the people, having become a religious body, saw in it the guide for all conduct. A priest, then, during the banishment, tested the whole history of Israel by these regulations, many of which exhibit the influence of the ancient laws of Babylonia. His direct work survives in the present form of the books, which extend from "Joshua" to "Kings." He has taken the older documents, but has extracted still more carefully the annalistic elements from them, and in addition has briefly expressed his own views as to the separate sections, especially the reigns, in conformity with the Deuteronomic legislation. His work is, therefore, a review of Israelite history in the light of the divine origin of this law. The "Deuteronomist" explains the history of the people by their neglect or observance of this "Law of Moses"; he is a writer with a declared purpose, and his own additions are not hard to distinguish. Their nature is most easily and clearly seen in the summarised verdicts on the reigns of the various kings, thus: "He walked in the ways of Jeroboam and did that which was displeasing to God," or vice versa. To him also is due the settlement of the chronological scheme of the Bible, which, historically, is not of vital importance, since it represents an artificial calculation of dates, based on late information obtained during the period of the exile.

The further development of the religious community, which is henceforth represented by Judaism, led to the building up of a hierarchical constitution in the most pronounced sense of the term. This constitution was committed to writing in the so-called Priestly Code, either a work of the exile, or a product of the attitude of mind then prevalent. The code describes the whole development of the people of Israel from the creation of the world, and was intended to serve as a brief introduction to the giving of the law on Mount Sinai, which contains the new law. This work, originally standing by itself and reckoned as a post-exile code, was afterwards incorporated into the work which the "Deuteronomist" had adapted from the earlier records. It is easily recognised by its language; to it belong the account of the Creation in the first chapter of Genesis, and

JUDÆANS IN THE TIME OF SENNACHERIB

An Assyrian representation of men, women and children of Judah about 700 B.C. From a bas-relief of Sennacherib now in the British Museum.

more especially the dry lists of genealogies referring to the patriarchal age. There is reason for congratulation that the author of the Priestly Code did not go further than the giving of the law on Mount Sinai. If he had treated the rest of the history from his point of view it would have been barely possible to use any portion of the narrative for historical purposes; for, in contrast to the "Deuteronomist," he has made a clear field for himself, and has removed everything which did not agree with his own system. While the former gave us patchwork, and thus preserved many fragments of old tradition, the latter in an independent treatment has uniformly represented everything in accordance with his own view, and is thus of no help as an authority for history, or, as regards the early legends, for literary history. An example of this class of editing is presented by the Books of Chronicles, a long, post-exile account of Jewish history in the spirit of the Priestly Code. As their source of information, use has been made principally of the Books of Kings, although in a more detailed form than we possess them.

Ancient Editing of the Bible

As documents of secular history they are, apart from some isolated facts, of comparatively slight importance in the construction of an actual chronicle of the people of Israel. But even the older accounts, contained in the work of the "Deuteronomist," would not furnish any historical picture if we had not a standard in the results obtained by ethnology and other investigations of the history of the Ancient East, by which to separate the earlier traditions from the accretions of a later age. Moreover, the evidence of inscriptions, especially those of Assyria and Babylonia, often furnishes us with information by means of which it is possible to compare and supplement the Biblical accounts.

As might be expected, the ideas of Israel as to its origin and early history are, like those of every people, clothed in the form of hero-legends; the later hierarchical form of the tradition has subsequently given them a special colouring of its own. Historical records could not have existed until comparatively settled conditions had been established in the kingdom of Saul and then of David. All that goes back to the period anterior to historical records was naturally little more than a scanty local tradition. But even the oldest historical period was certain sooner or later to appear in the light of legend. Moreover, the priestly tradition preferred the legendary to the historical; and the reason is clear, since for its purpose facts were often less advantageous than their legendary counterparts. Thus it is that so little authenticated history of the earliest period of the kings has been preserved.

Emigration from Egypt

Tradition begins its account of the history of Israel with the emigration from Egypt and the entry into the "Promised Land." Modern historians, however, are of one mind in thinking that any emigration of a considerable tribal federation, a march through the countries of kindred tribes living under the same conditions of social economy, would have necessarily ended in the rapid dissolution of that federation, since alliances would have been made with the tribes of the countries traversed or annexed. Unification can, in the first place, result only after settled homes have been obtained, and necessarily presupposes a previous sojourn in the country. The Israelite tribal federation—that is, the people of Israel—did not receive its organisation until it was already settled in the country. Its individual tribes, therefore, did not previously stand in closer relation to each other than to their neighbours the Edomites, the Moabites, and many others which had disappeared as tribal organisations; it was only the acquisition of fixed settlements of a certain uniformity that brought them nearer together and separated them more from the others. This evolution is the result of the interval between the Tell el-Amarna period and the first appearance of the "people of Israel."

It would be out of place in the present work to discuss at length the rival theories as to the Biblical account of the Exodus. It is generally acknowledged that bodies of Hebrew nomad tribes may well have pastured their flocks in the Wadi Tumilat, and in this way may have come into direct contact with Egypt, and have been subject to Egyptian authority. It is clear, however, from the reference to the people of Israel upon the slate of Meneptah, that other kindred tribes were already settled in Canaan at the time when Hebrew nomads were presumably in the Eastern Delta. In fact, the exodus must be regarded as an episode in the general

At the Time of the Exodus

migratory movement towards Canaan, later tradition having magnified its importance by representing the whole body of the later tribal divisions as having taken part in it. We have no means for determining accurately the date of the earliest inroads into Canaan or the length of the period during which the movement lasted; and any account of the conquest of Canaan by the Israelites must necessarily depend mainly upon conjecture. We can, however, picture to ourselves the conquest of the country on the model of well-known migrations—as, for instance, that of Britain by Jutes, Angles, and Saxons, and we may assume that the individual tribes, out of which the people of Israel was afterwards formed, conquered their homes, perhaps in combination with other vanished tribes, and were welded into a large federation in the country under the stress of circumstances. It is also probable that other tribal elements did not belong to them originally, but became attached to them only in later times. The true Israelite tribes had their homes "in the desert." Of the period when the tribes were not closely united, and a common cause of action was not yet generally, if at all, possible, we have reminiscences handed down by tradition, under the heading of the "Period of the Judges," which clearly exhibit tendencies to the formation of separate tribal principalities, and thus infer the distinct existence of the individual tribes. Such are the narratives of Jephtha in Gilead and of Gideon in Manasseh, the latter greatly disguised by additions. In both it can still be seen that we have to do with tribal traditions, and that no commonwealth of Israel is presupposed. It is only subsequent revision that has introduced at the end of the story the picture of a united Israel. The natural course of events leads to the result that the sheikh, the head of a tribe, who conquers a country, derives the chief advantages from this conquest and obtains more ample means of power, which exalt him above his fellow-tribesmen. Settled life in a town and the adjacent localities dissolves the tribal organisation based on equality of rights, and leads to lordship and monarchy; the voluntarily acknowledged sheikh becomes an absolute monarch. This development must have taken place more readily where the immigrants found such conditions already in existence, and where the conquest of a royal city actually implied that the conqueror adopted the institutions found therein. While, therefore, in the two examples of "judges" already referred to we can recognise the representatives of a country population, the next stage in the development, the tendency toward monarchy, is visible where an "Israelite" tribe is found in possession of a town. It was the tribal monarchy, which Abimelech founded for himself in Shechem. Notwithstanding that it soon ended, and left no permanent effects, it may be reckoned as typical of many similar phenomena of the time when the Israelite tribes obtained possession of the towns, and became acquainted with the unwelcome conditions that accompanied the coveted treasures of civilisation. This represents one form of the growth of the monarchy. It anticipates the natural development of tribes or clans into nations and states in so far as it effects a complete breach with its own tribe and thus strips itself of the aids by which it had just become prosperous and great. Such a tyranny, arising from no true development of the existing form of government, had no permanence. A monarchy, originating in the conditions of the further growth of the tribal life and its new needs, which was based on the members of the nation proper, alone had any lasting results.

Migration into Canaan

Judges of Israel

Growth of the Monarchy

We have only one piece of evidence as to any combined action of the Israelite tribal-federation, which would seem to be that mentioned by Meneptah—namely, the so-called Song of Deborah, one of the most ancient Hebrew poems that has come down to us. This composition, which, in consequence of mistakes in the tradition, is hardly yet intelligible in all its details, extols the triumph of the Israelite tribes in war. Almost all the Israelite tribes are named in it. The mention of Benjamin is, however, an interpolation, probably due to the need subsequently felt of seeing no tribe omitted from the list.

The advance of the Philistines in the twelfth century B.C. brought the Israelites under their power. Two alternatives were thus possible; either the newly immigrated tribes possessed the power to drive

JEPHTHAH, JUDGE OF ISRAEL, BEFORE THE SACRIFICE OF HIS DAUGHTER

The narrative of Jephthah in Gilead, from the "Period of the Judges," is taken to be evidence of the time before Israel became a commonwealth. This picture by Sir J. E. Millais is reproduced by permission of Lord Armstrong.

out the new rulers, or they would lose their nationality and become Philistine subjects. The first is what happened. It was the struggle against the new enemy that stimulated a closer unification and thus enabled the people to show a bolder front. War can be waged with permanent success only under a single command. A condition of ceaseless conflict must finally establish the power of a successful leader, who first, by the expulsion of the enemy and the reputation thereby acquired, gains a commanding position within his own tribe—that is, he becomes king—and then proceeds to set himself up as the liberator, and at the same time the lord, of the remaining tribes.

This explains the rôle of Saul, the leader of Benjamin, in the war against the Philistines. There is no clear proof that Benjamin belonged to the league of the northern "Ten Tribes"; on the contrary, the subsequent intimate connection of Benjamin with Judah on the overthrow of David's kingdom supports the view that this tribe was opposed to the northern tribes, which were already united. Here, in the country of the tribe, which was settled between Philistia proper and the territory of the Israelite tribes, a competent soldier might succeed in making himself lord of his own tribal country during a victorious war against the foreign domination, and then he might proceed to wrest from the Philistines the Israelite territory, which thus fell to him as to its natural lord. We must form for ourselves some such picture of the growth of the monarchy in Israel.

Saul has always remained in tradition a romantic personality. It is noteworthy that the story of David, the recorders of which had certainly no cause to cherish Saul's memory, never succeeded in obliterating it. We gather from the narrative that he kept his kingdom in hand so long as he lived, and that even David did not venture on any action against him. On the death of Saul, his kingdom of Israel lapsed to David; but even the admirers of the latter have been obliged to spare Saul's

memory. We know very little of him historically. One motif runs through all accounts of him—the struggle against the Philistines by which he founded his kingdom, which occupied all his life, and in which he met his death on the battle-field. A fragment of old tradition—1 Sam. xiv. 47, modified in its present form — has left us one more short account of his other wars: "He fought against all his enemies on every side, against Moab and against the children of Ammon, against Aram and against the king of Zobah, south of Damascus, and against the Philistines." Our accounts, so far as they are historical, tell us nothing of Saul's relations to David; as we shall presently see, they cannot have known anything of the original opposition between Judah and Israel.

Wars of Saul

By the side of the kingdom of Saul, in the country of the kindred tribes inhabiting the less civilised district further to the south, on the fringe of the desert, a separate kingdom had meanwhile been formed in the same way as that of Saul, only starting from a still lower stage of development. This was the kingdom of David, of which Judah appears in tradition as the chief tribe. To David, as to so many conspicuous figures in history, all kinds of stories—heroic legends, even popular jests, and the like—have been assigned, which were told of the man who represented the greatest power of the kingdom of Israel and Judah. His period appeared to posterity as a golden age, something in the way in which popular story has made Alfred the hero of English history. But along with this we have to distinguish another tradition of quite definite political tendency, the object of which is to describe David as the representative of an originally united people of Israel, to which Judah also belonged. This is the claim which, in modern phraseology, was put forward by David's historians and supporters in order to work in his interests and to win the people over to his house. Almost everything which we possess from Israelite sources was written from this point of view.

To this legend, modern research would seem to indicate, belongs almost everything which was intended to prove a union of Israel and Judah, and, above all, that which is narrated of the origin of David, of his youth, and his relations to Saul. But in the legend are incorporated sundry details which are in clear contradiction of it, and are far more likely to correspond to the actual facts. According to these his rise was closely connected with the growth of the "Tribe of Judah." As the

Rise of David

NABLOUS, THE ANCIENT SHECHEM, ONE OF THE OLDEST CITIES OF PALESTINE

Abimelech founded the first Israelite tribal monarchy in Shechem. It was afterwards the principal city and religious metropolis of the Samaritans, and was colonised by Shalmaneser and Esarhaddon with Babylonians.

THE YOUTHFUL DAVID PLAYING ON HIS HARP BEFORE KING SAUL
From the picture by Mr. Ernest Normand, by whose permission it is here reproduced.

connection of Benjamin with Israel and the creation of a "Kingdom of Israel" must be called the work of Saul, so the formation of a "tribe" and kingdom of Judah was the work of David.

In the course of Oriental history again and again some leader of a tribe or band assumes the title of king and finally succeeds in ruling a large realm. David, even according to the tradition, was leader of some such band in Ziklag, far away to the south in the desert, situated in Edomite territory. He thus held his own for a time as the lord of a stronghold, and gradually gathered round him a devoted band of followers, with whose help it was not difficult to subdue the less mobile tribes, which had no leader. Whether, as the tradition assumes, he recognised the suzerainty of a Philistine king —Achish of Gath—must remain uncertain; but it is possible that such was the case.

David's Band of Followers

The natural path of David's conquests led northward. He subjugated several tribes, which appear later as component parts of "Judah," and he became a prince whose power could no longer be ignored by the subjugation of the tribe of Caleb, with its centre at Hebron. The tradition preserves these conquests in the form of the story of Nabal (1 Sam. xxv.) but it is more clearly expressed in the fact that David's first royal residence was Hebron, the chief town of Caleb. Henceforward he was reckoned a king or a prince. Some reminiscence of this origin of his real power was preserved in an obscure passage —2 Sam. iii., 8 — where Abner later speaks contemptuously of him as "the prince of Caleb." Abner means to say: "Am I a rival of such as thou, David, that thou shouldst think I wish, by marriage with a wife of Saul, to gain some claim to the crown?"

David's Royal City

Caleb was bordered on the north by the territory of the "Hebrew" tribe Judah. This had not hitherto been closely allied with Israel. David now subjugated it, and thus united it with Caleb and the other subject tribes. The most important town of this district was Jerusalem, situated

almost on the northern frontier towards Benjamin and Israel. We hear of it in the Tell el-Amarna letters as already the seat of a prince who governed these districts. Israelite tradition recognises that before it was conquered by David it did not belong to the "Hebrew" Judah but was still under kings of its own, who were "Canaanite"—that is to say, they had long been settled there. These "Jebusites" need not, however, for that reason have been much older than Judah itself. The mere fact that they were in possession of a town soon made them distinct from the inhabitants of the open country; and such, indeed, constitutes the difference between "Hebrews" and "Canaanites." According to the tradition David made Jerusalem his capital only after the subjugation of the whole of Israel. This is hardly probable, and the reason for making the statement is obvious—Jerusalem was to be reckoned the capital of the united kingdom. Originally, indeed, it had been intended for the capital of only the newly conquered territory, and David removed his court there, since it was the richest portion of his land, and nearer the frontier of the country which was then the next object of his conquest—namely, Israel, the kingdom of Saul.

DAVID, KING OF JUDAH
From the statue by Michael Angelo

David had hitherto kept on good terms with the Philistines; if we reflect on the political movements disclosed in the Tell el-Amarna letters, it is more probable that the Philistines and David were in league against their common and dreaded opponent than that David was in league with the king of the northern tribes. Later tradition had every ground to disguise this enmity to Saul, who was not forgotten in Northern Israel, and to substitute for it a friendship with the son of Saul. David was favoured by fortune. Saul fell in the war with the Philistines, and, according to the story, to the great sorrow of David. But it is equally possible that the hero David had contributed his share to Saul's overthrow.

The fate of the northern kingdom was thus sealed. The cause of the house of

A MODERN VIEW OF HEBRON, KING DAVID'S FIRST ROYAL TOWN
Hebron was the principal town of the tribe of Caleb, whom David subjugated, becoming their prince.

Saul, in spite of the brave defence by Abner, became more and more desperate. There is naturally no likelihood that the Israelite tribes voluntarily did homage to David, as tradition assumes: there was actually an attempt made to secure the sovereignty for Benjamin by the revolt of Sheba, the sheikh of the Benjamite canton Bichri, who at last tried to hold his own in the north of Israel, in Abel-beth-Maachah (2 Sam. xx.). Since this revolt was incompatible with the traditional account of the voluntary acknowledgment of David, it was transferred to the later years of David's reign; but the fact that, in the struggle against Sheba, only Judah from its southern frontier as far as Jerusalem stood on David's side, speaks too significantly, in the judgment of modern criticism. It probably took place immediately upon Saul's death, when David threatened to seize the territory of Israel. He cannot have brooked delay in the matter, and a rapid success must have crowned his efforts. It was impossible for Abner to secure for Eshbaal, Saul's son, more than the district east of the Jordan. Israel properly so-called thus fell into the hands of David without any further resistance than that of Sheba. Abner held the land east of Jordan for Eshbaal, according to tradition, for some time longer. Then he was murdered in Hebron, when anxious to negotiate with David in order to surrender to him the land east of Jordan. The account assigns vengeance for Joab as the motive, and repudiates any complicity on the part of David. At all events he reaped the advantage. Eshbaal also was murdered.

David could thus occupy the land west of Jordan without difficulty, and so became king of Judah and Israel. He had thus conquered almost the whole of his kingdom. Descended from a foreign stock, and having subjugated the peoples which obeyed him, in the first place by force, he himself, according to the story, maintained his sovereignty only by the help of his army. It is easy to see why policy should elaborate a tradition ascribing to him a high Hebrew ancestry, analogous to the Hellenic pedigree of the royal house of Macedonia. Caleb seems to have been his home, and Judah the canton from which he sprang in a wider sense; for his capital he chose Jerusalem on account of its favourable position for his purpose, since it was situated exactly between the two great divisions of his kingdom.

According to the ideas of Oriental nations the real lord of a country was the god, the Baal, according to his Semitic name. The king reigned in his name, and by him was called to

KING DAVID PLAYING UPON HIS HARP
Reproduced from the picture by Domenichino now in the Louvre.

power, as the Babylonians and Assyrians were never weary of emphasising. If a conquered country was only made tributary, it retained its own government and its king, and remained the property of its god. If, on the other hand, it became a province, it was absorbed into the conquering state, and thus forfeited everything, and its god was deposed, just as much as its king. The god was carried away, and brought into the temple of the victorious god, where he now "stood

before his face"—that is, he served him, just as the vanquished king stood before his victor. The victorious god took possession of the land in his place; a temple was built for him there, and a cult established; in this way the new province was incorporated into the conquering state. That which had one god was one people; and every people possessed a god of their own. Thus, when David subdued new lands and added them to his territory, he completed the acquisition of his new possessions by installing the worship of God in the place of the old pagan cults. God was called Yahve or Jahve, for Jehovah, though familiar to us, is a false vocalisation of the Divine name, never in later times pronounced by the Jews, who assigned to the consonants of the name Yahve the vowels of Adonai, signifying "my lord," which, in a spirit of reverence, was read in place of the original name.

The god Serving other gods

Whether the gods previously worshipped by the several tribes were ejected in favour of Jehovah, or were identified now with the new religion, or there had already been a common cult, the supremacy of the house of David was intimately associated with the God of David, proclaimed as the God of the ancestral Hebrew stock. Later, at any rate, it was claimed as the unique and primeval characteristic distinguishing the religion that the God of Israel was not to be worshipped under or represented by any image or symbol. But the Bible narrative itself proves with sufficient clearness that the worship of local gods under other rites was irrepressible.

It is certainly a proof of the importance of David that the vigorous vitality of his policy was able to exert so marked an influence on the tradition of subsequent times. It is not wonderful that the people in later times lent a willing ear when the exploits of David's kingdom were appealed to. In fact, David's reign was the only one under which Israel as a united kingdom could have taken a position by the side of the other powers in Palestine and Syria. David's time thus appeared as the good old days when Israel was powerful; its dark side, and the resistance which was shown by the people, were soon forgotten.

Golden Days of David

The power of David extended far beyond the borders of Judah and Israel. He subjugated Edom: this union lasted longer than that with Israel. Israel first burst the bond, while Edom long remained

THE SO CALLED "TOMB," OR PILLAR, OF ABSALOM, SON OF DAVID, NEAR JERUSALEM

THE VISIT OF THE QUEEN OF SHEBA TO SOLOMON, FROM THE PAINTING BY LE SEUR

united with Judah. David further subdued Moab, which remained subject long after the severance of the kingdom; it belonged, however, naturally to Israel. He also fought with Ammon, but his wars led to no permanent conquest. He did not penetrate beyond Israelite territory in a northern direction, as later tradition would imply. On the north of Gilead the small Aramæan states of Soba and Geshur adjoin and run up into Israelite territory. With these he had both friendly and inimical relations without permanently subjugating them. Damascus, soon the rival of Israel, lay too far away, and had not yet acquired strength. During his reign the Philistines were finally restricted to their territory on the coast; they made no further serious attempt to advance against Israel.

Extent of David's Kingdom

The rebellion of Absalom must be placed quite at the end of David's life. Tradition does not give us a clear account of the matter. Yet one thing is apparent: David's sympathies were with the rebel; he was a mere helpless puppet in the hands of Joab and the military party. It is not said for whom Joab wished to secure the throne; probably even then for Adonijah. When Absalom fell, slain by Joab in defiance of David's command, David lamented for him. But Joab upbraided him insolently, and gave him plainly to understand that his sovereignty was at an end if he did not change his attitude. It is worthy of further remark, as regards the whole rebellion, that David, as formerly Eshbaal, the son of Saul, also sought and found an asylum in the country east of Jordan. There is a detailed description of the intrigues by which unwearying efforts were made to induce David, now completely worn out, to pronounce in favour of Solomon's accession to the throne. The factions at court are now clearly recorded. Solomon is the candidate of the priesthood, while a military party, represented by Joab, wishes to elevate Adonijah to the throne. The tradition in its simplicity makes no disguise of the means by which the priestly party conquered. The result is clear. Solomon succeeded in securing the throne for himself, and a pretext was soon found

Intrigues Against David

to remove out of his path his rival Adonijah with his partisan Joab, in spite of the immunity which had been promised them.

Solomon on the Throne

Solomon was placed on the throne by the priestly party. The party, therefore, upon which the new king relied, rather than on the devoted bodyguard of his father, had thus become the interpreter of the will of God, whom David had accepted as Lord over Israel. The tradition chose Solomon for its favourite hero, notwithstanding the fact that it had greater trouble in creating out of him a morally noble personality than out of David, who, in spite of his human failings, was acknowledged to possess the one sterling quality of having won by his own merits all that he possessed. David had proved himself superior to all the adventurers and robber chieftains who had fought with one another for the possession of the land. In order to form a just estimate of him we must judge him by the standard of Bedouin ethics—and Bedouins have the ethics of nomads.

Anderson

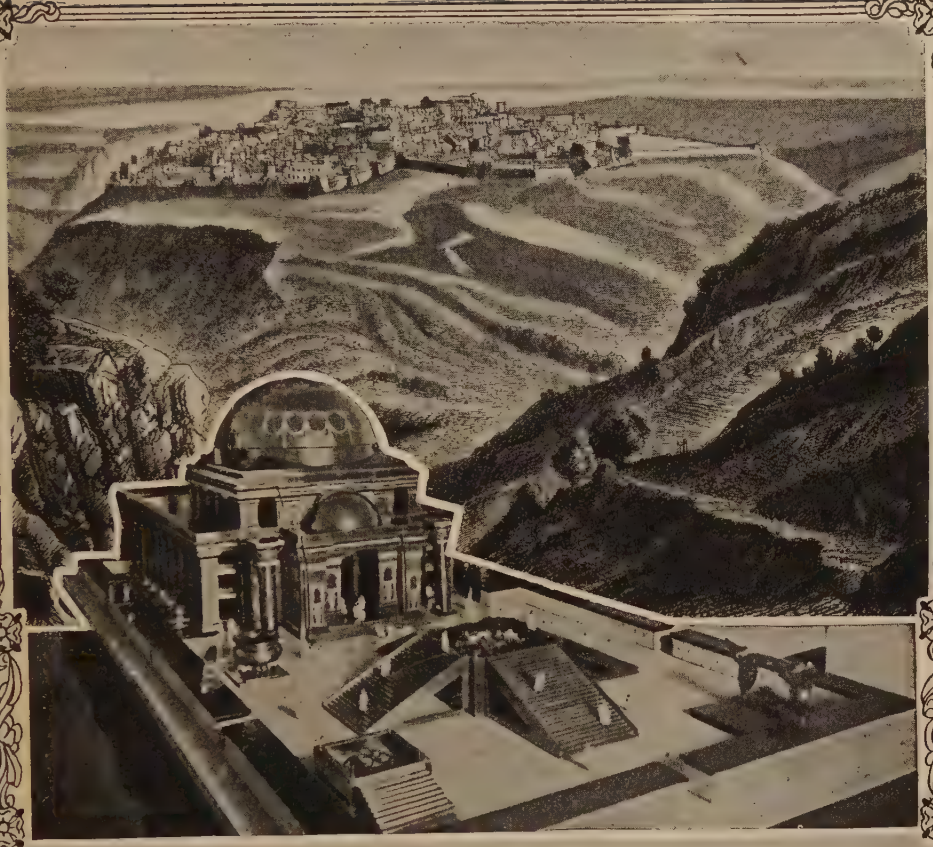
SOLOMON, LAST KING OF JUDAH AND ISRAEL
From the picture by Van Ghent in the Palazzo Barberini.

The older records tell us little about Solomon. The candidate of the priestly party was credited with the building of the Temple as his greatest achievement, in which we may see confirmation of his good understanding with his adherents. Otherwise we have only a few disconnected accounts of his reign. The records of an extension of his power as far as the Euphrates date from post-exile times, their object being to glorify the favourite hero of legend from whom the development started which culminated in Judaism. To the same source is to be assigned the legend of the "wisdom" of Solomon. There was little in his history which could be eulogised except his "wisdom," of which, indeed, he gave striking proof when he relied upon the priesthood instead of the army. His reign in other respects was of the usual Oriental type. He tried to display before men's eyes the external magnificence of a mighty king by raising immense buildings and keeping up an imposing court ceremonial. In order to defray the cost of his buildings, he is said to have ceded territory to Hiram of Tyre. In this, as well as in a notice of his maritime trading operations on the Red Sea, we realise the fact that the half-nomadic, fighting tribe with which David had conquered his territory had been driven back by the influence of the already more civilised northern tribes; civilisation, represented by Israel, had gained the superiority. The conquered civilisation here, as everywhere, eventually overcame the barbarian conqueror.

A single record of a small acquisition of territory by Solomon is valuable. He is said to have taken in marriage a daughter of the Pharaoh—this would naturally mean only a daughter of one of the women of the harem—and to have received as a dowry the city of Gezer, which had hitherto been independent. Light may be thrown on this notice by the conditions represented in the Tell-el-Amarna letters. Solomon may have openly written to the Pharaoh in the spirit of Rib-Adda, Abi-Milki, and Abd-khiba, his predecessors on the throne of Jerusalem, and may have enforced his claims on Gezer. He may have represented himself as the "loyal servant of his lord," and by diplomatic means have obtained the town from the prince of Gezer.

Solomon and the Pharaoh

It would follow from this that the whole previous development was actually accomplished under the suzerainty of Egypt, feeble though it was at times.



At the top is a picture of Jerusalem as it appeared in the time of David and Solomon, and underneath it a photograph of an American model of the temple built by Solomon. At the bottom are shown the three immense reservoirs constructed by kings of Judah, probably by Solomon, to supply Jerusalem with water. Inset is Mount Moriah, on which Solomon's temple was built.

VIEWS IN AND AROUND SOLOMON'S ROYAL CITY OF JERUSALEM

Such was the reign of the great and "wise" Solomon, of whose wisdom tradition has told all sorts of stories. But we notice also in the accounts the voice of the historian of the prophets, which dates from the period of hostility between the prophets and the ruling party; and we may see its classical expression in the hostility of Samuel to the monarchy. The blame for the disruption of the kingdom is, indeed, quite openly ascribed to the policy of Solomon's reign. As a matter of fact, the state of affairs appears to have been that the more developed districts in the north were subject to the rule of the less developed. Solomon had, therefore, absorbed the former. His ancestral domain must have derived benefit from the fact that it now came into closer touch with civilisation. This result may have been very agreeable to the ruling parties in Jerusalem, but less so to the subject parties in the north. There is the additional fact to be noted that even the disadvantages of civilisation now made themselves felt in Jerusalem. The barbarous but warlike Caleb was replaced by a Jerusalem which had been assimilated to the civilised north. But by this very fact the foundation of David's superiority over Israel was undermined. Judah no longer found support in the rude strength and rapacity of the Bedouins; it had become a civilised state, and now learned the weakening influence of culture. Thus when there was again a struggle upon equal terms, the south no longer prevailed. The northern tribes were superior in civilisation, and they conquered Judah. This finds its expression first in the separation, but soon in the domination of Judah by Israel.

THE KINGDOMS OF ISRAEL AND JUDAH

THE severance of Israel from Judah was not merely a struggle which the two halves of the kingdom waged with each other, as tradition represents. The Egyptian inscriptions show clearly enough that the conquest of Jerusalem by the Pharaoh Sheshonk was connected with it. What had been Rehoboam's attitude toward the latter, and what induced him to appear as a disloyal servant of Egypt, we do not know. But this much is clear—that the Pharaoh took most of the towns of Northern Israel from Rehoboam and gave them to Jeroboam; there is also a tradition of his residence in Egypt. The record of it is at variance with the legend, and must be regarded in the light of the Tell el-Amarna letters. Jeroboam succeeded in forwarding his plans at court better than Rehoboam; the Northern Israelite had more of the sinews of war, by which the disputes of the civilised world were fought out, than the king of Jerusalem, and these he placed at the disposal of his advocates at court.

Egypt Conquers Israel

We have no evidence which would enable us to decide whether Rehoboam trusted to some other source of help in his resistance to the Pharaoh, though it is conceivable that he calculated on Damascus, which was now coming into prominence. In any case Damascus, owing to the ceaseless struggles between the now separate halves of the kingdom, very soon became the supreme arbitrator in the affairs of Palestine, since Egypt after the last attack of Sheshonk does not seem to have interfered again decisively, and Assyria had not yet appeared upon the scene.

From the first the most powerful of the two states was Israel, which very soon showed its superiority. The Books of Kings do not contain detailed records of the war which was "always between Rehoboam and Jeroboam" (1 Kings xiv. 30). But they have preserved for us a very valuable notice. It proves that Jeroboam had done that which we might have expected of him from the first. He was bound to make the people aware that he did not agree with Judah, and it was to his interest to oppose the idea of the justification of David's power. He was induced, therefore, to attempt to abolish the religion of David and to revive in its place the ancient national sanctuaries. He was, for this reason, solicitous that the two ancient sanctuaries of Bethel and Dan should be once more brought into vogue. It must be borne in mind that the great festivals, which were celebrated in such places, did not acquire their main significance from their religious side as festivals, but that they exercised a far wider economic influence; they were the fairs which the whole nation held, under

Jeroboam Revives Baalim

the protection of the peace of the sanctuary. For this reason a king of Israel must have been still more anxious to keep visitors away from the sanctuary in Jerusalem, and to deprive the other capital of the advantages accruing from such traffic. Since in this way the greater part of the revenue of the splendid new temple was lost, the priests had every reason to regard Jeroboam as the type of an impious king.

According to our accounts, Jeroboam was followed by his son Nadab, who reigned only two years, roughly about 910 B.C. He is said to have been murdered during the siege of the Philistine Gibbethon by Baasha, of the tribe of Issachar. The new dynasty did not, therefore, last long; and the disturbances, which are typical of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes, did not delay their appearance. Baasha became king, and reigned, according to the accounts, from about 910 to 886 B.C. He greatly harassed Judah. In order to render any communications with Jerusalem impossible, he fortified a place, Rama, a little north of Jerusalem. Asa was thus compelled to throw himself into the arms of Damascus and to implore its protection and suzerainty. Bir-idri naturally welcomed the proposal. He invaded Northern Israel, and thus forced Baasha to evacuate the frontier of Judah. The fortress of Rama was again razed to the ground; but Judah had become a vassal of Damascus, and Baasha, too, had no alternative but to bow to him, as his predecessors had to Egypt. Baasha's son, Elah, is said also to have reigned for only two years, and to have been murdered by the commander of the army, Zimri, who, from Gibbethon, where the army lay, attacked him in his palace at Tirzah.

Judah a Vassal of Damascus

The tradition, therefore, assumes that the two first dynasties of Israel consisted of two kings each, the second king in each case being murdered after a reign of only two years, and in both murders the army, which lay before Gibbethon, had a part. Exception has been taken to this by the critics, and it has been suggested that the tradition may be incorrect. Zimri was unable to hold his own. The army did not support him, but took the side of Omri, the commander-in-chief, who advanced at the head of the "whole people"—a national army is still presupposed at this time—up to Tirzah, where Zimri sought his death in the flames of the king's palace. In the meantime Omri had not been acknowledged king without further difficulty, "for half of the people followed Tibni, the son of Ginath." This latter seems to have held his own for a considerable time as a rival king, until he was vanquished by Omri. Parties, therefore, existed in Israel; these may have corresponded to the different conditions of life existing in the population, which had advanced from the state of peasants to a higher civilisation. In the ceaseless disturbances which such feuds must have produced from time to time, vigorous measures could be taken only with the indispensable support of a strong monarchy, a trustworthy army. This was the policy which Omri and his house pursued, following the example of David. In home affairs the policy of encouraging traffic was adopted, and attempts were made to establish favourable relations with foreign countries, especially with Tyre; Omri's son, Ahab, married a Tyrian princess, Jezebel. Omri's position towards Damascus is not recorded; probably, however, he recognised its suzerainty, and secured his throne only by doing so. He again subjugated Moab, which, on the separation, had taken up an uncertain attitude towards Israel; and, doubtless, it was he also who brought Judah under his own suzerainty; this position is attested under Ahab. He made Samaria the capital of

Rule of the Army

S.P.C.K.

REHOBOAM, KING OF JUDAH

From an Egyptian cartouche. He was probably carried away to Egypt after Pharaoh Sheshonk took Jerusalem.

the empire in place of Tirzah. Omri's policy both at home and abroad was continued by his son Ahab. He was a vassal of Damascus, had a strong army under his orders, tried to promote intercourse with foreign countries, and therefore showed friendliness to all strangers. By this action he excited the opposition of the peasant population; tradition attests this fact in recording the zeal displayed by the prophets against the Baalim, the gods of the strangers. The natural opposition to the dominating classes by the agricultural population, which suffered under the development of trade and the encroachment of the military feudal system, found vent in the opposition of Elijah and Elisha. Judah was now subject to Ahab, and its king, Jehoshaphat, was compelled to take the field with him. The relations to Damascus are clearly seen in the first notice of Israelite history, which is chronologically certain. In the year 854 B.C. Shalmaneser II., at the battle of Karkar, saw in the army of Bir-idri of Damascus an actual contingent from Ahab of Israel, which the latter had furnished as vassal of Damascus; Judah, as subject to Israel, is naturally not named. The attacks of Assyria on Damascus would naturally have incited Ahab to shake off the yoke. But Shalmaneser was always repulsed by Bir-idri; and Ahab met his death in one of the fights, in which he tried to hold his own against Bir-idri, at Ramoth-Gilead. This seems to have taken place soon after the battle at Karkar, therefore about 853 B.C.

Ahab of Israel

His son, Ahaziah, was probably obliged to acknowledge the suzerainty of Damascus, and equally so his brother Joram, who followed him on the throne, presumably only two years afterwards. He would thus have been forced to take the field with Bir-idri in the subsequent campaigns of Shalmaneser. But he also did not fail to make attempts to liberate himself, and is said to have been wounded in a battle which he had to fight near Ramoth-Gilead against Bir-idri, or, now, Hazael. While attempting to return home, in order to recover from his wounds, he fell a victim to the revolution of Jehu.

Judah was from the very first at a disadvantage compared with the northern kingdom. The latter owed its freedom to the intervention or the approval of the Pharaoh, and Rehoboam had to suffer severely from Sheshonk's chastisement and the enforced contributions. It is a proof of the permanence of David's measures that Edom remained loyal to Judah, notwithstanding that an attempt had been made by a descendant of the old royal house—Hadad, according to the tradition—presumably under Solomon

Judah and Egypt

RAMA, ONE OF THE MOST BEAUTIFUL CITIES OF ANCIENT PALESTINE

Rama, a few miles north of Jerusalem, was fortified by Baasha, king of Israel, about 900 B.C., to prevent communication with Jerusalem from the north. It lies in a fertile plain, and is now remarkable for its olive groves and fruit gardens.

AHAB, KING OF ISRAEL, AND HIS WIFE JEZEBEL, PRINCESS OF TYRE

Omri established favourable relations with foreign countries, and his son Ahab married a Tyrian princess. From the picture by T. M. Rooke in the possession of Mr. M. Russell Cotes, by whose permission it is reproduced.

(I Kings xi.), to gain its independence by the support of Egypt.

Neither Rehoboam nor his son Abijah can have had long reigns. Asa, the successor of the latter, realised the supremacy of Israel under Baasha, and was forced to solicit the suzerainty of Damascus in order to protect himself from the former.

Judah Subject to Israel

The "Deuteronomist" in the Books of Kings commends him; the priesthood must therefore have flourished under him. Jehoshaphat also is said to have been a pious man. Judah was now no longer directly dependent on Damascus, but was subject to the suzerainty of Israel; for Jehoshaphat took the field with Ahab, both when he fought at Karkar for Damascus and when he fought against his feudal lord in Gilead. It is further recorded that he also made an attempt to resume the navigation of the Red Sea inaugurated by Solomon.

His son Joram meets us also as a loyal supporter of the northern kingdom under Ahaziah and his brother Joram. It is clear that he was completely under the influence of his wife Athaliah. This fact proves that the house of Omri understood how to secure their power, which they had founded through the instrumentality of a strong army, by other means as well. Athaliah was the daughter of Ahab, and sister of Joram of Israel. The part which she played proves that in reality the influence of the house of Omri was already absolute in Judah. But they never realised their object of restoring the empire of David by the amalgamation of the two dynasties, this time starting from Israel and under Israel's supremacy.

Edom shook off its yoke under Joram. An attempt to reconquer it seems to have turned out very disastrously for the king of Judah. He was followed by his own and Athaliah's son, Ahaziah,

Rebellion of Jehu's Party

for whom his mother had contrived to secure the succession. The house of Omri seems almost to have reached its goal when the opposite party aimed their blow and exterminated the proud dynasty. Ahaziah accompanied his feudal overlord and uncle, Joram of Israel, to battle in Gilead, where both fell victims to Jehu's rebellion.

Jehu, the head of the rebellion, was, like Omri, a military commander. He

won over the army while he was in the field at Gilead and Joram had gone home to recover from his wounds. The army now turned the scale; as often happens, that which had been the support of a strong monarchy became its most dangerous enemy. The cause of the rebellion is stated to have been the murder of Joram and his vassal Ahaziah of Judah. The blow was clearly enough aimed at the whole house of Omri and its partisans, that is, the son of the princess of the house of Omri in Judah. But the energetic Athaliah in Judah was able to hold her own by means of the army, the constant support of her house. It is well known that she ordered all the male descendants of her deceased husband to be murdered. This seems at first sight an incomprehensible act of cruelty, but it finds its motive in the simple fact that the murdered Ahaziah had been her only son; while Joram's other sons were by different wives. On the death of her son the sovereignty would thus legally have fallen to one of the other sons, who had no blood of Omri in his veins. Nothing was left for her but to follow the tactics of her rival if she did not wish to abandon the policy of her house. Thus the complete success of the rebellion was frustrated by her bold action. It was only in Israel that the house of Omri was exterminated and Jehu became king. But what were the deeper-lying causes of the rebellion? The prophets had been favourably disposed to the dynasty of Omri. They expressed the views and wishes of the people, especially of the people of the south with their inferior economic development, as opposed to the policy of Omri and his descendants, who had brought Judah also under their sway. It was the resistance of the nomads and peasants to the development of a civilisation which was prejudicial to them. It was the revolt, too, of the spirit of nationality, whose ideal expression, after David, was centred in the national worship of the God of Israel, against the policy of the ruling dynasty, which favoured connections with foreign countries, and appeared as a worshipper of strange Baalim. It is plainly evident in the course of the insurrection that this resistance, if not originating with Judah, was at any rate strongly supported by it. Its leaders are expressly said to have been a tribe, Rechab, which lived in the south of Judah on the fringe of the desert, in the simple conditions of agriculturists who had not yet altogether abandoned the ideas of a nomadic life, and who are said to have been believers in Israel's God. If we also take into account the support of the Hebrew prophets, expressly proved by the legend of Elisha

Athaliah Queen of Judah

Revolt of National Spirit

A MODERN VIEW OF SAMARIA, THE CAPITAL OF THE ISRAELITE KINGDOM

MICAIAH BEFORE AHAB, KING OF ISRAEL, AND JEHOSHAPHAT, KING OF JUDAH

Judah was subjugated by Ahab, and Jehoshaphat the king was compelled, against his own will and policy, to take the field with him. This picture shows the prophet Micaiah warning Ahab before the battle of Ramoth-Gilead.

to have been given to Jehu, we see what claims had been put forward by the revolutionists. We have not here to do with a mere military revolt, but with the shock of two opposing classes of the population.

It is one thing to offer promises to discontented followers, and another thing to execute them. From the moment when Jehu became king, he had perforce to follow in the main the same line of policy as his predecessors. His scheme had miscarried in Judah owing to Athaliah's intervention. The kingdom of David, for which the co-religionists of David, who supported him, had fought, could not be restored; Jehu was restricted to Israel. He was compelled, therefore, to renounce the religion of the southern kingdom, which he had adopted so far to serve his ends, since he, as king of Israel, now stood in natural opposition to the religion of Judah, which was in the hands of Athaliah. He therefore renounced the religion of David, and served henceforward the old gods of his people, although he had started his revolution in the name of the God of Israel.

External circumstances also soon compelled him to abandon the idea of nationality, which must have helped to bring him to the throne. He was forced, in order to secure his sovereignty, to obtain the acknowledgment of the great powers, and he clearly from the first took into account the existing political conditions. His rebellion must be placed in the year 843, or perhaps 842 B.C. In this year Shalmaneser appeared on his expedition against Hazael before Damascus. He mentions Jehu as a tributary king. The latter had therefore lost no time in obtaining support from the new power instead of Damascus, which had hitherto been supreme. This step was perhaps taken in conformity with the immediate wish of the national party; in reality, it was bound to end at the point to which the policy of the house of Omri was directed. After Shalmaneser had once more vainly tried—839 B.C.—to subdue Hazael, he abandoned his attempts at conquest in the west. Jehu was now in a difficulty, for Hazael naturally proceeded to attack him. Whether Jehu continued to pay tribute as before to Assyria, we are not informed; but he did not submit to Hazael. He offered resistance to him, and lost in the struggle the territory east of Jordan. Judah, which had eluded him owing to Athaliah, does not appear, even

after her fall, to have again been subject to him.

Jehu's reign, therefore, which ought to have seen the restoration of David's kingdom, implies a downfall of Israel from the height previously attained, especially under the house of Omri. It receded also under his son Jehoahaz.

Downfall of Israel

Israel was more and more oppressed by Hazael, since Assyrian help was not forthcoming; we are told in 2 Kings xiii. 3, that Israel was completely in his power. Then "the Lord gave Israel a saviour." The account does not mention this "saviour" by name; it was Assyria. About 800 B.C. Adad-nirari subdued Mari of Damascus. Even his son and successor, Joash, continued in the position of a vassal of Assyria, and was thus enabled to recover from Damascus certain lost territory, presumably east of Jordan. Judah itself was probably conquered once more; Amaziah of Judah vainly tried to shake off the yoke. Jeroboam II., in whose period occurs the expedition of Shalmaneser III. against Damascus in 773 B.C., was equally successful through Assyrian help; it is recorded of him that he reconquered the districts of Northern Israel. During his reign, which is said to have been long, Israel enjoyed for the last time a period of comparative peace.

Soon after his death the new rise of Damascus under Rezon, and the encroachments of Tiglath-pileser, which were connected with it, herald a period of continuous revolutions down to the end of the kingdom. If Israel had fallen from its former position under Jehu, we are now witnesses of its death agony. Zachariah, son of Jeroboam II., was the first of the series of kings who were deposed by violence in rapid succession. He is said to have been slain by a certain Shallum, after a reign of only six months. This latter could hold his own

Assyrian Supremacy Acknowledged

only for one month against Menahem, son of Gadi (2 Kings xv. 14). The date of Menahem is accurately fixed by the notice of Tiglath-pileser IV., that he paid tribute to him in the year 738 B.C. Thus he acknowledged the Assyrian supremacy, evidently under compulsion, for Tiglath-pileser took from him the northern part of his territory. Menahem must have died soon afterwards, probably in 737 B.C. His son, Pekahiah, is said to have reigned two years, 736 and 735 B.C. He seems to have remained loyal to Assyria, for he was overthrown by Pekah, the son of Remaliah, whose revolt was supported by Damascus. After the appearance of Tiglath-pileser, the cry of the two opposite parties was once more "Damascus or Assyria." Pekah, as vassal of Rezon, marched with him in 735 or 734 B.C. against Ahaz, who in Jerusalem was consistently loyal to Assyria. The attempt to defeat him was unsuccessful. In the following year Tiglath-pileser appeared and invested Damascus. Pekah lost his northern territory, or, as Tiglath-pileser expresses it, only Samaria was left. This gave the Assyrian party in Samaria the upper hand; they overthrew Pekah, and proclaimed Hoshea king, and his election was ratified by Tiglath-pileser. Soon afterwards Damascus fell, and became a province of Assyria in 731 B.C.

The state of affairs was thus completely changed. Now Assyria proceeded to take every opportunity of systematically draining the resources of the subject people, that is, of creating out of them Assyrian

Israel an Assyrian Province

provinces. Ever since 738 B.C. the territory of Israel had touched the province of Simirra, which had been created there; and a considerable part of Israelite territory was now assigned to this province. Damascus, too, was now Assyrian. The annexation of Samaria was necessarily the next step. There were only two possible ways of retaining their self-government, and these were either to pay the tribute or to obtain help from another power. The tribute was too exorbitant to be permanently endured, and the king, through inability to pay, was usually soon driven to suspend the payments—that is, to declare his revolt. Help from outside was now sought in Egypt, which had never ceased to cast her eyes on Palestine.

It was not, indeed, long before Hoshea was compelled to suspend his payments of tribute, trusting to Egyptian aid. The prophet Hosea, whose activity coincides with the period subsequent to the fall of Damascus, describes to us the conditions of vacillation between Egypt and Assyria. In the year 724 B.C. an Assyrian army advanced in order to annex Samaria. The town is said to have resisted for three years; it finally fell when Shalmaneser IV. had just died and Sargon had mounted the throne in 722 B.C. King Hoshea was carried

THE DEATH OF AHAB AFTER THE BATTLE OF RAMOTH-GILEAD
From the picture by T. M. Rooke, in the possession of Mr. M. Russell Cotes, by whose permission it is reproduced.

away into captivity, and with him the larger portion of the inhabitants, 27,290 souls in all, as Sargon accurately records. They were settled in Mesopotamia, in the vicinity of Harran, and on the Khabur, and in the Median Highlands. The loss of the population was replaced in the usual fashion by settlers from other parts of the empire; Babylonian citizens from Cuthah in particular were settled in Samaria.

The capital of Israel had thus become an Assyro-Babylonian city. Samaria, henceforward the seat of an Assyrian governor, may be compared with the Sidon of Esarhaddon. The inhabitants were afterward actually termed Cuthæans, from the predominance of the Cuthæan element in the population.

It is generally believed that this "carrying away of the Ten Tribes" signifies a dissolution of the people of Israel, which is regarded as having formed a part of Judah, and as having shared the same views. Starting from this standpoint, certain writers have attempted to trace remnants of the "Ten Tribes" in every imaginable place on earth, being influenced by the account which represents the two peoples of Israel and Judah as one nation. The 27,290 souls whom Sargon enumerates were not, however, "the people of Israel"

they were only the larger portion of the population of Samaria and of its immediate vicinity which alone at the last formed the "kingdom" of Israel, since the northern districts had been captured still earlier. But, apart from this, there was in the territory of the Ten Tribes an absence of the bond which afterwards kept the Jews together in Babylonia; that is, a common cult, to say nothing of a more highly developed religious conception and a closely organised priesthood. Since the severance, the God of Israel had ceased to be the centre of a national worship, and any traces of such worship, which had been retained in the north from the time of David, were quite insignificant. Tradition has not preserved the names of the gods of Bethel, Dan, and the other national sanctuaries. In reality the Ten Tribes were not differentiated, as regards their religious conceptions, in the slightest degree from the other nations dwelling round about them. They were not, therefore, "Jews." The want of a national bond caused even those who remained in their old homes to retain but little recollection of the "kingdom of Israel."

Captivity of the "Ten Tribes"

The province of Samaria, two years after its conquest, in combination with its companions in misfortune, Damascus and Simirra, or Northern Phœnicia, and in concert with Hamath, made a renewed attempt to shake off the Assyrian yoke. But Iaubidi of Hamath was defeated by Sargon. Thus all hope of Syrian independence was destroyed. Samaria after this remained an Assyrian province. It repeatedly received new strata of population, for instance in the reign of Ashurbanipal after the subjugation of the Babylonian revolt of the Cuthæans. At a later period, as Judaism grew stronger, it became the home of the sect of the Samaritans, of which the last remains disappeared only in modern times.

The Power of the Priesthood

During the revolution of Jehu, Athaliah had succeeded in holding her own by means of the army. If Jehu was thus forced to fail in his promises to his helpers, still the revolution, notwithstanding this momentary reverse, meant in the end the victory of the party that still followed the God of David, which was unfriendly to the foreign dynasty of Omri and its policy. The priesthood in Judah, which had gained strength since Solomon, was clearly the real soul of the resistance. It is obvious that, so long as there was any opposition, people and priesthood formed one composite party. It was only after the victory that the conflicting interests of the two parties were felt, as is usual in revolutions. Athaliah is said to have held her own for six years longer. Then the priestly party succeeded in overthrowing her and in wreaking vengeance upon her; they had won over the "Pretorian guard," the support of Athaliah. The only surviving son of Joram, who, when his brothers were murdered, had been sheltered as a child in the Temple, was raised to the throne. It matters little whether he was really the last scion of David's house or was put forward in this character; the important point was that he had been "educated by the high-priest," and placed by him upon the throne.

A schism was now formed between priesthood and people. The two no longer stood as the ruled and oppressed class in opposition to the monarchy, for the sovereignty was now actually in the hands of the priests. These, together with the king, who was dependent on them, were now held responsible by the people for all grievances. If, therefore, the spokesmen of the people had hitherto been opponents of the monarchy, they were now equally opposed to the governing priesthood. But, in accordance with the stage of culture which Judah had attained, truth and justice were represented by an appeal to God.

The Priests versus the People

Thus, if any one of the people accused the priests of crimes or mistakes in home or foreign policy, he appealed to God as the representative of justice and right. These spokesmen were the prophets. From the time of the governing priesthood dates the feud between prophets and priests, between the God of the prophets and that of the priests, who was not distinguishable from the Baalim, against whom both had before been united. This then was the origin of the Prophetic Order, properly so called, such as we see it in its chief representatives, Amos and Hosea.

Not much else is known of the state of Judah under Joash. When Jehu, in 842 B.C., paid tribute to Assyria, Judah is not mentioned, probably for the reason that Shalmaneser's influence did not reach

so far to the south. It must, however, very soon afterwards have become subject once more to Jehoahaz and Joash, for Amaziah made fruitless attempts to shake off the yoke; Israel, through Assyria's help, was still the stronger. Joash fell a victim to a palace revolt. Since the conspiracy started with officials, we may perhaps conclude that it formed an attempt to check the supremacy of the priesthood. His son and successor, Amaziah, was equally subject to priestly influence. He made unsuccessful attempts to reconquer Edom, and was unfortunate in the war by which he intended to make himself independent of Israel. We do not know how far he had reckoned on aid from Damascus. In any case, Joash of Israel, the vassal of Assyria, proved the stronger, and defeated him at Beth-Shemesh. Amaziah himself was taken prisoner, and was able to purchase his freedom only by the payment of a heavy ransom. He was also compelled to raze to the ground a part of the fortifications of Jerusalem. He, too, fell a victim to a conspiracy, and was murdered at Lachish; we cannot, however, clearly understand the circumstances which attended his death.

His son Azariah is said to have continued the wars with Edom, but no permanent successes were achieved. Edom asserted its independence after it had once secured its freedom. Since Azariah was a leper, the government was principally carried on by his son Jotham. No events of importance are recorded of the independent reign of the latter from about 752 to 736 B.C. Since in 738 B.C. Judah is not mentioned among the states tributary to Tiglath-pileser, we may assume that it was still dependent on Israel.

Ahaz, the son of Jotham, who succeeded to the crown about the same time as Pekah secured the throne in Samaria, used this opportunity to liberate himself from Israel by acknowledging the Assyrian supremacy. The immediate result was the siege of Jerusalem by Rezon and Pekah in 735, or at latest 734 B.C. Ahaz had not miscalculated when he built his hopes on Tiglath-pileser; the latter appeared in 734 and 733 B.C., and he put an end to the splendour of Damascus. But in his other calculations Ahaz had deceived himself. He had clearly hoped to receive from Tiglath-pileser the northern kingdom as a reward for his loyalty, and in this way to restore once more the kingdom of David. But Tiglath-pileser considered it more prudent to secure for himself the power of turning the scale

DEATH OF JOASH, KING OF JUDAH

After the death of Joram of Judah and the revolt of Jehu, all his sons except Joash were murdered, and his wife Athaliah ruled as regent for several years. Joash was secreted in the Temple and raised to the throne on the assassination of his mother. He attempted to become independent of Israel, but fell a victim to a palace revolt.

at any time by means of the old disunion, and he consequently installed Hoshea. The internal policy of Ahaz was equally directed toward his goal, the possession of Israel. He turned against the now too powerful priesthood. In so doing he was forced to seek the support of the people, and to promise them redress for the extortions of the priests and the officials. He had to adopt a friendly attitude towards foreigners, a policy which drew upon him the hatred of the priestly caste, but could no longer damage him in the eyes of the people, since they had ceased to trust to the leadership of the priests.

Ahaz and the Priesthood

A prophet thus furthered the cause of Ahaz when he reproached the powerful priests with grasping and excess, and spoke in the northern kingdom of Judah as the representative of right and equity, thus seeking to create a feeling in favour of the conquest of Israel by Ahaz. This prophet was Amos. His activity coincides with the period when the question was to be decided, whether a treaty should be made with Assyria or Damascus.

All hopes of the reunion of the kingdom must have been abandoned for ever when Samaria was captured by Sargon. Ahaz seems to have died shortly afterwards, probably in 720 B.C. His son Hezekiah found a state of things very different from the former conditions. Damascus had fallen, and a suzerainty of Israel was no more to be dreaded. Thus at first only one course was left open to him—to pay tribute and to wait until a great power equal in strength to Assyria came to his help. There was no lack of offers; at the very outset of his reign envoys appeared from Merodach-baladan, in order to incite him to revolt from Sargon. But Babylonia had too long kept aloof from the western scene of operations; and Hezekiah appears to have accepted Isaiah's warning, while the envoys found a more willing audience in Philistia. Some years afterwards, however, in 713 B.C., he shared in the revolt of Ashdod. The revolt was suppressed; but Hezekiah emerged without great loss, since once again he made timely submission. With the overthrow of Merodach-baladan, in 710 B.C., his hopes became fainter. But when Sargon, in 705 B.C., met a violent death, the whole West thought that the hour was come when the hated yoke of Assyria might be thrown off. The hymn of triumph over the tyrant's death, which has come down to us in the prophecy of Isaiah (Isa. xiv. 4–20), represents the feeling of the time. But the joy was short lived. In 701 B.C. Sennacherib advanced, and on the withdrawal of the army, Hezekiah, happy at having escaped vengeance through the outbreak of the Babylonian rebellion, was compelled once more to submit.

Babylon Interferes in Israel

Thus, Hezekiah had won nothing by his revolt, but had lost the greater portion of his territory; for all the towns, which Sennacherib had taken by force, were divided among his neighbours. When, therefore, Egypt, under Tirhakah, undertook a new expedition and attempted to win Palestine for itself, there were willing ears in Jerusalem. Moreover, it seems as if after Hezekiah's death the young Manasseh was already king. Sennacherib advanced against Egypt, and now in Jerusalem men trembled at the appearance of the Assyrians before the gates. But Isaiah's words were fulfilled. Sennacherib's army was destroyed, and he himself soon afterwards met his death in his own country. Jerusalem had once again escaped the fate which menaced her. Ahaz had trusted to Assyria and had tried to break the power of the sacerdotal party; this, in its hostility to the monarchy, sought support from Egypt.

Sennacherib Before Jerusalem

Thus, it was a natural consequence that the sacerdotal party almost always advocated relations with the latter, while the kings, estimating more correctly the actual conditions, held to Assyria and afterwards to Babylonia. Hezekiah wavered between the two. Prudence advised him not to break with Assyria, and an honest counsellor like Isaiah solemnly warned him against it. But after he had once been driven to rebel, and had twice, contrary to his own expectation, escaped the vengeance of Assyria, the priestly caste had the situation in their own hands. He could no longer withdraw himself from their influence, and was obliged to concede their most far-reaching demands. He finally granted their request that he should acknowledge the Temple of Jerusalem as the only true place for the worship of God, and should abolish the

AN IMAGINATIVE REPRESENTATION OF THE FALL OF JERUSALEM

In the sixth century B.C. Judah was subject to Babylon, but owing to the impossibility of paying the tribute exacted revolt was inevitable. Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, captured and destroyed the city in 586 B.C.

sanctuaries in the country. By this the influence of the priestly caste at Jerusalem was immensely increased. There were now no rivals left who would diminish their power. They became the only recognised interpreters of the will of God, and the foundation stone of the hierarchy was thus laid. God was now thought of as a Spirit dwelling in the Temple of Jerusalem on Mount Zion—according to the conception of the priesthood, which was enforced only after further long struggles. God for Isaiah still lived "on the mountains." Hezekiah may have been influenced also by the loss of territory, to which he had been forced to submit in 701 B.C. If a large number of his towns had been given to neighbouring states, little more was left to him than Jerusalem, and he, therefore, had material reasons for centralising the worship of God in Jerusalem.

Rise of the Hierarchy

During his reign further fights with the Philistines are recorded (2 Kings xviii. 8). An episode in them is also referred to in the cuneiform inscriptions. Padi of Ekron had not joined the rebellion in 701 B.C. Taken prisoner by the Judaic party in his town, he was handed over to Hezekiah, but was reinstated by Sennacherib, after the latter had conquered Ekron and had secured the surrender of Padi by Hezekiah.

Hezekiah died, at the latest computation, shortly after Sennacherib, and therefore about 680 B.C. Soon afterwards, under Esarhaddon, Manasseh is mentioned as king of Judah. The unfavourable judgment passed on him by the "Deuteronomist" shows that he was opposed to the priestly party. His continued acknowledgment of the Assyrian supremacy is in keeping with this. He is called a persecutor of the prophets, who were at this period partisans of the priestly caste, not men like Amos and Isaiah. When Shamash-shum-ukin tried to win over the west, hopes must have been entertained in Judah also. It is possible that the prophetic denunciation of Nineveh, which bears Nahum's name, and gave expression to the wishes of the party which was inciting revolt, dates from this time. Manasseh did not offer actual resistance, even if the notice of the chronicle is trustworthy that he was taken a prisoner to Babylon; if such was the case it was probably to undergo a trial, conducted before Ashurbanipal, in which he was fortunate enough to justify himself or to receive pardon. Manasseh reigned long, and, as we may infer, happily, in spite of the hatred of the priestly class. His son Amon was murdered, after a reign of only two years, in 642 B.C., evidently at

Manasseh King of Judah

the instigation of the priesthood, since he followed the policy of his father. "But the people of the land slew all them that had conspired against King Amon"; a proof that the people differed from the sacerdotal party in their ideas with regard to these "persecutors of the prophets." A boy of eight years was raised to the throne—a repetition of the policy followed with Joash. The government under this boy, Josiah, brought the party of the priests within site of their goal; under him the hierarchy was constitutionally established by the introduction of "Deuteronomy" as the legal code. This code, which comprises the greater part of the fifth book of the Pentateuch in the form in which it has come down to us, is said to have been promulgated in the year 623 B.C.; the spirit that animates it is best seen in the provision that the punishment for "false prophets" shall be death. False prophets were men who opposed the ruling sacerdotal party; the enactment meant death for political opponents.

A Boy on the Throne

Josiah is said to have made attempts to enlarge his territory; among other acts he destroyed the sanctuary in Bethel. This is conceivable at the time when the empire of Assyria was drawing near its end. When Necho advanced into Palestine Josiah fell in battle against him at Migdol. The later account, such as the chronicle gives, has attempted to trace some faults in this ideal king of the "Deuteronomist" in order to explain his end. His government appears to have pleased the priesthood more than the people, which now, just as it had slain the murderers of Amon, raised to the throne Jehoahaz, the son of Josiah, who was by no means acceptable to the priesthood (2 Kings xxiii. 30). This latter is said, after three months, to have been deposed and kept in captivity by Necho, who meanwhile had moved into his headquarters at Ribla in the Beka'a. He seems, therefore, not to have tendered his submission at the right moment, or we may see in his deposition the influence of the priests, who always stood by Egypt. In Jehoahaz's place his brother Eliakim, who now assumed the name of Jehoiakim, was raised to the throne by Necho about 608 or 607 B.C. He was from the first compelled to raise the taxes considerably in order to pay the sums exacted by Necho.

The Priests Against the King

When Necho, in 605 B.C., was driven back to Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar, Jehoiakim submitted to the new lord and is said to have remained loyal to him for three years,

THE BLIND ZEDEKIAH, LAST KING OF JUDAH, BEFORE NEBUCHADNEZZAR OF BABYLON
Nebuchadnezzar destroyed Jerusalem in 580 B.C., and punished Zedekiah, the rebel king, with whom the kingdom ceased to exist, by putting out his eyes, slaying his sons and taking him away captive to Babylon with the people of Judah.

from about 605 to 603. He then rebelled, in vain expectation of help from Egypt, and in spite of the advice of Jeremiah that he should hold fast to the Chaldæan monarchy. A Chaldæan army did not long delay its appearance. Jehoiakim had, however, died in the meantime, and thus the fate intended for him befell his son, Jehoiachin, who was forced to surrender after a three months' siege in 597 B.C. Jerusalem once more retained its independence, for Nebuchadnezzar had consideration for the strong Chaldæan party. A large number of the chief men were even then carried off into exile, among them the prophet Ezekiel, whose speeches form a commentary upon the succeeding events at home. Nebuchadnezzar appointed as king a third son of Josiah, Mattaniah, who now took the name of Zedekiah. But, as Jehoiakim, by the excessive amount of tribute, had been forced into rebellion, so in the end Zedekiah, in spite of all resistance, and the dissuasion of Jeremiah, was compelled to yield to the pressure of his "patriots" and priests. He had hopes also from the new Pharaoh, Hophra. The hopes were vain. Nebuchadnezzar captured and destroyed Jerusalem in 586 B.C. Zedekiah was cruelly punished by the loss of his eyes, his sons were slain, and a large part of the population was carried away. Judah became a Babylonian province, and the people of Judah ceased to exist.

JUDAISM AND ITS DEVELOPMENT

JUDAH and Israel, regarded from the standpoint of political history, were insignificant states, of no greater importance for the history of the Ancient East than the local history of the Highlands of Scotland for the empire of Great Britain. This remarkable people has attained its importance for mankind not through its political history, but through the religion which had its sanctuary and its birthplace in Jerusalem. We cannot, however, entirely accept the view which sees in the Jewish religion, with its further developments, a creation of the Jewish spirit. Precisely as Christianity did not grow in its strength and in its spiritual ideas in Judah itself, but on the soil of the whole Hellenistic world, so Judaism was not evolved in Judah, but could have attained its development and its expansion only on the soil of the wide civilisation of the Ancient East. The details of this subject are as obscure or even more obscure than the beginnings of Christianity. This much is, however, clear—it was in Babylonia that Judaism first became that which it was and still is; and it could never have reached this stage unless it had come into close contact with the highest civilisation of Western Asia.

Babylonian Growth of Judaism

Nevertheless, the people of Judah contributed their share to its development, and were its first embodiment. If, therefore, historical investigators cannot accept the story of the "Chosen People," yet this story, in virtue of its wide acceptance, has still a claim to careful consideration, as also the nation which was its embodiment. In contrast to the traditions which we have for the rest of the East, we notice in the history of Israel strong accentuation of religious ideas and of all that is connected with them. As popular ideas on this subject rest mainly on the Biblical narrative it is interesting, as well as instructive, to sketch them briefly for ourselves in the light of the universal laws of human progress.

It is probable that Israel and Judah had originally little to do with each other; the proof of unity, the common worship of one God, can have been given them only by the man who united them—that is, by David. The God who represents the thought of fraternal association with Judah is Yahve, or Jehovah; even in the conception of historical times He was still identified as the God of the old home of David, the south of Judah. Jehovah was recognised in Israel only as the God of the victorious David for a sign of his dominion. He had never previously been the God universally worshipped by the northern tribes. The rapidly ensuing division of the kingdom induced the kings of Israel to deny Him. Israel, therefore, had little to do with the development of Judaism. As historical students we must therefore modify the conception, according to which Judah would appear to be far more nearly akin to Israel than, for instance, Edom, Moab, and Ammon; and undue regard must not be paid to the picture of a homogeneous nation under David and Solomon. This view can be best expressed in the phrase, which may sound paradoxical but yet aptly characterises the true relationship of the two peoples: "The Israelites were not Jews."

Distinction Between Judah and Israel

Thus the investigation of the development of the idea of God and the Hebrew religion is, from the first, restricted to Judah, as the original, and before long the only, home of the worship of God. We may omit certain attempts to encroach on the territory of Israel, the motive for which was always the realisation of a political supremacy. In the view of pure historical investigation, it is urged that the worship of God, whom David worshipped in his home and afterwards as prince of Caleb in Hebron—which can, however, hardly have been the original seat of the religion—was introduced into the newly-acquired parts of the kingdom as the area of conquest widened; it was thus a sign of sovereignty. There were, however, pagan deities still worshipped in different parts of Judah, as elsewhere; but these Baalim had really no more than a local significance.

The God of David

The very fact of its being introduced into other places shows that the religion was not originally confined to Jerusalem, though it had indeed been first introduced there. But it followed quite as a matter of course that the splendid sanctuary in Jerusalem, which was situated in the focus of traffic, should have eclipsed the other seats of worship in the country round. Moreover, the part must be considered which the priesthood in Jerusalem began to play after Solomon's reign; it thus gained a superiority over its colleagues in the other sanctuaries, which corresponded to the superiority of the capital over the provincial towns. The real representation and development of the Hebrew religion, or the worship of the only true God, so far as it was of political significance, rested with the priesthood of Jerusalem. After Solomon, the priests possessed the ascendency in Jerusalem and knew how to keep the kings amenable to their wishes. This state of affairs received a rude shock through the domination of the house of Omri. The religion of David had not been the national religion in Israel since Jeroboam. Israel now encroached upon Judah, and Omri and his successors, who had taken care to connect the kingdom of Judah with their family, thus became dangerous to the religion as the standard of a sacerdotal domination. But this very danger united their natural antagonists in Judah. The priesthood of Jerusalem had, as the ruling party, already become antagonistic to the other priesthoods in the country, and above all to the people itself, for their natural aims could never be those of the people. But so soon as there was a common enemy, all sections of the people, provided that the parties were not so sharply separated that the people as a whole had little vigour left, would soon regard the question from a common standpoint. This popular standpoint was, in the present case, the opposition to the foreign dominion of the house of Omri, which was destined to make Judah, formerly the ruling state, dependent on Israel, while the priesthood acted in opposition to the strange gods which the dynasty of Omri worshipped. We must also consider the fact that Judah was now threatened with the same fate which Israel had formerly incurred—namely, that, when defeated, it would have been forced to accept the gods of Israel, just as Israel had once received the God of David. Schooled by necessity, the priests of Jerusalem bethought themselves of a truer worship of their God than the leading of a luxurious life. We therefore find all worshippers of the supreme God, the priesthood and the rough worshippers from the desert—the Rechabites—united against the foreign domination; and in Judah, as well as in Israel, prophets denounced in the name of Jehovah the abuses of the kingdom. Elijah and Elisha are such figures. Their followers were able to win over Jehu in the

ISAIAH THE STATESMAN-PROPHET
From a frieze by Michael Angelo in the Sistine Chapel

Prophets Denounce Abuses

northern empire, and with him the army, to its side; and the rebellion of Jehu was organised in the name of God for the restoration of the empire of David. But it failed, as we have seen, in the very place where it originated.

Why Jehu Failed

The restoration of David's empire came to nothing, and the encroachment of the religion upon the territory of Israel miscarried, Jehu being compelled to abandon the attempt.

The absolute power of the priesthood begins with Joash. Once more we see the feud between the people and the priesthood, which now more and more became the ruling party; at the same time the priesthood abandoned the true God, the one God to whom men appealed as the protector of their rights, in favour of Baal worship—that is to say, they sacrificed everything to forms of ritual, since these were the source of large revenues, which the people had to pay. The good resolutions formed during the period of opposition were forgotten. Henceforth, therefore, the prophets strenuously attacked the priests, although in the rebellion of Jehu both had gone hand in hand.

THE PROPHET JEREMIAH
From a Michael Angelo frieze in the Sistine Chapel.

We see this most clearly defined in Amos, the first prophet of whom copious utterances are extant. His date is fixed by the allusion to Assyria, of which little could have been known there before 738 B.C. Amos prophesied under Ahaz and in his favour, since he tried to create a feeling in the northern kingdom in favour of the re-establishment of David's empire. Once more, therefore, the name of God was used as the rallying-cry of a policy which sought to unite Judah and Israel. Amos would hear nothing of the God of the priesthood; he was a man of the people, and he reproached the ruling classes with their sins in burning and passionate words which the reformers of the Middle Ages gladly employed.

The same thing holds good of Hosea, whose mission falls not much later, although certainly after the annexation of Damascus by Tiglath-pileser—that is, after 731 B.C.—since he does not refer to the state which up to that time had played so important a part in Palestinian affairs. He does not indeed inveigh against the ruling classes with the bitterness of Amos, although he sees the cause of the calamity in their sins. This is partly due to the fact that Amos, as he distinctly averred, was no "professional prophet"—that is to say, not one of those men who, being quasi-dervishes, devoted their lives to religious meditation and public oratory, but a herdsman and countryman, who had been induced by the prevailing distress to proclaim his message throughout the land. He therefore laid more stress on the cause of the miseries, which he had experienced in his own person.

Isaiah, the next prophet, stands on a higher plain. He was a well-educated man; he lived at Jerusalem near the king's person, was familiar with all the knowledge of that day, well versed in literature — his songs show that he was acquainted with Babylonian literature—and he surveyed the whole political movement of the time. In brief, he was a statesman who had reached the highest pinnacle of his age. For this very reason he belongs to neither of the ruling parties, whether priestly or royal, although doubtless he was a member of one of them by birth. He stood above them. His political insight forced him to take his place as counsellor by the king's side, and to warn him against rash enterprises. But when the storm of disasters once burst upon the country, he exhorts the nation to hold out; and the result proved that he rightly estimated the political situation. He opposed the arrogant claims of the priestly party, and thus laid stress on the miseries of the people;

Isaiah the Statesman

but he was not a true man of the people, since he was not in any sense a partisan.

The next period contains no prophet of importance; for Nahum's denunciation of Nineveh, if we are indeed to place him under Manasseh, and one or two utterances which pass under Isaiah's name and may also belong to this age, concern only foreign policy. It is expressly stated in 2 Kings xxi. 16, that Manasseh took stringent measures against the opposition; but we may assume that the passage refers to prophets who spoke in favour of the priesthood, which had been deprived of its influence, and not to men of the people preaching in the spirit of Amos. On the contrary, the people were probably well satisfied with the rule of Manasseh.

Jeremiah the Last Prophet

A striking personality appears at the close of the history of Judah in Jeremiah. We may compare his attitude on foreign policy with that of Isaiah. He was, however, a pronounced supporter of the Chaldæan party, a point which cannot be asserted of Isaiah as regards Assyria. History has shown that he was undoubtedly right when he uttered warnings against a breach with Nebuchadnezzar. He was antagonistic to the priestly party, with its Egyptian traditions, and had in consequence to suffer during the siege; whether justly so, from the point of view of his opponents, we will not attempt to discuss. It would be in keeping with the views of his day if he had maintained relations with the Chaldæans; the treatment which he received after the conquest of Jerusalem makes us suspect some such conduct on his part. A completely different spirit from that of the earlier prophets is revealed in the utterances of Jeremiah. Amos and Hosea are demagogues, and even Isaiah, with the eye of a statesman standing above the parties, has a clear opinion as to the true causes of the national calamity, which cannot be relieved by joining either Egypt or Assyria. All three wish to probe deeper, and expect the evil to be cured only when the national life is more healthy. They express this belief in the spirit of their age by an appeal to the will of God, but in a formula which really suits the connection of events: "Do that which is right, according to the will of God, and you will be healed." In Jeremiah, on the other hand, we find, in contrast to this practical standpoint, a prevalence of the religious, non-worldly spirit, which has found its most distinct expression in the tenet of Christianity: "Seek first the kingdom of God, and all this will come to you of itself." It is a confusion between cause and effect that has made Jeremiah as a thinker inferior to his predecessors, but has also made him the favourite prophet of a religious development which seeks its salvation in another world. The ideal world of seclusion, which offers escape from the world of flesh, finds its expression in the prophecy of Jeremiah.

Non-worldly Spirit of Jeremiah

The introduction of Deuteronomy as the legal code implied the victory of the hierarchical party; it was the codification of priestly rule. Such legislation, which was too diametrically opposed to the demands of the real life of the people, was of course certain to meet with many hindrances in practice, and contributed largely to the destruction of the state; moreover, its original promoters, the priests, forced the king to revolt from Babylonia. But this code could have come into prominence only at a time when the people no longer formed a nation but rather a religious sect, which was ready to recognise it as their guiding principle. That which in the turmoil of national life must have led to the ruin of the people could, in the security afforded by the protection of a powerful state, be further developed, and, through the feeling of homogeneity with which it filled those who professed it, might become a factor in their economic progress. The component parts of the people of Judah, which had been led away into captivity in Babylonia, were precisely those which were anti-Chaldæan; that is to say, the priestly party, those who were active supporters of Deuteronomy. The rest, indeed, had remained behind in the country. In this way we may explain the fact that the Jewish community, in contrast to so many others which had been transplanted by Assyrians or Babylonians, held together and preserved a distinct individuality. They were from the first a religious community, and as such they were further developed, since by their new environment they were thrown more together and brought into intimate relation one with the other. "Judaism" was developed in Babylon, a closely united religious body in the midst of a

The Deuteronomic Code

great, heterogeneous, and, as they regarded it, foreign population.

On the other hand, it was quite inevitable that Judaism should have adopted much of the Babylonian culture in the atmosphere of which it lived. Precisely as a Jew living in a modern country shares in its intellectual and economic growth, and is affected by its influence, so it was the case in Babylonia. Our material still remains incomplete for ascertaining in any detail how far the sphere of Jewish religious thought had been influenced by that of Babylonia. Certain evidence that we do possess makes it very apparent that we cannot estimate this influence too highly; some day, probably, many of the institutions of Judaism which seem to be "Jewish" will be shown to be Babylonian in the sense that much of the Mosaic code of legislation is now proved, by the discovery of Hammurabi's Code of Laws, to have been directly derived from Babylonia. What, again, is more characteristic of the spirit of this civilised Judaism, humiliated in a manner so strongly contrasted with its pride, than the penitential psalms, in which it implores forgiveness from its God? They were composed during the exile, and were copies of similar productions of the Babylonian intellect.

Debts to Babylon

Just as Judaism at a later age eagerly took part in Hellenistic culture, and then in the Arabian, mediæval, and modern intellectual movements, so it tried at this time to turn to its own use the treasures of Babylonian wisdom. A striking instance of this is afforded by the author of the Book of Kings, who wrote during the exile. He found in Babylon a perfected system of records and a laboriously exact chronology. The chronological scheme, for which he found in his own documents an insufficient basis, was elaborated on the Babylonian model, and was thus the result of calculations prepared by the aid of Babylonian science. The Jew who lived in Babylon appropriated the stores of Babylonian knowledge; he even studied the cuneiform documents, and searched them for information about his own people. The same spirit, which meets us in the explanation of Biblical accounts by the later Jewish commentators, was also characteristic of the Jews of the exile in elaborating the history of their ancestors. They employed chronological calculations, prepared in the same spirit as those of the Christian chronographers, Julius Africanus, Eusebius, etc. But we meet at the same time the characteristic spirit of Judaism, which makes itself so prominent in Josephus. There is always the recurring effort to prove Judah to be the Chosen People, both from history and from the accounts of other nations. Modern authorities are persuaded that not only the Jewish religion, but all the traditions of Judaism were developed in Babylonia during the exile.

History Written in Exile

From this time forward there was never a people of Judah. We possess few historical facts as to the time of the exile; but, from what we have already ascertained, it follows that we must picture to ourselves the rôle of Judaism during this period as having been the same as in later times. Even then it must have begun to expand, otherwise we can hardly explain its development in the following centuries; for such an expansion would hardly have been possible except for the intellectual stimulus provided by the new environment in Babylon. On the other hand, the closely compacted community, spiritually united through the rigid organisation given it by the priesthood which was deported to Babylonia, naturally saw its home in Jerusalem and the true seat of the Most High in the temple on Mount Zion. In this connection we notice the survival of the idea of the old national God, who could dwell only in the land of his own people, and who, since the time of Hezekiah, had chosen Jerusalem itself for His dwelling-place.

With the captivity began also the intense longing for a return. Since this was out of the question under a Chaldæan supremacy, the Jews of Babylon waited longingly for the saviour who was destined to bring them freedom from the hated yoke. In the second part of Isaiah are expressed the hopes, so often disappointed, with which men followed the vicissitudes of Babylonian history. The liberator came at last, and there were real grounds for rejoicing that the dominion of Bel and Nebo was broken. Cyrus occupied Babylon, and Judaism was now quite certain of its champion.

Champion of Judaism

ARMENIA BEFORE THE ARMENIANS

OF the highlands in which the Euphrates and Tigris have their source, and which rise to the north of Mesopotamia and its outlying mountains, we know little at the time when Babylonia still dominated the whole Euphrates country and Assyria did not exist as an independent kingdom. But the state of things which meets us in later times, when the country received its culture from Assyria, and the latter was forced to subdue the mountain tribes unless it wished to become their prey, must have already existed in the preceding ages. Indeed, if we must assume that the territory of the later Median empire had been the seat of an organised administration even in the earlier Babylonian epoch, we may surmise that Armenia also had then become united in a certain degree, and had already abandoned its primitive tribal organisation under the influence of Babylonian civilisation. Armenia probably stood at that time in far closer relation to the Babylonian sphere of culture than Urartu later to Assyria, and was apparently on a higher stage of civilisation than two thousand years afterwards. We do not know what nations or what races then inhabited the mountains on which the Babylonian represents the ark of Khasisadra, his Noah, to have rested. But we may conjecture that the prosperity of Mesopotamian civilisation in its widest extent dates from a very early period, and that the last millennium, with which we are better acquainted, already marks a great decadence as compared with the height to which it attained in earlier times.

Armenia and Babylon

The first definite information as to the history of these countries is derived from the inscriptions of the kings of Assyria, from Tiglath-pileser I. onward. Shalmaneser I. had already made an advance into the country between the Euphrates and Tigris towards the highlands, and by planting Assyrian colonies there had formed a secure frontier for Mesopotamia. We may regard the nations which he subjugated there as " Hittites," as this whole advance was but a continuation of the expulsion of the Mitani. The struggle was, therefore, between Assyrian and Hittite nationalities.

The country to the east of this—that is, the region south of Lake Van—was called by the Assyrians the Nairi country. Tiglath-pileser had conducted three expeditions against it, making Mesopotamia his starting point, and advanced as far as the sources of the Tigris, where he carved his effigy and engraved an inscription at the natural tunnel near the source of the present Sebene-Su. The southern portion of the Nairi country, bounded on the south by the Tigris, was called Kirkhi. Khubushkia adjoins it on the east. We may include its inhabitants in the eastern Medo-Elamite group of nations, and may conjecture that the Hittites did not encroach on the district south of Lake Urumiya. The assumption that their migration as a whole took place from Europe is supported by their settlement to the south and west of Lake Van. A group advanced also to the east of the lake. The petty state of Musasir, which we find mentioned from the eighth to the ninth century, seems to have had a population of the " Urartean " Hittite group.

So far as we can trace the history of the countries now under consideration, they meet us first in a condition such as we might expect after a recent migration of uncivilised tribes. There were no large states ; if any such had previously existed, they had been destroyed by these or earlier immigrations. In the period after Tiglath-pileser I. the tribes which had advanced into these districts from the north naturally expanded, and destroyed the advantages, in any case not very important, which the Assyrians had gained. The districts which Shalmaneser I. had colonised were again seized by the advancing barbarian tribes. Ashurbanipal was therefore obliged to secure for Assyria this district, which was roughly bounded in the south by a line drawn from Amid to Malatia, and

Assyrian Colonies in Armenia

to reinforce the old Assyrian colonies. In the ninth century Shalmaneser II., when he advanced on Armenia, and, starting from the Nairi country, which had been subjugated by Ashurbanipal, marched towards the north, struck the territory of King Arame of Urartu, whose dominion comprised mainly the district north of Lake Van. He was attacked by Assyria on the west and south-east of the lake, on the southern frontier of his country, somewhere on the Arsanias in the year 857 B.C.

For some time very little is heard of Urartu, until, in 883 B.C., towards the end of Shalmaneser's reign, a new expedition to that country is mentioned, in which Siduri, king of Urartu, after crossing the Arsanias, is said to have been defeated. Two inscriptions of this Siduri have been found at the foot of the fortress of Van which record the erection of buildings by him. He styles himself in them Sarduri, son of Lutipri, king of Nairi. The inscriptions are composed in Assyrian, and even the titles of the king are copied from the contemporary Assyrian formulæ. Neither he nor any one of his successors styles himself king of Urartu — that was perhaps merely the designation adopted by the Assyrians from the name of the mother country. We may conclude from this state of things that the sovereignty of this Sarduri (I.) followed a revolution in Urartu. Since the royal title is not given to his father, and, on the other hand, another king is recorded to have preceded him in Urartu, his reign may imply the rise of a new tribe among the large number of newly immigrated peoples which were still living in Urartu under their tribal constitution. Sarduri is the ancestor of the royal family, under which an important empire was developed, the most recent of all the empires of Hittite origin In it for the last time Hittites opposed the Assyrian empire with success.

Kingdom of Urartu

The seat of this empire of Urartu was the district along Lake Van. With the exception of the southern shore, it stretched in an easterly direction as far as Musasir, the small state south-west of Lake Urumiya, and in a north-easterly direction right up to Lake Gok-cha, and was therefore watered by the Araxes. We can trace from Sarduri onward the succession of its kings, chiefly from their own inscriptions, up to the Aryan immigration. Urartu, the natural opponent of Assyria, thus came into contact with Babylonian culture. Assyrian influence strikes us at once in the character in which the kings of Urartu had their inscriptions written. While Sarduri I. had them written in Assyrian, his successors employed the vernacular, but in an alphabet which had been adapted, not from the Babylonian, but from the Assyrian form of writing. They were imitators of the Assyrians even in their titles. We know little of the new royal family or of its place of origin. We find in after times Tuspa, or Turuspa, in the district of Biaina, the modern Van, the capital of the empire. It does not appear to have been the original home of the royal family. A somewhat mutilated inscription seems to record that Biaina had a king of its own even under Ispuinis; in any case, we may regard him as an under-king or feudal lord of a district. We may conclude that the empire was formed by the subjugation of separate chiefs and princes, and that the kings were supported in the process by a strong dynastic, central power. By the annexation of the district of Biaina they came into possession of Tuspa. This district cannot have been subdued for the first time by Ispuinis. Sarduri I. had already built at Van.

Imitation of Assyria

The successor of Sarduri was Ispuinis, a contemporary of Shamshi-Adad, whose general, Mutarris-Ashur, encountered him on an expedition to Nairi. Thence the new empire was extended further towards the south—that is, into the regions which the Assyrians had traversed or seized. Ispuinis adopted his son Menuas as co-regent. Owing to this fact, most of the inscriptions of this time bear the names of both these rulers. As an example we may cite the inscription in the pass of Kelishin, a sort of boundary stone set up in the district taken from Assyria, recording the acquisition of the Biaina district and of Tuspa, which henceforth served as the capital. The successor of Menuas was Argistis I., who did most for the extension of the empire. He was contemporary with Shalmaneser III. and Ashur-dan in Assyria, and the numerous campaigns against Urartu under the former, in combination with the condition of the country at a later time, show that Assyria was obliged to act on the defensive against the attacks

Extensions into Assyria

of Argistis. Records of victories by Argistis were recorded in eight large panels upon the rocks of the fortress at Van—the longest Urartean inscription which we possess. They contain a report of successes against Assyria, and of a conquest of those regions which the Assyrians designated as the Nairi country.

Urartu Supports the Rebels

There is a further mention of places as far distant as Melitene—that is, of districts which had already stood in the fixed relation of vassals to Assyria. During the period anterior to Tiglath-pileser IV., Sarduri II., the son of Argistis, who encroached further towards Syria, was the support of all the states in the east and west which attempted to revolt from Assyria. While he extended his influence as far as Arpad, he drove Urartu out of Syria and finally attacked that country itself. Even if this denotes an actual decline of the political power of Urartu and of all the kindred nations which leant upon it, yet, regarded from an ethnological standpoint, the result of the Urartean advance must be noted as an expansion of the kindred tribes and a retrogression of the Semitic population in the countries farthest to the north. The districts between the Upper Tigris and the Euphrates, which Shalmaneser I. had occupied with Assyrian colonists, were once more lost, and their Assyrian population was dispersed, until under Esarhaddon we find that a final attempt was made to reoccupy them with Assyrians.

In Sargon's reign, his successor, Rusas I., attempted a new attempt on Assyria, where the revolution and the change of kings in 722 B.C. seemed to furnish him with a favourable opportunity. But he, too, failed, and in despair he committed suicide in 714 B.C. The power of Urartu was broken by his overthrow. At the same time, under Argistis II., an attack was made from the north by Aryans.

Urartu's Power Broken

The reports of Assyrian governors on the northern frontier in the period between 710 and 705 B.C. announce that heavy defeats were inflicted on Urartu by the Aryan tribes. These wild incomers lived for a time on the borders of Urartu and within its territory until, pushed forward by their neighbours on the east, the Ashkuza, and by other tribes which were pressing on, they moved further westward and overran the whole of Asia Minor. This took place between 670 and 660 B.C., under one of the successors of Argistis II.; that is to say, under Rusas II., Erimenas, or Rusas III.

Only one episode in the period of Rusas III., the contemporary of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal, is recorded in detail. In the year 674 B.C. Esarhaddon records an expedition which he undertook against the country of Shupria in order to subdue a chief, without doubt of Urartean stock. The latter, calculating already on the confusion caused by the advance of the Cimmerians, had attempted in the universal disorder to found an independent state of his own. He was aided by fugitives both from Assyria and Urartu, whom he assiduously attracted to his country. All the demands of Esarhaddon and of Rusas that he should surrender their subjects were rejected, so that Esarhaddon finally found himself compelled to take measures against him. Once more the fortresses of the country were occupied by Assyrian colonists, in order to form an Assyrian province. We must no longer regard these colonists as

Urartu Joins Assyria

forming an actual Assyrian population, but rather as consisting of foreigners who were transplanted thither from other conquered districts. A very few years afterwards, in 668 or 667 B.C., the same chief —or another of the same country—in conjunction with the Cimmerians, attempted a sudden attack on the new province, but was killed in doing so. It is noteworthy throughout the whole affair how Assyria and Urartu were for once brought together by a common peril.

The last king of Urartu was probably Sarduri III., who voluntarily submitted to Ashurbanipal in order to obtain assistance from him against the Aryan tribes.

We do not know whether before this an Aryan chief had raised himself to the throne of the Urartean empire, or whether the empire was only ended by the Medes. It we reflect, however, on the development of the power of the Ashkuza in the interval, we can hardly assume that these allies of Assyria had not already established themselves firmly in this region. The whole population began to blend with the Aryan immigrants, and the Armenian people thus came into existence.

HUGO WINCKLER
LEONARD W. KING

ANCIENT ASIA MINOR

ITS HISTORY BEFORE THE PERSIAN CONQUEST

THE great peninsula projecting from the Asiatic continent towards the west has been called Asia Minor (ἡ μικρὰ Ἀσία) since ancient times. It is divided from Syria and Mesopotamia on the south and the south-east by the Taurus range and its north-western continuation, the Anti-taurus. On the north-east the range of the Paryadres, which follows the south shore of the Black Sea, and on the east the whole Armenian highlands along the upper course of the Euphrates, separate it from the Caucasus region. On the north the boundary is the Black Sea, on the west the Ægean. For the most part, Asia Minor consists of a large elevated plateau, stretching from the Taurus Mountains to the mountains running along the southern coast of the Black Sea. Only in the west there extend fertile, well-watered plains between the deeply-indented seaboard, full of bays and harbours, and the various ranges on the coast, which form, as it were, the passage to the tableland. In the north the coast of Asia Minor approaches within a few miles of Europe, from which it is separated only by the narrow straits of the Bosphorus and the Hellespont, while further southward the numerous islands of every size form a sort of bridge across to Hellas. In fact, from one point of view, the Ægean coast and islands of Asia Minor really form part of Hellas, from which they nowise differ in geographical features or in population. Thus Asia Minor forms a connecting-link between Asia and Europe, and is influenced by both in its historical development; but as geographically it does not form a perfect unit, it has never attained political or national independence.

Features of the Country

We meet here from the very first a large number of different tribes. The Mæonians and Lydians dwelt in the country watered by the Hermus; they were bounded on the south first by the Carians and then by the Lycians. In the gorges and valleys of the western Taurus and its spurs lived the Milyæ, Solymi, and especially the Pisidians and Isaurians. The Cilicians possessed the main range of these mountains with the southern ridges, while Cappadocians and Lycaonians had occupied the tableland northward of the Taurus. Notwithstanding our extremely scanty knowledge of the earliest times, we can notice some shifting of population in this medley of peoples. Thus the name of the Cappadocians and Cappadocia occurs first in the Persian era; before that time these regions as far as the Taurus were held by Tibareni and Moschi, whom we rediscover later as small tribes in the mountains on the coast of Pontus, and still earlier the Kheta, or Hittites, had descended hence into Northern Syria. But, taken all in all, these nations always inhabited the same territory and stand out in sharp contrast to the Thracian and Greek tribes, who are known to have been immigrants. They must therefore be reckoned as autochthonous. The close relationship between the tribes is proved most conclusively by similarity in language. In the whole district inhabited by them there are very numerous names of places ending in "ssos" and "nda"—Termessos, Sagalassos; Œnoanda, Laranda—and many names of persons agreeing in roots and endings.

The Asia Minor Peoples

Formerly attempts were made to assign the nations in Asia Minor partly to the Semitic and partly to the Aryan stock, but the conviction has gradually gained ground that in dealing with the inhabitants of Asia Minor we have to deal with a distinct race. The peoples of Inner Asia Minor were probably distinct in race and language from the inhabitants of the west and south coasts, who were no doubt of the dolichocephalic

Non-Semitic and Non-Aryan

"Mediterranean" type of Sergi, like the earliest Greeks, Italians, and Egyptians, while the peoples of the inner highlands seem to have been brachycephalic, like the modern Kurds. As these "autochthonous" inhabitants were peculiar in race, so also their religious ideas bear a characteristic stamp of their own.

Characteristic of many tribes in Asia Minor is the worship of the great Mother of the Gods, Ma, or Ammas, a nature goddess, who has her seat on the mountain-tops and takes many titles from them, such as Dindymene, Idaia, Sipylene, Cybele; from her proceed all growth and decay in nature, as well as all civilisation. She is the protectress of city walls and gates, and wears, therefore, the mural crown. In her honour feasts were celebrated with wild revelry, with dance and crashing music, and in her service priests gashed their bodies, and maidens prostituted themselves. In the great centres of the worship of the Mother of the Gods there were numerous priests and an equal number of sacred slaves.

THE MOTHER GODDESS OF ASIA MINOR
The worship of Ma, the Mother of the Gods, was characteristic of many of the tribes of ancient Asia Minor. This picture is from a rock-hewn relief in Cappadocia.

Peculiar also to this entire district are the colossal rock-hewn reliefs, which agree in style, as well as in the fact that the figures thereon represented wear mostly the same costume—namely, a high-peaked cap, short tunic, and high-pointed boots. They are found spread over a region extending from the north slopes of the Taurus and the Pisidian lakes to the Halys on the one side and as far as the Ægean Sea on the other side. The figure carved in the living rock near Smyrna, representing a warrior with spear and bow, was famous even in antiquity, and was ascribed to Sesostris [see page 1719]. At the present day in Boghaz-Köi and the neighbouring Öyuk, on the right bank of the Halys, directly south of Sinope, and east of Ancyra, in a district called Pteria in antiquity, the remains of old city walls and the foundations of large palaces have been discovered, clearly the centre of an ancient civilisation [see page 1725]. In Boghaz-Köi, outside the walls, an almost rectangular courtyard was cut in the rocks, the walls of which are covered with reliefs. In one place a long procession of men is on the march; in another place our attention is fixed on a group of seven gods, who stand not on the ground, but on beasts or the tops of mountains, or, in one case, on the necks of two men. The costume which we described above belongs to these figures, too; but, unfortunately, up till now the hieroglyphic signs accompanying the figures have not been deciphered. It has long been recognised that these monuments, both in style and in the manner of inscription, are very closely connected with those which have been discovered in North Syria; and we are now justified in regarding them as relics of a Hittite domination.

In contrast to Hittite peoples, which may be called the peoples of Asia Minor in the proper sense, since as far as our knowledge goes they were always settled there, we find in the north-west and on the entire west coast such tribes as evidently were not indigenous to Asia Minor. To these belong, in the first place, the Aryan Thracian tribes, who crossed from their European mother country over the Bosphorus and Hellespont and pressed on from the regions which skirt these straits gradually eastward. This immigration did not certainly take place at any one time; in the course of a long period new bands kept coming into Asia Minor from Thrace, driven either by the scarcity of food, resulting from

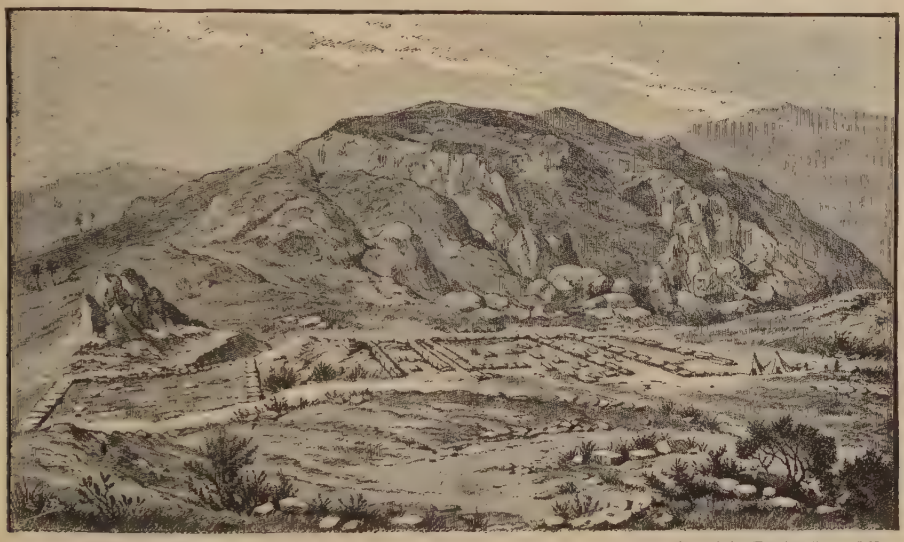
over-population, or by the onward pressure of tribes from the north and west.

The Thracians, Phrygians, and Mysians seem to have been racially Slavs. The name of the Phrygian supreme god Bagaios—also called Papas, or "father"—is nothing but the Slav *bogu*, "god." The Thracian Zalmoxis or Zamolxis, mentioned by Herodotus, is an earth-god whose name is the same as the Slav word *zemlya*, "earth," which again occurs in the name of the Thracian goddess Semelé. Men, the moon-god, is Aryan enough also, and so, no doubt, is Osogo, another Phrygian deity.

The worship of Sabazius was universal among the Thracians of Europe and Asia Minor. He is familiar to us in the Greek form of Dionysus, a divinity who rules all animate nature. He was represented as awake in summer and asleep in winter: and, accordingly, the awakening of life in spring was celebrated with orgiastic feasts, while the death of Nature was deplored with wild grief. Many ill-directed speculations have credited this deity with Semitic characteristics, and he is supposed often to have been of Phœnician origin. As a matter of fact, however, there is nothing whatever that is Semitic about Dionysus; and it is very evident that he was an Aryan deity of Nature, of Nature's gift of grapes and wine, and of the divine drunkenness which results from its consumption.

We may also venture to point out that the method of burial in large earthen mounds, or barrows, seems to have been customary on both shores of the Propontis. From the exploration of such barrows the astonishing fact has been brought to light that their construction is identical. They consist of several layers—beds of ashes and burnt earth, containing earthen vessels, animal bones and sherds alternating with thick strata of earth and broken stone. This method of interment agrees with that which Herodotus describes as Thracian.

The later Trojans, who inhabited the country along the Propontis on the north slopes of the Ida range, belong to this Phrygo-Thracian group. If the different layers or towns discovered by Schliemann at Troy really belong to one and the same population, they must have immigrated at a very early epoch, probably as early as 3000 B.C. But it is more probable that the Trojans of the first six cities of Troy were of the ancient "Mediterranean" stock of the Ægean, like the Minoan Cretans. The Trojans, though they hardly appear elsewhere in history, are familiar to everyone through the Homeric poems, in which their long war with the Greeks and the final destruction of their city are told. Even if the fact itself cannot be disputed that a splendid capital was destroyed by Agamemnon, king of Mycenæ, and his followers, yet it is an



"Passing of the Empires," S.P.C.K.

A CENTRE OF CIVILISATION IN ANCIENT ASIA MINOR

Remains of the city of Pteria, in Cappadocia. The ruins of the city walls and palace foundations can be clearly seen.

isolated event, which can hardly be brought into a strict historical connection; except in so far as the Egyptian records show us that during the "Mycenæan" period the tribes of the Ægean were in a state of great restlessness, and that tribes of Mysians, Lycians, and Achaians even crossed the sea to attack Egypt.

Siege of Troy

The legend of the siege of Troy may well enshrine some real expedition of this kind undertaken by a Mycenæan confederacy against the people of Troy.

According as the main body of the Greek emigrants came from Northern, Central, or Southern Greece, the more northern or the more southern regions of the coast of Asia Minor were their goal. Gradually, after centuries of struggles, the land was won from the aboriginal inhabitants. At last flourishing and powerful communities were formed out of what were certainly small settlements at first.

The process of colonisation probably had begun even in the Mycenæan period. The name Yevanna has been supposed to be given on the Egyptian monuments to some auxiliaries of the Kheta (the Egyptian name for the Hittites); and it has been concluded that this name is identical with that of the Ionians. But there is no proof that real Greeks existed in Greece in the thirteenth century B.C., so that we should hardly expect to find Ionians mentioned then; but Ionian art shows so strongly a survival of Mycenæan tradition that we may well place the Ionian immigration at the end of that period, about the eleventh century B.C. The chief goal of the emigrants from Northern Greece was the island of Lesbos, from which the Teuthranian and Lydian coast was colonised. Pitane, Elaia, Grynion, Myrina, Kyme, Aigai, Temnos, and Smyrna on the southern, and Magnesia on the northern, foot of Mount Sipylos are Greek towns.

Immigrants from Greece

The inhabitants of all this district regarded themselves as belonging to one stock, and called themselves Æolians. Different races from Central Greece occupied the Lydian and Carian coast from the mouth of the Hermus to the peninsula of Miletus, and here the name "Ionians" was fixed upon the Greek settlers, who entered into a close alliance, and became a united state with its religious centre at Panionion, where Poseidon was worshipped. The most advanced post towards the west was Magnesia on the Mæander. Later in point of time was the settlement of the Dorians, who pressed forward from Crete and the Southern Cyclades, which they had previously occupied, to the two great island outposts of Asia Minor, Cos and Rhodes, and then to the widely jutting promontories of the mainland itself, Cnidos and Halicarnassus. The league of these Dorian towns had its religious centre in the sanctuary of the Triopian Apollo.

The oldest historical information as to Asia Minor is to be found in the Egyptian monuments, and dates back to the time of the twelfth dynasty, about 2000 B.C., when we find the first mention of the Kheta, or Hittites. Then we hear of an invasion of Mesopotamia by the Khatti, who are the same people. They took Babylon in the reign of Samsuditana, and probably it was by their agency that the dynasty of Hammurabi came to an end. This was, however, merely a raid. In Egyptian monuments of the eighteenth dynasty we find various mentions of the coasts and peoples of Asia Minor. Then, in the Tell el-Amarna period, about 1400 B.C., we discover in the country afterwards called Commagene or Cappadocia the Kheta, who pressed victoriously southward and planted themselves firmly in North Syria. Ramses II., king of Egypt, waged a long and bitterly contested war against them, and in the end the kingdom of the Kheta won recognition as a sovereign power. But this kingdom, which held its own against the Pharaohs, and extended northward and southward into the upper valley of the Orontes, soon broke up into many small states, several of which were traceable in North Syria as late as the eighth century, and were subjugated only by the Assyrians. When the Kheta fought against Ramses II. they were allied with the "Princes of all Lands," who marched to their aid with troops: thus we come to hear of the nations of the Lukki, Dardeni, Masa, Ariunna, Pidasa, and Kalakisha, of whom we may take the Lukki to be Lycians; the Dardeni, Dardani; Ariunna, Oroanda; the Kalakisha, probably Cilicians; the Masa, Mysians; and the Pidasa, either Pisidians or Leleges—whose capital was Pedasa. Under the Pharaoh Meneptah, soon

Egyptian History of Asia Minor

after 1250 B.C., there appeared on the west frontier of Pharaoh's kingdom, together with the Libyans, certain "nations from the countries of the Sea," and these were annihilated in a bloody battle there. Besides the Lukki, who are already known to us, the Akaiwasha or Achaians, the Turusha or Tyrrhenes of Asia Minor or Tylissians of Crete (?), the Shardana or Sardinians from the island of Sardinia (?), and Shakalesha, or Sagalassians, took part in this expedition. It is to be noted that Professor Petrie's theory, according to which these tribes were not Greeks or Heliens but Kabyles from the north coast of Africa, is not generally accepted. Under Ramses III., about 1200 B.C., the like incidents recurred. Partly in large, open rowing-boats by sea, partly in ox-waggons overland through Syria, came an expedition of the Pulesti, Zakkara, Shakalesha, Danona, and Uashasha, who were likewise annihilated on land and sea. Of the two last-mentioned groups, the Akaiwasha, Danona, and possibly the Shardana, were not natives of Asia Minor; of the others, the Lukki, Lycians, and the Shakalesha certainly were such, and so, possibly, were the Turusha, while the Pulesti, who are the Philistines of the Bible, the Uashasha, and the Zakkara were probably Cretans.

All tradition points to the Cretan origin of the Philistines, whose first settlement in Palestine probably occurred at this time; while the name of the Uashasha was probably preserved in the name of the city of Axos, and that of the Zakkara quite possibly still survives in that of the modern village of Zakro. The peculiar terminations, -sha and -na, of many of their names are no bar to these identifications; they have been satisfactorily explained as ethnic terminations, -äzi and -ñna in Lycian. It is thus evident that most of these names, whether belonging to peoples of Asia Minor or not, came to the Egyptians through the medium of a language of Asia Minor which was known to them, probably Hittite. The felt helmet, adorned with feathers, which was worn by some of them—a dress which Herodotus ascribes to the Lycians—proves not only their intimate connection with each other, but also their connection with the peoples of South-west Asia Minor.

'Passing of the Empires,' S.P.C.K.

THE RUDE ART OF THE EARLY PEOPLES OF ASIA MINOR
A rock-hewn relief in a ravine in Pteria, showing a procession of priests and votaries.

The enterprise of the Hittites in making conquests outside the borders of the peninsula and founding a kingdom there, gave the example to the people of Asia Minor. All the kingdoms which were established on this model were restricted to the more or less limited confines of the peninsula itself. It was only Mithradates the Great who united with his ancestral kingdom a great part of the north coast of the Black Sea. The attacks made by the "maritime nations," the Lukki and their allies, on Egypt were almost typical of the whole south-west coast of Asia Minor, where Carians, Pisidians, and Cilicians were for centuries notorious for piracy and privateering, even though we hear nothing further of the

THE DESTRUCTION OF TROY BY AGAMEMNON OF MYCENÆ

Though the Trojans are familiar through the Homeric poems they do not play an important part in history, and the account of the siege of Troy is a legend based on a Mycenæan tribal expedition. From the picture by Pierre Cornelius at Munich.

great allied expeditions against Egypt, which the threatened land resisted effectively only by calling out all its forces.

In earlier times no country on the peninsula of Asia Minor played so prominent a part as Lydia, though it is true that in the legends Phrygia and her kings also enjoyed a certain prominence. In Phrygia a Midas and a Gordius reigned alternately, agriculture was early practised, and ants are said to have carried grains of wheat into the mouth of the child Midas, and thus to have foretold his future wealth; and, consequently, his wealth is represented as the fruit of tillage. This close connection of the Phrygian kings with agriculture finds its expression in the story that the deity of the country, Lityerses, who competes with the reapers and scourges the idlers, is given to Midas as a son; Midas is said also to have discovered the flutes used in the worship of the Mother of Gods, whose introduction into Phrygia is referred back to him, since the Phrygians, like all Thracians, particularly loved and eagerly practised music. But real historical knowledge of them is absolutely non-existent. It is only after the rise of the Lydian kingdom that the sources begin to well up more copiously and more clearly; then first we stand on more or less certain historical ground.

Midas of Phrygia

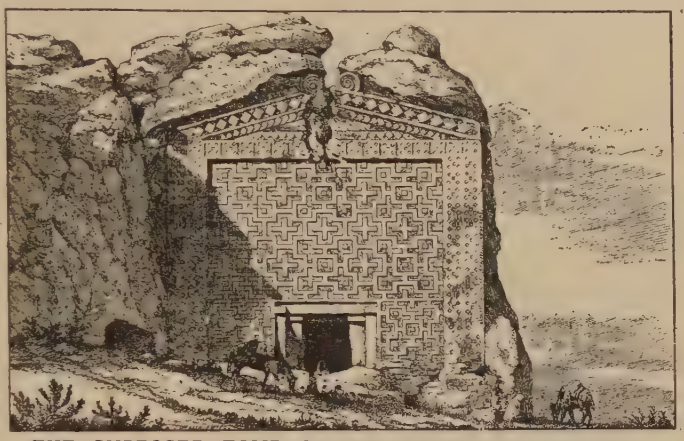
Like the Phrygians, the ruling race, at any rate in Lydia, was of Thracian, and so of Aryan origin. The first royal house ruling over Lydia, the Atyadæ, is quite mythical. Then follow kings of the race of the Heraclidæ, and of these we know little more than that they are supposed to have reigned 505 years. During the century immediately preceding their fall the names of five or six kings have come down to us—that is, Alyattes, Kadys, Ardys, Meles, Myrsos, and Kandaules. The last name meant in Lydian, or Mæonian, "Dog-strangler."

More important than these names and the stories of the murder of the one and of the succession of the other, is the fact that Lydia at this time, as also later, was a feudal state, and that under the sovereigns numerous lords ruled in the country, who were the owners of the soil to whom the country population stood in the position of serfs. And since it is expressly told us that one of these lords was conceded immunity from taxation for his district as a reward for his co-operation in raising Ardys to the throne, we may reasonably conclude from this that the other lords had to pay tribute. Besides this, they had not all the same rank; one of them stood next to the king and was also regent in case of the death or disability of the king, and usually held an office like that of the Frankish mayor of the palace, while some others composed a sort of court under the official title of "Friends of the King."

Lydia a Feudal State

In the highly-coloured romances of Lydian history which have come down to us through the Greeks, traders often appear, together with innkeepers; and

the Lydians are spoken of as the first people who coined money and who were retail merchants and pedlars. Since they were cut off from the coast by the Greek towns, their trade was an overland trade. From Sardis the wares of the East reached the sea, passing through the hands of the Greeks. An important industry grew up in Lydia at an early date. Skilfully-wrought fabrics and brilliantly-coloured garments were made on the looms of the weavers and in the dyers' shops, and all sorts of ornaments were found in the workshops of the goldsmiths and silversmiths. In Sardis, and even in the other towns, which were of small importance as compared with the capital, there resided a trading and manufacturing population about whose political rights we have no special information. They could be summoned by the king, under exceptional circumstances, to a popular assembly and be asked for their opinion.



THE SUPPOSED TOMB OF MIDAS, KING OF PHRYGIA
A striking monument associated with the name of a king whose history is largely mythical. The "tomb" is cut in the solid rock and is about 25 feet high.

It is worthy of notice that King Ardys is renowned for the care he devoted to the army. He is said to have raised his cavalry forces to 30,000 men, and in later times the Lydian cavalry proved formidable to their foes. A new era in the history of Lydia opens with Gyges.

TUMULUS OF ALYATTES, KING OF LYDIA
Illustrating the ancient method of burial in large mounds made up of layers of ashes, earth, and stone. Alyattes was one of the greatest kings of Lydia, and freed Asia Minor from the Cimmerians.

According to the legends handed down from antiquity, Gyges was originally either a royal spearman, like Artaxerxes, the first Sassanid, or a shepherd, like King David; this thoroughly corresponds to the ideas of the Eastern nations, who like to raise the ancestors of the kingly families from the dust to the highest human power. In reality he sprang from the lordly race of the Mermnadæ, a powerful family in the country. His father, Daskylos, lived in voluntary exile at Sinope. Thence Gyges, at the age of eighteen, was recalled to the court at Sardis, and soon, as the recognised favourite of the king, was nominated his mayor of the palace. By a court revolution, in which the last Kandaules met his death, Gyges won the hand of the royal widow, and with it the crown, and defended it successfully in battle in 687 B.C. With Gyges begins a new policy of the Lydian kings—a policy of conquests, of which the Greek coast towns were the ultimate object. While the towns of Æolis, with the exception of Mitylene, were agricultural towns and had attained no importance, the Ionian towns, thanks to the fertility of their territory, the excellence of their position, and the activity of their citizens, had developed into important centres of trade and industry. Through their close trade connection with the Phœnicians and the Lydians, who, as we have seen, were in control of the overland trade with the East, they became emporiums for Oriental wares, which they sent on further west, together with the products of their own labour. Gyges now attacked these Ionian towns. While Miletus and Smyrna warded off his attack, and the spearmen of Smyrna actually overcame the Lydian cavalry, Colophon, which was renowned for its great riches, was subdued. Even the

RUINS OF SARDIS, THE CAPITAL OF ANCIENT LYDIA
In early times no country played so prominent a part in Asia Minor as the kingdom of Lydia.

King Mita, dreading their approach, killed himself, the legend says, by drinking bull's blood. Sinope was next assailed. In a little time the territories conquered marched with the territories of the Assyrian king, who had advanced his frontiers to the Halys. On the banks of the Halys was fought the great battle which turned back the tide of Cimmerian invasion from the borders of Assyria. In this contest against the "Gimirrai," as the Assyrians called them, King Esarhaddon won a complete victory and secured the safety of his dominions from the barbarian onset in 679 B.C. The invaders, repulsed from the east, then turned on Lydia. Gyges in terror implored the aid of the Assyrians. The aid was promised on condition that Gyges would do homage to the Assyrian monarch and acknowledge his suzerainty. The Cimmerians and Thracians were repulsed, the Assyrians having abstained from lending any other aid

Cimmerian Invasion of Lydia

Troad came under Lydian domination. Gyges showed his successors the way, but he did not himself proceed to further attempts in this direction.

When the great tide of Scythian invasion swept from Asia over the great Russian plain, it bore down upon the northern shores of the Black Sea, where the people known as the Cimmerians dwelt. These people were closely allied to the Thracians. To Thrace naturally they turned their steps, flying from the terrible Scythian invaders. Their kinsmen in Thrace made common cause with them. The allied forces crossed to Asia, as many Thracian tribes had previously done, and the descendants of these Thracian Tribes in Asia Minor joined them and shared their conquests. In Bithynia and in the Troad these Asiatic Thracians had settled. The united forces of Cimmerians and Thracians marched on Phrygia. King Midas, who is mentioned by the Assyrians as

MYTELENE, OR LESBOS, CHIEF CENTRE OF THE GREEK IMMIGRANTS

than their prayers, so Gyges repudiated the suzerainty in 660 B.C. He was then abandoned to his fate by his former allies. Psammetichus of Egypt, to whom he had sent help to throw off the yoke of Assyria, could not assist him. The storm soon burst upon his kingdom. This time the barbarians met with little opposition. Gyges fell in battle. His capital, Sardis, surrendered. The hordes of invaders were let loose upon the Greek settlements. Ionia was overrun, Magnesia was destroyed, and the temple of Artemis at Ephesus was burnt, while towns on all sides were given up to plunder and devastation. "It was a raid and not a subjugation of the towns," says Herodotus, and his words are true in so far as they apply to the conduct of the invaders after the conquest of Lydia; but the Lydian war itself was in no way a raid, but a regular struggle between organised powers. Besides, the occupation of the northern and eastern territories of Lydia was permanent. King followed king, no doubt, on the Lydian throne. To Gyges succeeded his son Ardys; to him in turn his son Sadyattes. But the Cimmerians held firm hold of their conquests through these two reigns. It was only during the reign of Alyattes, the successor of Sadyattes, that Lydia finally expelled the Cimmerians.

Cimmerians Overrun Lydia

Alyattes freed Lydia and all Asia Minor from the bondage which the barbarians had imposed. Whether the Cimmerians wandered back to their old homes or sank into servitude in Lydia or were allowed to blend with the inhabitants no one can now say. But with the liberation of Lydia by Alyattes their career as a conquering nation closes, and as such history knows them no more. Nor was this great work the only service which Lydia owed to Alyattes. The son and the grandson of Gyges, Ardys and Sadyattes, had now and then turned their arms against the Ionian towns, and in turn had besieged Miletus in vain. But Alyattes went to war in grim earnest. For years a struggle went on between the sea city and the military kingdom, until at last, wearied of the strife, both parties willingly made peace and sealed it with a treaty of alliance. The Lydians now destroyed Smyrna and held the coast at three important points. Eastward the course of Alyattes was barred. Assyrian influence reached up to the Halys until the Medes and Babylonians divided between them the great empire of Nineveh, which had fallen asunder.

IONIAN CARVING, SHOWING CIMMERIAN HORSE AND FOOT SOLDIERS

In the seventh century B.C. Cimmerians overran Lydia, and occupied it for two reigns, until Alyattes freed all Asia Minor from their bondage. This is reproduced from "The Passing of the Empires," S.P.C.K.

Eastern Asia Minor then fell to the Medes. Their power grew, and, under Cyaxares, threatened Lydia. War broke out and lasted for many years. Peace came in a very remarkable manner. On May 28th, 585 B.C., while a battle was actually raging there took place a total eclipse of the sun, which Thales of Miletus had foretold. Struck with religious alarm, both sides sued for peace. The rulers of Babylon and Cilicia were appealed to as mediators. The son of Cyaxares and the daughter of Alyattes were united in marriage, and all danger from the Medes was now averted from Lydia. Freed from all anxiety on the eastern borders, Alyattes was able to devote his attention in part to the internal organisation of his kingdom and to preparation for wars of aggression, which seemed to him inevitable wars of

A Peace Due to an Eclipse

self-defence, for between the Ionian cities and the Lydian kingdom durable peace was, he believed, impossible. Accordingly Alyattes made up his mind to determine once and for all which power would be supreme in Asia Minor. In the result Lydia emerged victorious and Alyattes was able to hand on to his son the sceptre of a great and flourishing kingdom. Under Crœsus, who succeeded Alyattes, Lydia reached the most splendid and powerful position. He conquered Ephesus, imposed tribute upon the remaining Greek cities which had not been subjugated by his predecessors, incorporated Phrygia, after the death of the last king, Gordius, into his kingdom, and exercised the supremacy over Bithynia. All too soon misfortunes burst on him. In the year 553 the Persian, Cyrus, revolted against the Median king, Astyages, and made himself Great King in his place. Partly to avenge the fall of his brother-in-law, partly to prevent the dangers threatening him from Persian ambition, Crœsus negotiated an alliance with Nabonidus, king of Babylon, and the Pharaoh Amasis. He invaded Cappadocia with a strong army, but was compelled by Cyrus to retreat across the Halys, completely defeated in the valley of the Hermus and besieged in the acropolis of Sardis. This last place of refuge was taken by treachery, and Crœsus fell into the hands of the victor in 546 B.C., henceforward to occupy the post of Mentor at his court. Thus Lydia became Persian.

Crœsus, King of Lydia

The greater number of Greek cities in Asia Minor had been first brought under the Lydian supremacy by Crœsus, but in spite of their being dependent and tributary, they had been kindly treated by the king, who was a friend to the Greeks. Miletus still enjoyed benefits of the treaty of friendship and alliance concluded with Alyattes. Taken all in all, this was a time of great prosperity. The Ionian cities now begin to send out colonies and found factories. Miletus founded Abydos and Cyzicus on the Hellespont, stages for the journeys to the Black Sea, on the shores of which Milesian colonies soon sprang up everywhere. The grain of the South Russian coast and the hinterland, and the costly skins of wild beasts, the timber and precious metals from the southern coasts of the Black Sea—of all these precious commodities the Milesians knew how to obtain control in order to establish a prosperous trade.

The Greek Cities

By the side of Miletus the other towns sink into insignificance. Yet Phokaia is worthy of mention, because in the founding of Lampsacus it was actuated by the importance of the passage of the Bosphorus for trade. Towards the south also brisk trade relations with Egypt existed at this time. King Amasis actually conceded the town of Naukratis as an emporium to the Greeks, and allowed them to live there with their own civic rights. This activity in trade was paralleled by a lively activity in the intellectual sphere. Marble was here first worked artistically and the foundation laid for the great development of Greek sculpture. Bronze was first artistically worked again in Samos, and it was in Ionia that the first Greek vases of the early Renascence, after the downfall of Mycenæan culture, were painted. Lyric poetry was perfected, and here arose the first philosophers, who systematised the result of their speculations. But there was a dark side also to this bright picture. The artistic development and the great wealth of the Ionians led to the practice of an unbridled luxury, which was a by-word among the continental Greeks, who tell us of the haughty Ionians, trailing their long and gorgeous robes on the ground as they walked, and priding themselves on their long hair, which they wore braided up on their heads with gold, like women. And the Ionians were as quarrelsome as they were proud. The many struggles and wars between separate cities had their counterpart in long and violent party struggles in the communities. The original form of government, a monarchy, had been changed to an oligarchy, composed of the nobility. The citizens, becoming conscious of their power through industry and prosperity, began to struggle for political equality and for a share in the municipal government. These struggles did not, indeed, always lead to the establishment of a democracy, and often an individual forced his way into power. Such men, whom we come across in many cities of Asia Minor, were called by the Greeks Tyrants.

Ionian Art and Culture

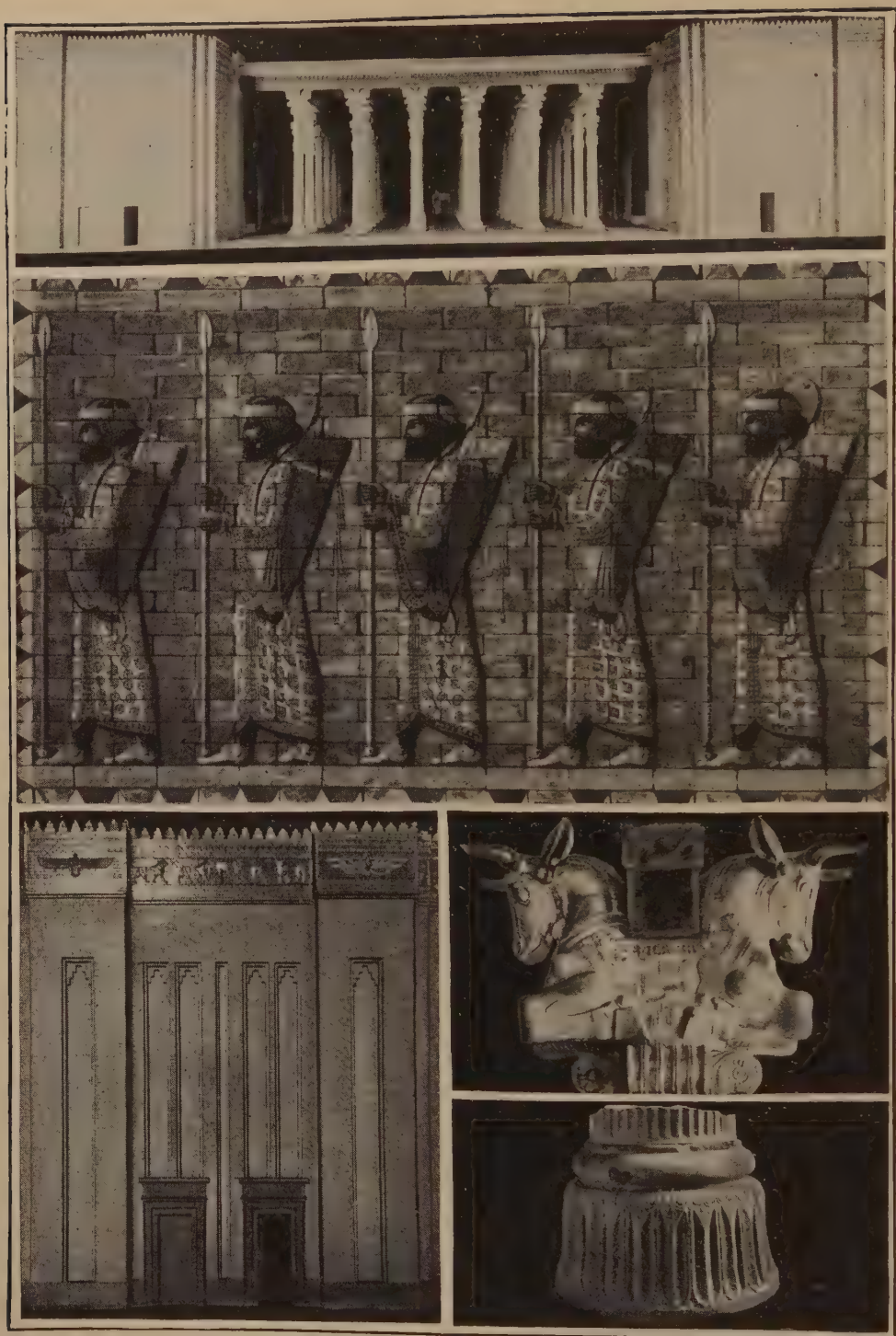
The same spectacle was repeated when the Persian danger threatened. The

THE ART AND CULTURE OF ANCIENT ASIA MINOR ILLUSTRATED

The Lydians were, perhaps, the first coiners of money. Of those illustrated 6 and 7 are the earliest known coins in the world; these and 2, 3, and 5 are of electrum, 4 is gold. The pottery is Lycian (1) and Carian (8). The bas-relief (9) shows Lydian horsemen. Beneath this are specimens of early jeweller's work, a serpentine mould (10) and trinkets of a more advanced period (11 and 12). The worship of Cybele, the nature goddess of Lydia, is shown in 13.

Æolians and Ionians, it is true, united at first in order to submit to Cyrus on the same conditions as formerly they submitted to the Lydian kings. But Miletus had stood aloof and had been able by timely measures to maintain the privileged position which she had formerly held under the Mermnadæ. Cyrus rejected the proffered terms. The Greek cities turned in a body to Sparta for help and prepared to offer a determined resistance. Sparta declined to help them, and we hear nothing further of common action and common resistance. After Priene and Magnesia on the Mæander, which had rendered help in the ill-starred revolt of the Lydians under Paktyas, had been conquered and severely punished, the remaining states were subdued one by one. Thus the whole Greek coast—the Dorian cities surrendered mostly without resistance—became subject to Persia, and was forced not only to pay tribute, but to furnish soldiers and obey the Tyrants appointed by the great king. When Caria and Lydia had been conquered the whole of Asia Minor belonged to the Persian kingdom. Of the islands, Chios and Lesbos submitted; Samos, where the famous Polykrates was tyrant, was to be conquered later. Cilicia retained its own rulers, but owned the suzerainty of Persia.

K. G. Brandis
H. R. Hall



PALACE OF DARIUS AT SUSA, THE FIRST CAPITAL OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE

The famous palace of Darius at Susa is illustrated here from the beautiful reconstruction in the Louvre. The top picture shows the audience-hall, or Apadana, of Darius, and is noteworthy for the free use of pillars, the distinctive feature of Persian buildings. The capital and base of one of these columns are shown at the bottom from the actual originals. The beautiful workmanship of the enamelled tiles which covered the walls of the palace is well shown in the reproduction in the middle of the page. The remaining picture is of the pavilion of the throne-room of Darius's palace.

MEDIA AND THE PERSIANS

THE MEDES BEFORE THE PERSIANS

THE old Babylonian inscriptions furnish as little information for the most ancient periods of Median history as they did for that of Armenia. The earliest name for the country appears, from the inscriptions, to have been Anzan. The rulers of Lagash record wars with Anzan, and a governor of Dur-ilu announces a victory over the hordes of Anzan. It is not possible to ascertain its eastern frontier, while on the north we may make it extend round Elam. Inscriptions in the old Babylonian language in the Zagros indicate that Babylonian influence prevailed there in the country of the Lulumæans in the very earliest times; and incidental allusions by the Assyrian kings prove that Babylonia once exercised, even politically, a more widely extended influence there than ever Assyria did in later times. Towns are incidentally mentioned as old Babylonian foundations. The Assyrians had a province of Arpakh, in the district watered by the tributaries of the Adhem, and it is possible that some traditions point to the former existence of an empire of the same name, but no certain conclusion can be arrived at on this point.

The population is clearly connected with that of Elam. This Medo-Elamite group, the eastern branches of which are lost in the darkness of Central Asia, encountered to the south of Lake Urumiya the Urartu-Hittite group, whose most westerly representatives we found in Khubushkia. We do not find that any considerable states were formed here in the Assyrian period, of which we are tolerably well informed. We meet everywhere petty states, such as Parsua, on the eastern shore of Lake Urumiya. Towards the north-east the country is bounded by the "salt desert." Thence poured in the hordes of Central Asia, for whom the Babylonians had the collective name of Umman-manda, or Manda hordes. This term, of course, does not convey the idea of a definite race, but merely that of their uncivilised condition. There were certainly among the Umman-manda, who are referred to during widely different periods of Babylonian history, representatives of heterogeneous races, amongst them the very peoples whom we find in possession of Media. Thus at a later period the Aryan Medes and Persians bore this designation. Since no great states were formed here, or rather, since no facts have yet been ascertained as to the existence of such, we may leave this welter of nations to itself with the scanty notices of its collisions with Babylonia during the most ancient period. The most important of the Assyrian attempts at subjugation were described when dealing with the history of Assyria. Media interests us chiefly as the land where was developed the empire which has always been recognised as the pioneer and precursor of the Persian world-empire.

Medo-Elamite Group

Media Pioneer of Persia

The Medes are among the first Aryans whose appearance we can definitely trace in that part of the Nearer East now under consideration, although recent discoveries would seem to show that further to the west, in Mesopotamia, the Mitani represent a still earlier wave of the same migration. These, as the Medes, became the ruling race in a large empire, which afterwards, under the Persians, dominated the East as far as Babylonian culture extended, and perhaps more widely still. Median history is thus a prelude to that of Persia.

The Medes, or the Madai, appear for the first time in Assyrian inscriptions under Shalmaneser II., who, in the year 836 B.C., on an expedition against Media, mentions the Amadai between Namri and Parsua towards the interior of Media—that is, where later on the centre of their dominion lay. Henceforth they are repeatedly named by Tiglath-pileser, Sargon, Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon, each of whom prides himself on having received tribute

from their chiefs. Each of them also regularly asserts that no one of his predecessors had entered the territory of these dangerous foes—the title "dangerous" Medes being given them as an *epitheton ornans*. The Assyrians never really occupied their country; and Assyria soon trembled before the Medes. We see from the accounts that the country was divided into separate cantons—Sargon enumerates a large number of them—which were governed by chiefs, never kings, and were obliged to pay tribute whenever an Assyrian army was in the vicinity. In other respects they did not trouble themselves about the Assyrians. There was no sign as yet of a Median empire.

Assyria and Media

Before we can point to the appearance of a comprehensive imperial power among the Medes we must trace the history of the other Aryan nations who appeared around Lakes Van and Urumiya. As early as the closing years of Sargon's reign, the Cimmerians were pressing hard on Urartu and were overrunning the empire, whose power had been already broken by Assyria. We conjectured that the violent death which Sargon met in some unknown place was perhaps the result of the signal defeat inflicted on an Assyrian army by the Cimmerians. This disaster re-echoed throughout the whole East, and is referred to in a hymn of victory which has been preserved in the book of Isaiah (xiv. 4–21). We can realise the movement of the nations in Armenia through the questions put by Esarhaddon to the oracle of the Sun-god, which show that Assyria was afraid of the intruders, and with difficulty guarded her frontiers against her new antagonists. One of the questions put to the oracle asks whether Bartatua, king of the Ashkuza, ought to be given the daughter of Esarhaddon in marriage, as he requests. The policy of the succeeding period shows that his wish must have been granted. Esarhaddon, therefore, just as Sargon formerly in Zabal, was anxious to form a bond of union between himself and the barbarian princely house, and thus to turn the enemy into a guard for his frontier. Bartatua's son, Madyas, is mentioned by Herodotus as king of the "Scythians," who advanced to the relief of Nineveh when besieged by Cyaxares. After that time Assyria was allied with the Ashkuza. But the people which Herodotus, or his authority, terms Scythians, and which became dangerous to the Cimmerians, were the Ashkuza in question; they had driven the Cimmerians, the enemies of Assyria, towards the west. Esarhaddon himself claims to have defeated the Cimmerians; but the victory was insignificant, since from the first the objective of the Cimmerian advance was Asia Minor more than Assyria.

CONTEMPORARY SCULPTURES OF ANCIENT PERSIANS

The first figure of this group, from the Persepolis sculptures, wears the Median robe of honour, and the group probably represents part of the triumphal procession of Cyrus described by Xenophon.

This was the beginning of the great Cimmerian movement which partly obliterated the states of Asia Minor, or Phrygia, and partly inundated them. Lydia was overrun, and only the citadel of Sardis was able to hold out. We now understand why Gyges, who was attacked by the Cimmerians somewhere on the Halys, sought an alliance with Assyria, the provinces of which, both there and in Cilicia, did not lie far from his frontier. The Cimmerians then devastated Asia Minor for a time, until their power broke up and gave way before the newly rallied forces of the civilised nations. One of their leaders, Dygdamis, is known to us from classical history. The Ionian towns had also to suffer from the wild

Cimmerian Raids in Asia Minor

hordes, and the destruction of Magnesia finds an echo in the poems of Archilochus. This Dygdamis, mentioned in an inscription of Ashurbanipal, met his death, according to the classical account, in Cilicia—possibly Homer's Cilicia in the Troad; he was succeeded by his son Sandakshatra. The Cimmerian onslaught gradually spent itself in distant regions, and the remains of it were dispersed by the Lydians.

Classical tradition tells us of the Treri, a people not yet identified in the inscriptions, which accompanied the Cimmerians on their expedition. The Saparda, who have been already mentioned with them on Lake Van, must have also advanced into Asia Minor in conjunction with the Cimmerians, or following in their steps. From this time onward we find Saparda occurring in the Bible just as in the inscriptions of the Perso-Seleucid age, as the name of Central Asia Minor—Phrygia and the adjoining countries.

Ashkuza Conquer the Medes

The Ashkuza, by the departure of the Cimmerians and the treaty with Assyria, became masters of the situation in Armenia; in Herodotus they appear as the "Scythians" who drove out the Cimmerians. Of these he tells us that, after a conquest of the Medes, which is to be mentioned immediately, they ruled "Upper Asia" for twenty-eight years, and in their expeditions reached the Egyptian frontier, where Psammetichus bought them off. They then withdrew and destroyed Ascalon. The "power of the Scythians" was, according to Herodotus, broken by the Medes when they besieged Nineveh and Cyaxares became master of the territory conquered by the "Scythians"—that is, the countries from Lake Urumiya down to the river Halys, which is the boundary of Lydia. The empire of the Ashkuza was thus a precursor of the Median sovereignty, and served to pave the way for their supremacy in "Upper Asia."

Ashkuza Power Broken

The Medes had hitherto inhabited the Median tableland and the regions east of Lake Urumiya in separate districts and tribes, without ever having been really subjugated by the Assyrians. The questions asked of the oracle by Esarhaddon show us this people playing precisely the same part as the Cimmerians and Ashkuza—threatening the Assyrian frontiers and occasionally occupying isolated tracts. They distinctly figure as a third group by the side of the other two. Assyria, by winning over the Ashkuza, had obtained a defence not only against the Cimmerians settled to the west, but also in the east against the Medes. These thus became the natural antagonists of the Ashkuza. The constant war against this state, strengthened by the support of

SOLDIERS OF THE BODYGUARD OF CYRUS, BY ARTISTS OF THE TIME
The two soldiers on either side were members of the personal bodyguard of Cyrus. The centre figure is clothed in the royal Median robe, while the other two wear the Persian costume. From the sculptures at Persepolis.

Assyria, could not fail to furnish the Medes with a motive for unification, in order that they might not meet the same fate as the Cimmerians.

First King of Media

Herodotus's narrative connects the first unification of Media with the name of Deioces. One of the authorities for Median history which Herodotus used has recently been proved to be trustworthy, so that it is conceivable that the royal house of Media actually called its original ancestor Deioces. All else that is told of him bears the stamp of a naïve conception of the evolution of monarchy, and is unhistorical. The fact that Ecbatana was later the capital of the Median empire leads to the conclusion that we must trace the concentration of the separate tribes to this district.

His successor, according to the same tradition, was Phraortes. The subjugation of the Persians is attributed to him. The new Median empire would have accordingly stretched from Persis, including also Elam and Susa, as far as the borders of Ashkuza. Phraortes is said to have undertaken an attack upon Assyria, which would probably have taken place during the reign of one of Ashurbanipal's successors. Herodotus says that Assyria on that occasion was deserted by her "allies," and it is possible that the Ashkuza are meant, who then certainly plundered Assyrian provinces. Phraortes is said to have fallen during this expedition.

The son and successor of Phraortes was Cyaxares. With him we at last stand on demonstrably certain and historical ground. It was he who destroyed Nineveh, and by the subjugation of the Ashkuza became the real founder of the Median empire. His war with Assyria shows that Media had entered into a treaty with Babylon, which had once more become independent under Nabopolassar, and had supported the latter in his resistance to Assyria. We find, therefore, the two nations from this time onward as allies, and the Median and the Babylonian dynasties connected by a marriage between Nebuchadnezzar and the daughter of Cyaxares.

Thus Nabopolassar and Cyaxares had a mutual understanding when they both attacked Assyria in 608 or 607 B.C. Mesopotamia was occupied by an expedition from Babylonia, but Nineveh itself was invested only by Cyaxares, who "wished to avenge his father," as Herodotus says. Madyas, the king of the Ashkuza, then advanced to its aid, but was utterly defeated with his army. Cyaxares was thus master of the countries as far as the Halys, and Assyria was stripped of her last resource. The victory of the Medo-Babylonian alliance was assured. Cyaxares received the country north of the Tigris, and his empire now stretched as far as the Halys.

States like that of the Medes must, so long as they are full of strength and vitality, continue their victorious career. Friendly relations to Lydia under Alyattes, their newly acquired neighbour on the Halys, were therefore not maintained for long. The war, according to Herodotus, was carried on for five years with varying success until, after a battle, when the well-known eclipse which Thales predicted occurred in 585 B.C., an armistice, and afterwards a peace, were concluded as a result of the intervention of Nebuchadnezzar and King Syennesis of Cilicia. Here also friendly relations were cemented by a matrimonial alliance, and Astyages received to wife the daughter of Alyattes.

Alliance with Lydia

THE RISE OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE

WESTERN ASIA was thus divided among three masters. According to the customary course of events, it was now a question which of the three would put an end to the other two. Strange to say, however, all three, or more correctly the Medes, who as conquerors are alone to be considered, preserved peace with the other two until the man appeared who took the three for himself. It would be inconsistent with the spirit of the ancient East, and with the policy of the civilised states, if the Median barbarians had really observed their treaties with Babylonia and Lydia, and had remained loyal to the friendship sealed by marriages. But their relations to Babylonia did not alter until the family of Nabopolassar was dethroned there, and a Babylonian came to the throne. Astyages, who meanwhile had succeeded Cyaxares, immediately after the accession of Nabonidus, in 555 B.C., advanced into Mesopotamia and besieged Harran. The dreaming

Nabonidus could hardly have saved Babylonia; but rebellion in Media gave him a short respite. Astyages was attacked at home and overthrown by his "vassal" Cyrus; thus the dominion over the Median empire passed to the Persians. Although we can picture to ourselves the general causes which produced this change, we are unable to obtain from the extant accounts any clear view as to the details of the persons and peoples who brought it about. The narrative of Herodotus assumes that Phraortes conquered the Persians, and that they, under Cyrus, overthrew the Median dynasty. We know that Medes and Persians were of kindred stocks, and the equality of both nations in the Persian empire is proved by the circumstance that the Median rule was acknowledged by the new conquerors; only the dynasty was put aside, and the nobles of both nations made common cause with each other. Darius was certainly a Persian; that is, he was descended from the nobility of the Aryan people, which at the time of the formation of the Median empire had made its home in Persis, east of Elam. The difficulty consists in obtaining any definite information as to the personality of Cyrus. It appears that the Achæmenian account, as well as that of Herodotus, which is based upon it, must have intentionally lied when it represents Cyrus as related to the Achæmenians. The object of such an invention is clear; by this means a legitimate claim to the throne could be established, and Cyrus and Cambyses were thus considered the rightful kings of Persia.

Who was Cyrus?

Monuments erected later, with the inscription "I am King Cyrus, the Achæmenian," had of course the same object. Undoubtedly we ought not to regard Cyrus as a prince of the old population, but as a member of the newly immigrated Aryan nobility; whether he was Persian or Mede must remain a disputed point, but this was immaterial when he once became a prince. It is still uncertain to which country he belonged and how great his territory was. Nabonidus terms him a "petty" vassal of the great Mede; that, however, may only express the contrast between him and the Great King. The Babylonian chronicle, which deals with the events of this period, calls him, up, to the capture of Ecbatana and the overthrow of Astyages, "king of Anzan," but afterwards "king of Parsu (Persia)." Cyrus had in fact, as the tradition puts it, made use of the Persians for his own purposes, and had therefore been recognised by them as their leader. Whether the Persians at an earlier period, as Herodotus implies, were already subject to the Median kings, or now for the first time really took an active part in the internal struggles of Media, Cyrus in any case knew how to avail himself of their help against the sovereign whom he wished to dethrone.

First King of Persia

THE TOMB OF CYRUS, FIRST KING OF PERSIA

Cyrus was an obscure vassal of the Median emperor Astyages. With the help of the Persians he created an empire which ruled the entire East.

We can at least take it for proved that Cyrus—whether himself a Persian or not—was able to overthrow the Median royal house only by the help of the Persians. The revolution has no further significance. Since the Medes themselves had taken part in the conspiracy, their position remained untouched, and they were for the future the governing people by the side of the Persians. No difference existed between Median and Persian nobles; the difference between the two peoples was indeed only that between two independent tribes. It is not surprising that Cyrus now designated himself

king of the Persians, since he was bound to give the honour and preference to the people who built up his power and supported his claims. But he was soon destined to be more than this, and he made the Persians and Medes the ruling people of the entire East. After Astyages, in the year 550 B.C., had been taken prisoner by Cyrus, the latter's empire extended as far as the Lydian frontier. The question suggests itself, what town then became the royal capital of the new empire in place of Ecbatana? If we consider how the Achæmenians represented themselves as the lawful successors of Cyrus, Susa must have been the capital from the very first. In this way Cyrus would have put himself forward as heir to the old Elamite claims to the sovereignty of the East.

Empire of Cyrus

As ruler of the new Medo-Persian empire he found in the realm of foreign politics the conditions existing which had been produced by the treaty between Alyattes and Media. Persia had to share the sovereignty of the Nearer East with Lydia and Babylonia. But while Nabonidus dug for old records and built temples the Lydian Crœsus recognised the altered state of affairs and the danger which had become threatening; he exerted himself to arm the East against the new enemy. He received abundance of promises, but no efficient support, and was defeated before his allies, especially Egypt, had roused themselves to make an effort in 547 or 546 B.C. Even the Greeks of Asia Minor shared the fate of their rulers. Cyrus was thus master of Asia Minor also, and could now turn his attention to Nabonidus, who expected more help from his elaborate system of fortifications than from his power of action. In the year 539 B.C. the Babylonian empire also ceased to exist. Cyrus was thus master of the whole Nearer East, for the provinces had then no more power of resistance than on the fall of Assyria.

We are familiar with the story of Cyrus' death, which is said to have taken place in the year 530 B.C. in battle with savage tribes on the eastern frontier of his territory, on the other side of the Jaxartes, in the zone of the "Turkish peoples," occupied by other non-Aryan tribes.

He was succeeded by his son Cambyses, who after the capture of Babylon had already governed there as viceroy. We have still less information about him than about his father. The Greek accounts, so far as he is concerned, are entirely influenced by the distorting Achæmenian legend which meets us in the Behistun inscription of Darius. Of the events of his reign Herodotus relates only the occupation of Egypt in 525 B.C., by which he revived the conquests of Esarhaddon. The account may naturally be traced to Egyptian sources. Cambyses, in fact, from his natural disposition, had incurred the bitter enmity of the native priesthood by constantly scoffing at their religious ideas; while, on his return from his unsuccessful campaign in Nubia, he even killed a newly-found Apis bull. According to this story, he must have been an excitable prince who, contrary to the habits and notions of the civilised peoples ruled by him, exhibited the simple intolerance of the primitive man in place of the stately dignity of the Oriental despot, and often vented his caprice on what seemed to him foolish. While on Egyptian

Cambyses the Scoffer

RUINS OF ECBATANA, THE CAPITAL CITY OF MEDIA

1806

territory Cambyses received the tidings of the rebellion of the pseudo-Bardia, presumably a "Magus," named Gaumata. We can at present follow only the Achæmenian account of him. Was he really only a pretender, and not, after all, a true brother of Cambyses? However this may be, Bardia was acknowledged in Persia, Media, and elsewhere. We can fix the date of his reign, 522 B.C., from a number of dated documents from Babylonia. Cambyses had nothing more than his army with which to oppose him. He set out immediately, but, as Darius records, committed suicide on the way. The reasons and motive for his action are obscure; the deed may have been due to mental derangement.

We do not know the proper meaning of the term "Magi," and we cannot therefore make use of the untrustworthy Achæmenian account to decide what the relations of this monarch were to the people and to the now extinct house of Cyrus. This much is clear, that his sovereignty was everywhere acknowledged, even by Persians and Medes, and found a strong body of supporters among the people. It represented, therefore, a resistance offered by the mass of the people to the development of affairs, necessitated by the conquest of the great civilised countries, through which the nations, hitherto free, came under the dominion of a king and a nobility. It is expressly stated that Bardia granted a remission of taxation and took measures to check the pretensions of the priesthood, which had been favoured by Cyrus.

Darius Gains the Throne

Darius and six confederates surprised Gaumata in a castle near Ecbatana and murdered him. Darius was then proclaimed king and succeeded in holding his own. He claims, indeed, to have put down the revolts in the scattered provinces of the empire in the course of a single year. His cause must, therefore, from the first have found support in other quarters. Atossa, the sister and wife of Cambyses, whom Bardia had tried to put out of his path, was on his side. She became the wife of Darius, and is the first of the Persian queens who played an important rôle in state affairs.

Darius was not related to Cyrus and his family. The reason, however, why he asserted his Achæmenian descent is clear. He wished to be reckoned the lawful heir

TOMB OF CAMBYSES, SON OF CYRUS

of the old royal house, and he required, in addition to the support afforded by the nobility, whose interests were bound up with his own, a tradition which might win him the reverence of the people.

Whether Cyrus was a Persian or not, he in any case felt himself to be king of the civilised countries of the Nearer East, and showed himself in that character. He adopted to a large extent the existing conditions, and provided only his own people with unencumbered estates, so that a nobility, devoted to him, arose, which must soon have gained further influence in the same way as the conquerors of earlier times. But the nobles of the eastern parts of the empire, especially Persis, which, more remote from civilisation, were still the recruiting grounds of the real strength of the people, were threatened with a loss of their share in the great prizes. Owing to the preponderance of power which their compeers in the western parts of the empire received from the treasures of civilisation, they were faced by the danger of being reduced to a position which would only too soon make them members of the ruled instead of the ruling class. It was this nobility which used the

East Against West

opportunity offered them by the attempt on the part of the Magi to seize the sovereignty. Their attempt was a rising of the uncivilised East against the West and its predominant class, already reverting to the culture of the ancient East.

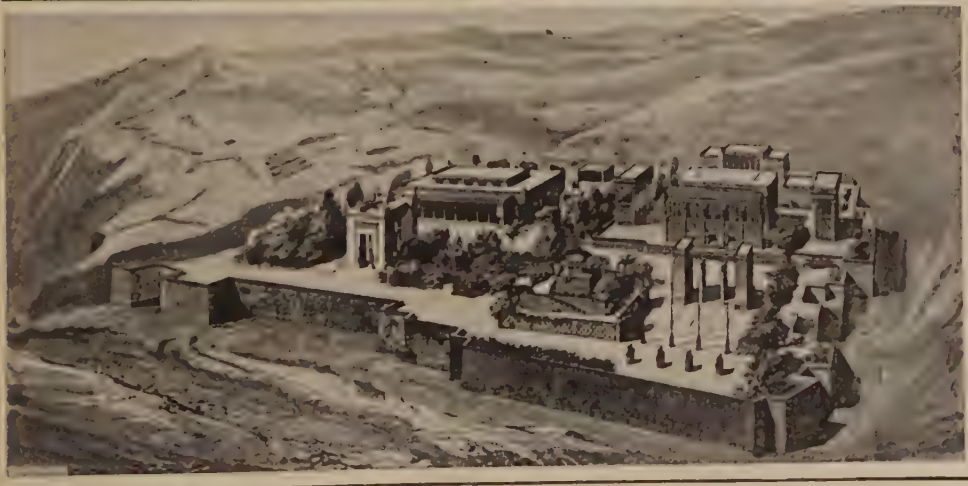
It was by the exploit of the Seven that the new empire came under a really Aryan rule. The protest of the Aryan spirit, or the Persian, as we may call it after this victory against the policy of Cyrus, now finds an outward expression in the employment of the Persian language for official inscriptions. It is further expressed in the promotion of Persepolis to be the royal city by the side of Susa, which Cyrus had selected as the capital of his empire, so closely bound up with old tradition. The protest is finally exhibited in the stress laid on the Aryan Ahuramazda, or Ormuzd, cult as the religion of the ruling people, and as the religion of the empire, in opposition to the policy of a Cyrus, who had allowed the religious ideas and institutions of the western half of the empire to remain in the ascendant. The East, which had thus conquered the West, is still shrouded in darkness. All that we know of it is learnt only at the close of the Persian empire, on Alexander's expedition. It is the proper home of the Aryans—that is, the country where the tribes with whom we are here concerned found their widest expansion and still further developed their characteristics. The valley of the Indus on the east, and more to the north the ranges which shut off Central Asia, form its natural boundary.

DARIUS, FOUNDER OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE

These two representations of the king are from Persepolis, the second showing him like the god Ormuzd overcoming a winged lion.

The spiritual side of these Aryan stocks is rendered to some extent familiar to us by the Avesta. The book, which is extant under this name, was not reduced to its present form until the rise of the Sassanids, and was only then promoted to be the code of a rigid national religion. From its form, which contains old elements, especially the Gathas, or ancient songs, and from its advancement to a canon, it may be compared with the Bible in its relation to Judaism. All that remains to us is only a portion of a lost and larger work, which was for the Aryan nations something similar to what the Vedas were for their Indian kinsmen.

The Avesta is the sacred book of the Ahuramazda religion, the official religion of the Persian kings, which naturally did not yet possess the high culture in which the code of the Sassanids knew it. The Achæmenids showed themselves the representatives of the East, as opposed to the West, which accepted the ancient cults, by the fact that they continued in the religion of their fathers, to which they assigned the first place. They and the Persians prayed to Ahuramazda, and the inscriptions of Darius and his successors mention no other gods. In this way they were at one with the Aryan peoples of the East, and felt the contrast with the governed West. But if the Avesta, in its present form, bears somewhat the same relation to its earlier form that the Hebrew priestly code bears to the Jehovist narrative, or Malachi to Amos, a distinction must be drawn between the home of the Avesta and the old Persia, which had the same religion as that to which the basis of the later development in the Avesta is traced. The Avesta has come to us in a dialect which is indeed closely allied with that of the old Persian inscriptions, but is still of another country; so for its home we must look further



PERSEPOLIS, THE SECOND CAPITAL OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE

At the top is given a reconstruction of the entrance to the great palace of Darius, while the picture at the bottom conveys an idea of the scale and situation of the palace. Above this, on the left, is a picture of the ruins in modern times The other illustrations show one of the tiles of the palace and two Persian bulls, copied from Assyrian models.

towards the East. The historical events, which explain its importance, are obscure; but the splendour of the Persian empire, where an Aryan people ruled, may not have been without some effect upon it. The Iranian legend expresses this when it invents an old Bactrian realm which waged incessant wars for many centuries with the peoples of the East, the Turanians. There, under a king "Vistaspa," Zarathustra was the prophet of Ahuramazda. The name Vistaspa is, by a hardly fortuitous coincidence, the same as that of Darius's father, Hystaspes. It is certainly significant of the reflected glory and fame of the Persian empire in the Far East that the father of the head of the Persian dynasty was represented as ruling in the country where the origin of the Avesta was certainly known. This is how the Oriental legend expresses itself when it wishes to state that the region where the religion and its code have been developed was also the home of the people which dominated the Orient.

ORMUZD, THE GOD OF PERSIA
From an ancient Persian sculpture at Persepolis showing Ormuzd fighting the spirit of darkness.

The Persian empire was a creation of Cyrus; the rule of the Persians—that is, of the nobility of the East—still uninfluenced by civilisation, was founded in this empire by Darius—in Persian, *Darayavaush*. The new sovereignty was not yet secure, in spite of the first success against Gaumata. Rebellions broke out in all the larger countries, which had to be suppressed before the new lord with his fellow-conspirators could enjoy his success. The insurgents everywhere appealed to the ancient empires which had existed in the countries concerned, and tried to prove themselves genuine descendants of the former dynasties. Darius records these insurrections and their suppression in his great Behistun inscription. At Susa a certain Atrina appeared, who attempted to gain support from the old Elamite population, and attempted to revive the ancient empire of Elam. He was quickly crushed by a Persian army. Nidintu-Bel asserted himself for a rather longer period; he was acknowledged in Babylon under the title of Nebuchadnezzar III., and documents dated during his reign have been preserved. A second revolt in Susiana, under Martia, who called himself Ummanish, king of Susa, was stifled at the outset. The most dangerous was the opposition in Media, where Phraortes, probably an actual scion of the old royal house, proclaimed himself king, and was also recognised by the Hyrcanians living to the east of Media and the Parthians. He was taken prisoner by Darius himself, after the Persian armies had fought several times against him without success. Almost at the same time insurrections broke out in Babylon under a second pseudo-Nebuchadnezzar, in Armenia, in Margiana, or Merv, in the Far East, where a new pseudo-Bardia arose, and among the Sagarians. These last insurrections must have expressed the opposition of the Aryan peoples to the newly founded dominion of the Persian nobility, since they were now in almost the same position under the dominion of Darius as, shortly before, the latter and his partisans had been under the power of the house of Cyrus.

While the empire was exposed to these shocks, the provincial governors in the west were tempted to repudiate the new rule and make themselves independent. Oroctes, the satrap of Sardis, made such an attempt, but Darius got rid of him by murder. Aryandes, the equally suspected satrap of Egypt, who had, however, been appointed by Cambyses, was soon afterwards removed. A demand for submission seems to have been also sent to Carthage, but without result, although the interests of Carthage in the hostility against the Greek world, which was now showing itself, forced it to adopt in a certain degree the same policy as Persia.

Herodotus, in whose narrative the official statements of the Persian government find expression, represents Darius as the creator of a completely new and organised administration for the new empire—as though, like Charlemagne, he had been a law-maker on his

own initiative—in contradistinction to a fickle despotism which was supposed to have existed hitherto. Up to this time merely "presents" had been made to the king; thenceforward a fixed tribute was paid. In point of fact, the Persians merely took over the administration of the Babylonians, and they that of the Assyrians. The tribute was of course strictly regulated at all times, and Darius made no sweeping alterations in the terms and incidents of dependence. Any reforms, however, that he made in the method of administration may probably be traced to the fact that he filled the more important posts with his own noble adherents, to give them their promised share in the prizes won by their common efforts. The difference between the earlier system and that of the Persians consisted mainly in the fact that large satrapies were now instituted, while Cyrus had retained the smaller Assyrian provinces. This change only, and the execution of the requisite measures to carry it out, were due to Darius. Herodotus, however, has an obvious excuse for attributing the creation of the organisation to Darius. Cyrus and Cambyses had not extended the Babylonian system to Asia Minor, which was first brought under that form of administration by Darius.

DARIUS'S RECORD AND MONUMENT OF HIS TRIUMPH AND ROYAL DESCENT

On a great rock about 1,700 feet high, at Behistun, Darius had carved in cuneiform an account of his victories and Achæmenian descent. The rock also bears the sculpture reproduced here showing Darius receiving captives.

It is improbable that the position of the population of the empire generally underwent any radical change. The process of extortion was left indeed by preference to the native authorities, who were responsible for the collection of the taxes. A Persian administration existed only for the affairs of the satrapy, as under the Assyrians, while the administration of the different communities was left in the hands of the old locally regulated organisations.

From this point onward we have no native accounts of Persian history, but only the Greek narrative, so that we are informed merely of incidents on the Mediterranean—that is to say, of the wars with Greeks and Egyptians—and of other affairs only in so far as they affected them. We are not in a position to ascertain the general facts which modified the history of Persia, and we can, on the whole, see matters only in the light in which they appeared to the Greek observer, and not as they revealed themselves in Susa.

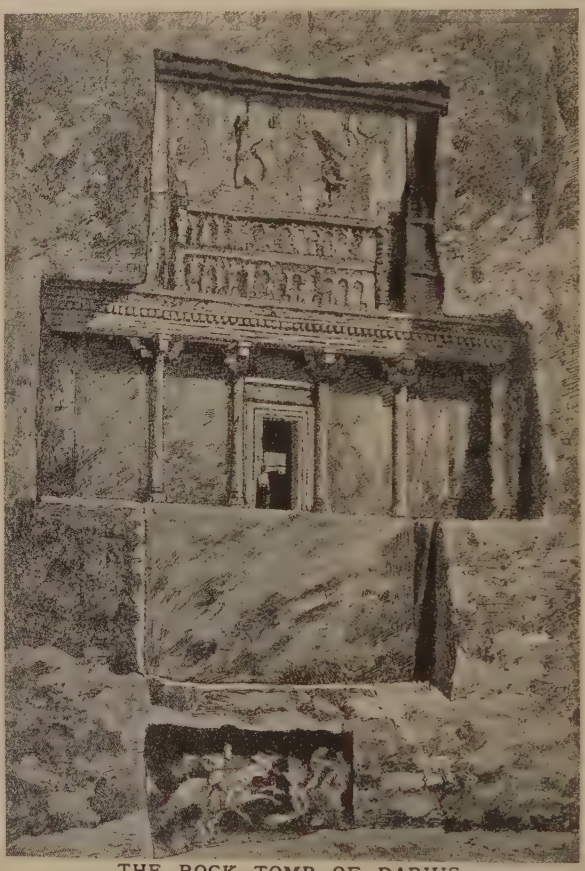
The empire of Darius, according to our view, differed from its predecessors merely in the fact that Persians actually governed it. So long as it was vigorous it sought to conquer, and when it could no longer conquer, it approached its fall. It existed for two centuries in all, and therefore not so long as many other similar powers which rose and fell.

Darius had hardly secured himself in the old seat of power when, in conformity with the nature of his empire, he planned new conquests. At first an advance was made towards the east. In the Behistun inscription "India" is not yet mentioned as a province, although it certainly is in a later one from Persepolis, and in the inscription on Darius's tomb at Naqsh-i-Rustam. This obviously can refer only to the country round the Indus.

The next undertaking was the Scythian expedition, about 515 B.C. It must have ended without definite results, like almost every campaign conducted against nomads. Herodotus informs us of the course of the expedition. The fleet was furnished by the Asiatic Greeks. The Bosphorus was crossed, presumably by a bridge; so, too, was the Danube. There were no victories to be won over an enemy which would not face a battle.

So, in the end, Darius, after heavy losses through hunger, thirst, and sickness, had to return. It is known that he was saved by Histiæus of Miletus and the other Greek tyrants, who had resisted the proposal of Miltiades that the bridge should be broken down because the overthrow of Darius would mean the end of the power of the tyrants.

Even if the expedition into the regions north of the Danube resulted in no tangible success, still the frontiers of the empire had been secured and extended, for Thrace and the district south of the Danube were permanently subjugated. The king of Macedonia also submitted, and the islands of Lemnos and Imbros were conquered. Thus the Greeks in Europe, surrounded on every side that was strategically important, were the next object of Persian conquest. The complications which led to the outbreak of hostilities bear, from the Persian point of view, precisely the same character as those which have often met us in the relations of Oriental empires to their neighbours. An opportunity for intervention is found in the appeal of a banished tyrant —Hippias—for assistance, coupled with the intervention of Athens herself in a revolt of the Great King's Greek subjects within the Persian dominions in Asia Minor. Before we turn to the account of that struggle, we will dismiss certain other events contemporaneous with its earlier stages. Egypt had remained tranquil under Darius, since he, in contrast to Cambyses, appears to have understood how to conciliate the priests. Something was even done by him for the improvement of the country. An inscription of his, which was found during the construction of the Suez Canal, proves that he had constructed or repaired a canal from the Nile to the Red Sea. In the year 486 B.C. events gave rise to a revolt, during which a certain Khabbash styled himself king of Egypt. Darius died in 485 B.C., during the revolt which was suppressed in 484 B.C. According to Herodotus, Egypt was after this more heavily burdened, a fact which is thoroughly in keeping with the customs of Oriental policy. Achæmenes, brother of the new king, became satrap.



THE ROCK TOMB OF DARIUS
One of the finest pieces of sculpture at Naqsh-i-Rustam is this tomb of Darius, the founder of the Persian Empire.

Under Xerxes, who reigned from 485 to 465 B.C., a revolution broke out at Babylon, which still regretted the loss of its former independence. The name of Shamashirba, who was then proclaimed "King of Babylon," is recorded in inscriptions. The city must have been captured by storm, so that we may connect with this the long siege, to which Herodotus has attached the legend of Zopyrus, which meets us so frequently throughout the East. The capture must have occurred after the return of Xerxes from Greece. It is expressly recorded that he then destroyed the great terraced tower of the Temple of Marduk. The privileged position of Babylon had hitherto been respected by the Persian kings. It had voluntarily surrendered to Cyrus, and Darius had, in spite of various rebellions,

THE REMARKABLE ROCK TOMBS OF NAQSH-I-RUSTAM

One of the features of the Persepolis remains is the series of tombs cut in the living rock, including that of Darius

left its old constitution intact. He had, according to Herodotus, wished to carry off the statue of Marduk, but had not ventured so far. Xerxes was the first to do so. This signifies, as we know, the refusal to recognise any claim on the part of Babylon to form a distinct kingdom; and in this connection we may note the fact that Xerxes and his successors no longer styled themselves "King of Babylon," while Darius had continued to use this title.

The burdens which the Great King laid on Asia Minor could not have been very heavy. Apart from the revolt of the Ionians, we hear of no risings. The insurrections against the satraps in the fourth century B.C. originated with ambitious governors desirous of independent rule, not with a people struggling to throw off an oppressive yoke. On the other hand, it must be emphasised that the institutions attributed to Darius, the son of Hystaspes, were beneficial to Asia Minor. Of the twenty satrapies into which his empire was divided, four or five were in Asia Minor. Thus, Ionia with Caria, Lycia, and Pamphylia formed one, Mysia and Lydia the second, the Hellespont, Phrygia and Bithynia the third, and Cilicia alone the fourth.

XERXES

From a coin of his reign.

This division was especially important for the levying of troops and the raising of taxes, to which each satrapy had to contribute a fixed sum. This amounted, in the case of Ionia, Caria, and Lycia to 400 talents of silver; Mysia and Lydia paid 500; the Hellespont and Phrygia only 360. But to this must necessarily be added the expenses, which had to be separately defrayed, of feeding the troops which were permanently stationed there as well as those temporarily marching through the country, and the cost of keeping up the governor's court. It was, however, surely a boon for the subjects that their taxes to the Great King were definitely assessed, since formerly, under the name of presents, irregular imposts had been exacted. The establishment of the royal post-road was bound to benefit Asia Minor. It is true that from the earliest times a caravan route ran from Sardis across the Halys, skirting the north of the Lycaonian salt desert to the Euphrates, and thence further to the east; but Darius placed everywhere at fixed intervals along this road stations with inns, and placed watch-towers at river fords, mountain passes, or where else such might be necessary. By this means the security of travellers was considerably increased; and even if his first thought was for the royal service and for a rapid and certain communication between Sardis and Susa, the greater security which he thus ensured must have redounded to the good of his subjects.

At the same time Darius established a uniform coinage throughout the empire, adopting, like the Greeks, this invention of the Lydians; but while the striking of gold coins was made a royal monopoly, rulers and cities, especially the Greek cities, were allowed to strike silver coins of any standard and with their own legend. The royal coins were of gold and silver after the Lydian system, and according to Babylonian weights. For the numerous inhabitants of Asia Minor who traded directly with the East this was a beneficial institution.

First Persian Coins

But a state of affairs which nations accustomed to absolute monarchy considered endurable, perhaps even pleasant, produced discontent at first and soon open disaffection among the freedom-loving Greeks. It is true they could realise the advantages of a uniform currency and of a safe royal highway, and they had already paid tribute under Crœsus; but the levies of troops and ships which they had been forced to furnish to Cyrus for the subjugation of Lycia, and in larger numbers to Darius for the expedition against the Scythians, were especially resented by them. There was the additional circumstance that men who were friendly to Persia had been placed by the Great King as tyrants in their midst. Owing to this, the active corporate life which had flourished, in Ionia especially, must have been seriously checked; for the authority of these tyrants depended on Persia, and their anxiety to win the favour and good graces of the Great King must have been greater than their eagerness to rule to the satisfaction of their fellow-citizens.

The discontent that was fermenting among the Greeks at that time is shown by isolated facts that have come down to us about the progress of Darius's Scythian campaign, already mentioned. Byzantium and Chalcedon revolted when the tidings of the disastrous result of the expedition reached them. The people of Chalcedon broke down the bridge thrown over the Bosphorus, so that Darius had to cross from Sestos to Asia by ship. Yet the fragments of the army which the king had rescued from the Scythians were still so large that the insurgent cities were reconquered and punished in 513 B.C. Soon after, however, events occurred

Discontent Among the Greeks

which were destined to show more clearly the prevalent feeling among the Greeks. In the year 500 B.C. aristocrats from Naxos, who had been exiled by the people, came to Miletus, where, in the absence of Histiæus, who was staying at the court of Susa, Aristagoras, his son-in-law, was conducting the government. He received the Naxians and promised to reinstate them. He laid a suitable plan before Artaphernes, the satrap of Sardis, offered to bear the cost himself, and asked for approval of his scheme. The cities then were ordered by Artaphernes to send ships and foot-soldiers, but Megabates, and not Aristagoras, as he had hoped, was appointed commander of the fleet and of the army against Miletus. The expedition failed completely; the Naxian people successfully defended themselves for four months against all attacks, so that at last Megabates withdrew without effecting anything.

Aristagoras could not make good the expenses of the war, as he had promised, and feared that he would be deposed from his office on account of a quarrel with Megabates, a near relation of the king. In this difficult position he received a message from his father-in-law, Histiæus, urging him to revolt from the king. Aristagoras, therefore, determined on revolt, and found at Miletus support for the scheme. The fleet, too, which was still assembled after the disastrous result of the Naxos expedition, joined in the revolt. Many cities expelled their tyrants and made common cause with Miletus; each chose *strategoi*, or generals, as supreme officials to constitute a supreme council of war.

Revolt of Miletus

At first the common cause seemed to meet with success. Eretria sent five ships, Athens twenty, to their assistance. In the spring of 499 B.C. the allies advanced to Sardis, took the city, without, however, being able to capture the citadel, held by Artaphernes, and burnt the greater part of it. In this conflagration the temple of Cybele, the great goddess of the country, was destroyed; this so embittered the inhabitants that they rose themselves against the Greeks and forced them to withdraw. In the meantime, the Persian generals had assembled; they came up with the army of the allies at Ephesus as it was retiring from Sardis, and inflicted on them a crushing defeat. On

the other hand, the fleet of the allies ruled the sea and induced the Greek towns on the Hellespont and Caria to revolt. Such successes, however, were not lasting, as the Persian commanders with superior forces soon reconquered the towns on the Hellespont and defeated the Carians at Labranda. Aristagoras, who had at first been the soul of the enterprise, became so discouraged that, seeking safety for his person, he fled to Thrace, where he was murdered by the Edonians. "He was not a magnanimous man," Herodotus says; and clearly when he fanned the flame of revolt and made himself its leader, he had let himself be swayed by selfish motives. When, therefore, the fleet of the allies with its 350 sail was annihilated by the Persians at Lade in 497 B.C., the united resistance of the Greeks was crushed. Each town was reconquered separately. Miletus alone held out against siege and assault until it, too, had to surrender after an heroic resistance, in 494 B.C. By this the Persian domination was everywhere re-established, and the hated tyrants ruled in every Greek city as representatives of the Great King.

SPECIMENS OF THE COINS OF DARIUS

Darius, adopting the Lydian invention and system of coins, established a uniform coinage in gold and silver throughout his empire. These coins all show the figure of the Great King.

After the suppression of the revolt (about 495 B.C.) and the destruction of Miletus, Mardonius, the Persian commander, attempted to advance against Greece itself, and actually subdued the north-western archipelago, but was checked in his advance by a disaster to his fleet off Mount Athos. A second and a larger fleet was sent two years later under Datis and Artaphernes. This conquered Naxos, destroyed Eretria in Eubœa, which also had supported the Ionian revolt, and landed in Attica, where the army was defeated at Marathon by the Athenians under Miltiades in 490 B.C. The attempt to reinstate Hippias as tyrant in Athens had miscarried. The great Greek campaign was the outcome of a scheme already planned by Darius in revenge for Marathon. Having no Persian accounts, we are not able to take up a standpoint which will be fair to the Persians. The triumph of the Greeks was so overwhelming and so unexpected that their accounts of it are not judicial. In fact, they are obviously exaggerated in two different directions, by the desire to magnify the odds against which they fought, and to pour contempt on their adversary. Thus the mere impossibility of providing commissariat for a million of men must compel us to reduce the number of the invading host; while, on the other hand, we may credit that host with being largely formed of the tolerably disciplined and practised troops which Xerxes undoubtedly possessed. But the fact which there is no sort of reason to dispute is that the Persian armaments, both by land and by sea, enormously outnumbered those of the Greeks, and that they were irremediably shattered. The victory of the Greeks on land is explained by the superior attacking power of the Greek heavy-armed soldiers when opposed to the Oriental method of fighting and equipment, which was not adapted to a regular hand-to-hand battle. At sea it was due to the superior tactical methods of the Greek sailors, very much as with the overthrow of the Spanish Armada by the English two thousand years later. The Persian ships were furnished entirely by tributary states, the Phœnicians, and the maritime states of Asia Minor, to whom no competent commander-in-chief from headquarters could be assigned; and the manning the ships with land troops could not fail to give the experienced Greek sailors the advantage from the first.

This war was destined to free the settlements of Asia Minor eventually from the Persian yoke. Marathon, Thermopylæ, Salamis, Platæa will ever remain as the greatest deeds of heroism in this Greek struggle. And just as at Platæa the Persian army was annihilated and the Persian camp

stormed, so, at the same time, perhaps on the same day, the Persian fleet was shattered at Mykale on the coast of Asia Minor by the confederates. This was the signal for the small Greek towns of Asia Minor to make common cause with the mother country and to revolt from the Persian king. The confederacy of Delos was then formed with Athens as the chosen head; its place of meeting was at first Delos, afterwards Athens, and its members pledged themselves, while completely retaining their autonomy, to provide ships and crews and to furnish money contributions in order to found a war treasury.

League Against Persia

The members of the new league prosecuted the war against Persia, and under the protection of this aspiring and rapidly powerful league, the small Greek towns of Asia Minor were secure from Persian attacks and from Persian vengeance for their revolt. The war continued for many years. The Persian garrisons were driven out of the towns of the Hellespont and from the Thracian coast. A large Persian fleet, which had sought protection from the advancing fleet of the confederates in the mouth of the Eurymedon, a river in Pamphylia, with the object also of effecting a junction with the Persian army, was annihilated, together with the army, by the bold attack of Cimon, in 467, or in the summer of 465 B.C., and the camp of the Persians was stormed. Elsewhere, too, where the Asiatics met the Greeks, they were worsted. Whether or no a regular peace was concluded, from about 449 B.C. hostilities ceased on both sides. In fact, the Greek towns in Asia Minor enjoyed liberty and governed themselves.

The end of the Greek expedition marks the turning point in the history of Persia. States built up on conquest must advance, or they recede. With the year 479 B.C. the retrogression of the Persian empire begins. It must always be remembered in this connection that we have no information as to occurrences on the other borders of the empire; we may, however, reasonably assume that under Cyrus and Darius the Persian supremacy in the Far East was more securely established than we find it in the time of Alexander. Victorious Greece at once crossed over to the attack. The islands and the Thracian coast were now almost entirely recovered from the Persians. Henceforth Persia never made any serious attack on Greece; and it had, indeed, to defend itself against the aggression of the latter, until it finally succumbed to Hellenism.

Persia's Turning Point

Xerxes was murdered about this time—465 B.C. This was the result of a private palace intrigue, and the accounts, as usual, do not enable us to be clear about the deeper causes which underlay it. Artaxerxes, the youngest of the sons of Xerxes, was raised to the throne, his elder brother Darius being put out of the way at the time. The king-maker was Artabanus, the captain of the bodyguard, who was soon afterwards himself removed by Artaxerxes.

Artaxerxes, known by his Latinised surname as Longemanus, or "Longhand," reigned from 465 to 424 B.C. From this point onward we no longer have a tolerably connected account of Persian history even from the Greek standpoint, and are dependent chiefly on records of isolated occurrences. During this reign Themistocles came to the court of Persia, and knew how to pose before the king as the man by whose help Greece might be subjugated. Soon after the beginning of this reign the second rebellion in Egypt broke out under Inarus, the son of Psammetichus, a Libyan prince, who called in the help of the Athenians about 460 B.C. These had undertaken a renewed attack on Cyprus, whence they sailed to Egypt, drove back the Persians with their partisans into the citadel of Memphis and besieged them there. Persia tried, in the first place by diplomatic negotiations with Sparta, to compel the Athenians to withdraw. When that method proved ineffectual, a strong army was sent out under Megabyzus, and Egypt was conquered. The Athenian auxiliaries were annihilated, and a similar fate befell a subsequent detachment of fifty ships. Inarus fell into the hands of the Persians, and was crucified; his son, however, was taken into favour, and received back the province of his father. Amyrtæus, who had also called in the Athenians, and had obtained a detachment of sixty ships from Cimon in Cyprus, maintained his position in the swamps of the Delta. The siege of Citium was raised in consequence of the death of Cimon, but another victory, both by sea and land, was won in 449 B.C., after which hostilities ceased. It is a moot

Artaxerxes Reigns

point whether this "peace of Cimon" was really solemnly ratified, or whether the war had gradually died out. Athens, at any rate, renounced her claims on Egypt and Cyprus. On the other hand, the coast of Asia Minor and the Greek towns on the Black Sea were set free. In the empire itself Megabyzus, the conqueror of Egypt, revolted against Artaxerxes in Syria; but in the end this rebellion also was quelled by peaceful means. The accounts now begin to record the political interference of the ladies of the palace; but not much reliance can be placed on the gossip of Ctesias, the Greek physician at the court of Artaxerxes Mnemon. Xerxes II., son of Artaxerxes, was murdered in 424 B.C. by one of his half-brothers after a reign of only a month and a half, and this latter in his turn was ousted after six months by his brother Ochus, satrap of Hyrcania. Ochus assumed the name of Darius II., and was surnamed Nothus, since he was the son of Artaxerxes by a concubine; he reigned from 424 to 405 B.C. Ctesias marks out from the very beginning his sister and wife, Parysatis, as the chief promoter of all intrigues. His brother Arsites and a son of Megabyzus in Syria rose against Darius. Arsites was taken prisoner owing to the corruption of his Greek mercenaries, and was put to death at the instigation of Parysatis. The third Egyptian revolt broke out in 410 B.C. By this effort Egypt was freed for more than sixty years from the Persian supremacy. The satrap Pissuthnes revolted in Sardis; he was crushed by Tissaphernes. His son Amorges, supported by the Athenians, held his own in Caria.

Intrigues of Court Ladies

PERSIAN FIRE ALTARS

These two fine altars were set up in the valley near Naqsh-i-Rustam. They probably represent an early form of Persian nature-worship.

After the disaster to the Athenians in Sicily in 413 B.C. a favourable opportunity was presented to Tissaphernes to reconquer the Ionian towns. He, as well as his rival, Pharnabazus, the satrap of Northern Asia Minor, or Phrygia, jointly called in the Spartans in order to deprive the Athenians of the towns on the coast. But the interests of the Persians and Spartans were far too distinct to render possible any energetic course of combined action. The Athenians finally left off with so distinct an advantage that Pharnabazus was compelled to renounce his readiness to escort Athenian envoys to the court in order to negotiate a treaty there.

At this same time, however, a revolution occurred. Tissaphernes was removed from his satrapy, and retained only the towns on the coast. In his place Cyrus, the younger son of Darius Nothus, was appointed to be satrap of Lydia, Greater Phrygia, and Cappadocia, and he carried out a vigorous anti-Athenian policy and strongly supported the Spartans. At the same time, Lysander received the supreme command for Sparta; and while his policy established Spartan ascendency, it led later to a rupture with the Persians.

We are told of an insurrection of the Medes in the heart of the empire during the year 410 B.C. Ctesias also records a revolt of Terituches, whose sister Stateira was married to Arsikas, the eldest son of the king. After his fall, enmity rankled between the queen-mother Parysatis and Stateira. In the year 405 B.C., Darius Nothus died, and his son Arsikas mounted the throne as Artaxerxes II. Mnemon. Cyrus, summoned by his mother, whose favourite he was, came too late. He was arrested on the advice of Tissaphernes, but released at the instance of Parysatis and sent back to his satrapy, in order to make the preparations that were to be anticipated. Cyrus's first move was to seize the towns of his opponent, Tissaphernes, a war of one satrap against another. He then collected an army of Greek mercenaries, and, in 401 B.C., marched with it, secretly supported by the Spartans, into the heart of the empire in order to depose

Satrap against Satrap

his brother. This is the "March of the Ten Thousand Greeks" described by Xenophon. The inability of the empire to resist a Greek army was now plainly revealed. The 13,000 Greek mercenaries defeated the immense army of the king at Cunaxa, in the province of Babylon. But Cyrus fell in the battle, and the throne of Artaxerxes was saved. On former occasions the Greeks in the employ of Persia would have then imparted fresh strength to the helpless colossus, but now they had detected the real nature of the dreaded foe, and were completely disillusioned. They knew now that in the heart of the empire whole districts and tribes, especially in the mountains, did not acknowledge the Persian suzerainty. The open quarrels of the satraps showed plainly enough the dissolution that was already beginning, and offered welcome opportunities to the advance of the restless Greeks.

March of the Ten Thousand

The intrigues at court were only intensified by the death of Cyrus, since Parysatis could not be reconciled to the loss of her beloved son, and contrived gradually to remove out of her path all those concerned in it, among them the momentarily triumphant Stateira, who was poisoned. Artaxerxes II., it is true, then banished his mother, but soon called her back again. The satrapies of Cyrus were given to his rival, Tissaphernes, who had conducted the defence during the great rebellion. Sparta, the supporter of Cyrus, was already hostile to him; so when he demanded the fulfilment of the conditions on which help had been furnished by Persia in the shape of a surrender of the Greek towns of Asia Minor, the result was war in 401 B.C., which Sparta carried on in Asia Minor, especially with the help of the survivors of the Ten Thousand. It was conducted after 396 B.C. under the supreme command of the Spartan king, Agesilaus, who won a great victory at Sardis in 394 B.C., although no decisive results were obtained from it. In the meanwhile Parysatis had succeeded in bringing the hated Tissaphernes into disfavour at court; he was replaced by Tithraustes and afterwards executed. The struggle was prolonged by the wiles of the two satraps and by negotiations, until Agesilaus was recalled to Europe. In the meanwhile the tide had changed to the disadvantage of Sparta. The Athenian, Conon, had fled to Euagoras in Cyprus after the defeat at Ægospotami, and had induced Pharnabazus to fit out a fleet for him in order to be able to carry on war against Sparta by sea. At first, being hindered by remissness in payment of the subsidies, he went himself to the court, secured the supreme command of the fleet for Pharnabazus, which meant for himself in reality, and defeated the Spartans at Cnidus in 394. The result of the victory was the overthrow of the Spartan naval power and the restoration of the Athenian under the protection of Pharnabazus. Athens held her own by the help of Persia, and Persia could not play any part on the sea without Athenian guidance. On land Sparta continued for a long time to be the chief military power. During the never-ending plots and schemes at the Persian court, Tiribazus, the satrap of Sardis, who adopted the policy of Tissaphernes, was able once more to come to the front and to bring Conon into disfavour. The latter again fled to Euagoras, where he soon afterwards died. But Struthas, who again supported Athens, was finally appointed satrap in Sardis. Thus there were incessant disputes, intrigues, and counter intrigues, until at last it was settled by the "peace of Antalcidas," in 387 B.C., that the Asiatic towns belonged to Persia, but that the island and all other Greek states should be autonomous.

Sparta Defeats Persia

Peace at Last

Cyprus was expressly acknowledged in the treaty to be Persian territory. In reality it was practically independent, since Euagoras had united the Greek elements throughout the island in a common war against the Phœnicians, and was king of the island. His loyalty to the supreme feudal lord must soon have appeared doubtful. An attack was therefore made on him in 390 B.C. He offered a stout resistance, being openly aided by Athens, until, after the peace of Antalcidas, Persia took more rigorous measures to bring him to submission, as he was daily becoming more dangerous, commanded the sea as far as Egypt, and had succeeded in firmly establishing himself at Tyre. He was defeated, but was able to obtain favourable terms of peace. Not long after he was murdered. Cyprus, under his successors, broke up again into different small states. In the expedition of Artaxerxes against

the Kadusi, a nation of mountaineers south-west of the Caspian Sea, his large army met a reverse which was like that of Salamis; he was surrounded and had to pay ransom. Egypt, really independent, still resisted Persian attempts at subjugation. A more vigorous attack was made when Pharnabazus, in 376 B.C., was placed at the head of a larger army. He did not, however, accomplish much in the end, since regard for the continual change of feeling at court rendered any vigorous conduct of the campaign impossible. The results of the instability of Artaxerxes were seen towards the end of his reign in a series of revolts, of which that of Ariobarzanes in the Hellespontine satrapy and that of Datames in Cappadocia were the most formidable. Mausolus also, the prince of Caria, maintained a loyalty which was not always above suspicion. At last even Tachus, the king of Egypt, assumed the aggressive, since he adopted the old policy of the Pharaohs and attempted the conquest of Syria. He advanced as far as Phœnicia, being supported by an army of Greek mercenaries under Chabrias, and by the Spartans under the veteran Agesilaus. But when his nephew Nectanebus had himself been proclaimed king in Egypt he was forced to take refuge with the Persians; and he became utterly powerless and inactive.

Invasion by Egypt

When Artaxerxes' death was imminent his son Ochus, favoured by Atossa, whom, though his own sister, Artaxerxes had married at the instance of Parysatis—for instances of marriage with a sister, daughter, and even mother can be found in the history of the royal house of Persia—had contrived to remove his brothers out of his path and to secure the throne for himself in 359 B.C. The reign of this energetic Artaxerxes III., Ochus (358–338 B.C.), marks a last rally on the part of Persia. His actions show that he did not hesitate to carry out his ends after the methods of a true Oriental monarch by unscrupulous bloodshed and merciless wars.

He had first to deal with the revolts in the empire. Our accounts of them are vague and incomplete, but it is so far clear that the king was more successful than his predecessor. Artabazus, the satrap of the Hellespontine province, and Orontes on the coast of Asia Minor, could not hold their own, notwithstanding occasional help given by the Greeks. In Greece there appears to have been alarm at the energy of the Great King from the very first, and it was debated whether the aggressive ought not to be assumed against him. Demosthenes was compelled to warn the Greeks against breaking with him without good cause. In Egypt, at first, even under his rule no success was gained, and the revolt, as formerly was the case under Tachus, spread once more to Palestine. We have very little information about the causes of the movement, but the revolt of Sidon and of the nine kings of Cyprus, as well as an allusion to a chastisement of Jerusalem, prove that we here meet with phenomena similar to those presented by the revolts of Palestine against Assyria, which were supported by Egyptian help. Sidon was especially conspicuous this time. Ochus finally took over the chief command himself, and advanced into Syria with a powerful army, in which some ten thousand Greek mercenaries were included.

Spread of Revolt

Sidon received aid from Rhodes under Mentor, but when the Persian marched against them, Mentor and Tennes, king of Sidon, entered into negotiations. The details are obscure. Sidon was surrendered and a terrible punishment inflicted on it. The remaining Phœnicians then submitted. There must also have been wars in Judæa. Egypt finally, after having resisted for so long, was subjugated and became once more a Persian province in 344 B.C. Very severe measures were adopted towards it, and Ochus seems to have outraged Egyptian sentiments in the brutal fashion of a Cambyses. Cyprus also was again subjugated under the command of Idrieus, the prince of Caria.

The power, however, was already dawning which was fated to crush Persia. It was seen in Susa that Philip of Macedon must become dangerous so soon as he had effected the conquest of Greece. An alliance was, therefore, made with Athens in order to take measures against him. The capture of Perinthus by Philip was prevented by the joint action of Athens and Persia. But the battle of Chæronea, in 338 B.C., coincided almost exactly with the death of Artaxerxes. This made Philip master of Greece, and created conditions by which the

Alliance against Macedon

Greek world and Hellenism were impelled to attack Persia in Asia.

Artaxerxes is said to have been murdered by Bagoas, who placed Arses, the youngest of the king's sons, upon the throne, only to slay him in turn when he seemed to be contemplating action against his minister in 336 B.C. In the meanwhile a Macedonian army had advanced into Asia Minor, but its further progress was checked by the murder of Philip. After the death of Arses, Bagoas placed a distant relation of the murdered man, Codomannus, a great-grandson of Darius Nothus, on the throne. He reigned from 336 to 330 B.C. under the title of Darius III. Codomannus. But this time the king-maker did not escape his doom; he was soon put out of the way by Darius. Darius was the last king of Persia. We cannot form any notion of his character from the available records; but we may at any rate conclude that he was not in a position to do anything to prevent the fall of the empire. The great empire became the booty of Hellenism. The disruption had begun, as we have seen, soon after the defeat at Salamis; a proof, indeed, of the nature of the much-lauded "organisation" by the first Darius. The Ten Thousand of Xenophon would in themselves have been enough to overthrow the Persian monarchy, if they had had a competent general; now, when at last a powerful antagonist, with a definite aim before him, appeared upon the scene, the booty fell without trouble into his hands. It was a great success which Alexander enjoyed, but it was not a great exploit to overthrow an empire already tottering to its fall. The history of the ancient East has shown us numerous examples of similar conquests. The many revolutions, which have brought to the East its various populations are on a level with the Hellenistic conquests, although the glory of their leaders is not sung so loudly as that of the representative of the foremost civilised people in the western world.

Persian King Maker

The result of this conquest was not then decisive; the East was indeed conquered by the arms of the Greeks, but it resisted its civilisation, and it finally drove out the conquerors once more.

End of Persian Empire

The narrative of the conquests of Alexander the Great belongs to the Greek portion of our history of Persia. All that we are here concerned with is that the establishment of Alexander's empire terminates that of the Persians. The

VICTORY OF ALEXANDER AT THE BATTLE OF THE GRANICUS

One of the fights in Alexander's conquest of Persia, where Darius III. was defeated. From the picture by Le Brun.

THE DEFEAT OF DARIUS III. AT THE BATTLE OF ISSUS

A reproduction of a mosaic from Pompeii, showing Darius III. in his chariot at the battle of Issus in 333 B.C. against Alexander. The Persian stategy is said to have consisted chiefly of running away.

immediate disruption of the new empire and the vicissitudes of its various portions are the subject of the ensuing chapters; but when Persia appears as a political entity, it will be a different Persia, not the Achæmenid empire.

The Persian empire from its wars with the Greek world stood in the full light of history. The Achæmenian empire appears before us in the brilliance which it displayed to the Greek historian. But looked at from East instead of from West, it appears in a completely different aspect. That which seemed to the Greek the irresistibly powerful heir to a civilised world, shrouded in mysterious darkness and possessing inexhaustible riches, lies clear before us in its evolution. We know that it was neither the first, nor the most lasting, nor the most powerful, although perhaps the most extensive phenomenon of its kind. Many a conquest of a similar character has been seen and absorbed by the old civilised world of the East. Even the Persian régime was not able to change its character fundamentally, and did not exert more influence upon it than any other of the well-known conquests. The sharp division which we were able partially to recognise in the evolution of a western and an eastern Persia, a result of the conquest of highly civilised countries by peoples which were still in the early stages of society, and, further, the reconciliation of the Persian families who were at the head of affairs with the Medes and the ruling powers of the subjugated provinces, all clearly show that the dominant power claimed nothing beyond a purely political conquest of the vanquished countries. Some Persian nobles supplanted refractory rulers of the old population, and one or two Persian officials governed the provinces. But substantially nothing was changed. A Persian or other Aryan migration, which might have introduced a new population into the old civilised countries, was kept back, after the great flood of nations had once been checked through the organisation of a Persian empire by Cyrus. The fact that Darius, although he had at first taken advantage of successful efforts in this direction, could no longer submit to them when king, is only one of those innumerable phenomena in history where circumstances are more powerful than men, even when they have had the very best intentions.

Correct View of Persia

Conquests Without Changes

Thus only that portion of the empire had become Persian or Aryan which had been struck by the wave of migrating Aryan hordes before they had yet formed a firm union; that is to say, while they had not yet become aware of the power of the civilisation which they wished to conquer. These countries were precisely those which had not possessed a superior civilisation of their own—namely, the eastern districts. When,

however, the Aryans had come within the mystic circle of Babylonian culture, into Media and Elam, they submitted to it. Media had long been removed from Assyro-Babylonian influences, and Elam's power had been broken by Ashurbanipal; therefore both lands offered suitable conditions for receiving an Aryan immigration without obliterating or absorbing its race and character. The population of both lands, indeed, themselves received an Aryan tinge. The incomers, on the other hand, fell under the spell of that culture whose very cradle they had violently seized.

Invading Aryans Civilised

After the subjugation of the western civilised countries that process ceased, by virtue of which, through an immigration of nomadic hordes, a new social life had grown up out of the blending of influences, all tending to evolve a vigorous civilisation. In place of this, political conquest, resting on force, was now made the object of rulers. There could thus be no further prospect of an independent evolution of the Aryan spirit. In the place of a Persian nation, which would have worked itself upward from stage to stage to a higher civilisation and so to dominion over the East, there was now a Persian administration, like an Assyrian, which drained the strength of the civilised lands, and thus became dependent upon them. Not the Persian people, nor a Persian state, but the Persian empire, represented by the army and officials, now held the reins of power in Nearer Asia.

This new empire, in its fundamental principles merely a repetition of the Assyrian empire during the eighth and seventh centuries, shows the same character in all its phenomena. In the administrative sphere the Persian satrap was merely the Assyrian shaknu, although his province was, as a rule, disproportionately larger. Like him, too, he was in fact only a Persian viceroy, who had been placed in the position of the old native ruler. He possessed within his province all rights of a sovereign. Above all, he maintained an army at his own cost, pursued to some extent an independent policy, and thus usually reached the point where the thought of revolt must involuntarily have suggested itself, whenever the intrigues of the courtiers threatened to become dangerous to him. The constitution of the later satrapies is traceable to Darius. Cyrus had in the west simply adopted the old institutions. The accounts of him and his son speak of 127 provinces, which extended from India to Ethiopia. Accordingly the east must have been divided up somewhat after the model of the west. Darius, who went hand in hand with the eastern nobility, instituted the larger satrapies, and the Persians, who administered them, became rulers over separate countries.

The Persian Satrap

After the flood of immigration had abated, and the conquerors had become owners, who on their part had to ward off the hordes that were pressing on after them, wars had to be waged with troops supplied by the civilised states. These proved to be useless material to a great extent. Those of the immigrants who were marked out by landed possessions to be the nobility, and thus the backbone of every army, could do no more than form the backbone of a royal army. The satraps, who were in the first place responsible for the defence and maintenance of their provinces, could not avail themselves of this resource. Every satrap, therefore, had to keep an army of his own, soon composed, especially in the western provinces, of mercenaries, and those chiefly foreign. The overplus of capable soldiers which the vigorous development of the Greek people produced always found there a ready acceptance. In this way the satraps of the western provinces were soon in possession of armaments which might become a menace to the Great King.

Persian Army System

The royal Persian army, in contradistinction, seems to have been constituted on the basis of a feudal state, such as corresponds to the organisation of a newly immigrated people. Any man who had received a grant of land was liable to perform military duties corresponding to his share of the soil. There must, indeed, have been a very motley mixture of nationalities in the army, especially if the same system obtained in the provinces, where civilisation had long passed this stage, and in the western provinces particularly. It is not certain how matters were arranged there; but the "barbarian army," which Cyrus the younger led against Artaxerxes, in addition to his ten thousand Greek mercenaries, can hardly have been collected on another system. Such armies were distinct in armament and customs, even if we are

ALEXANDER BEFORE THE DEAD BODY OF DARIUS III., THE LAST KING OF PERSIA

Darius fled to Media in 331 B.C. and was murdered just before Alexander overtook him.

not required to accept Herodotus's description of the army of Xerxes as accurate in all its details.

In other respects the administration, apart from the satraps and the highest officials, was in the provinces the old national one. Even the Assyrian substitute for the now impracticable colonisation of conquered countries—namely, the plan of new settlements with a population ingeniously formed into Assyrians, and of the transplantation of prisoners of war to different parts of the empire—was entirely abandoned. The treatment of Sidon, which had been made Assyrian by Esarhaddon, and the permission accorded to the Jews to return to Palestine, are two striking instances in point. How far in the latter case any alliance of Cyrus with the Jewish element, so powerful in Babylon, may have played a part must remain an undecided question. The first instance, however, and the general abandonment of this procedure prove that the Assyrian policy had been deliberately reversed. It was clearly seen that institutions, established by force, could never attain the same prosperity as economic structures

which are built upon the soil and rise from national development. Thus, the Persian empire made no attempt to interfere with the old-established institutions in the various provinces. In spite of the Persian supremacy, the inhabitants of Babylonia thus remained Babylonian, and those of Ionia Greek.

Persia's Derived Civilisation

The picture of the effectiveness of the Persian sovereignty in the eastern provinces is quite otherwise. Here from the first the conditions were different. While the centre of the empire, Susiana and Persis, received culture from the west, it must have transmitted it in turn to the east. So far it became important for the conditions which were developed later by the Parthian and Bactrian empires. Western ideas in this way reached India, and finally the Sassanid empire determined the course of the civilisation of Islam. So that in truth we cannot speak of a Persian civilisation in the west. That portion of it which developed in its original home possesses a still smaller value for the evolution of mankind. If Elam, during almost as many millennia as the Persian empire lasted centuries, had already borrowed from Babylonia the fundamental principle upon which its power rested, that will also hold good of its heir. A glance enables us to recognise in the pictures from Persian royal palaces, or in the glorification of the victories of a Darius on the cliffs of Behistun, an intellectual kinship with the Assyrians, the same object of glorification, the same conception, the same technique. The beautiful workmanship of the enamelled tiles which covered the walls of Persian palaces [see page 1800] is also largely due to Babylonian influence.

Doubtless the active and gifted people of the Greeks, which after the eighth century B.C. entered into intimate relations with the Asiatic empires, assisting

Greek Art in Susa

Cyrus in his Persian wars and participating in his victories, that people which had supplied mercenaries to the Assyrian and Chaldæan armies, and furnished whole armies, as we saw, to the Persians, also sent artists to the court of Susa. It would, however, be an idle task to attempt to trace the influence of Greek art in purely Persian productions. The Persian king was a successor of the old Oriental kings. Just as he, full of dignity, discharged his time-honoured duties with wig and long, flowing robe, so there remained for the art which served to glorify him no other path except that marked out by millennia of veneration. The Persian buildings have one feature distinct from the Assyrian ones known to us, and that is the ample employment of pillars. It is, perhaps, a permissible conjecture that Greek influence may be seen in this. But it is also conceivable that Egyptian influence, through the medium of Phœnicia, may have travelled through the Euphrates valley as far as Susa and Persepolis. Yet, granted the case that Hellenic architects and artists had helped in building the palaces of Xerxes, their Hellenic spirit could evince itself at most in secondary details. What they created must always have been Oriental, copied from the old models, as the Oriental love of tradition demanded.

A production similar to this royal art, which in some degree had abandoned the national spirit, is the Persian cuneiform script. It was adapted from the Babylonian, or more correctly the Elamite, in order to provide an alphabet for the language of the new sovereign people. This was not suited to the grammatical scheme of the old civilised languages, and therefore could not be written with the old hieroglyphic and syllabic script which had closely followed the structure of the Sumerian and later the Semitic. In further pursuance of the principle already traceable in Elamite, a specially simplified syllabic writing was invented—actually invented in this case at the royal command—in order to be able to carve the inscriptions of the kings in the Persian language also. A written language in the sense of Babylonian was never developed from this, so far as our present knowledge goes. Even the Persians made use of Aramaic as the imperial language of intercourse, so far as the Babylonian language and its cuneiform script did not maintain their rights. The Persian cuneiform script, evidently first introduced by Darius in order to emphasise his national policy as contrasted with that of Cyrus and Cambyses, has had no history and exerted no influence on the development of civilisation; the Avesta was written in a literal alphabet derived from the Aramaic.

Persian Cuneiform Script

HUGO WINCKLER
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WESTERN ASIA FROM THE RISE OF PERSIA TO MAHOMET

BY DR. HUGO WINCKLER, DR. K. G. BRANDIS, LEONARD W. KING, M.A., AND H. R. HALL, M.A.

ASIA MINOR AFTER ALEXANDER

AT the death of Alexander, in 323 B.C., the empire which his conquests had created extended over all Western Asia and into the Punjab, besides Hellas and Egypt. Its continuance seemed secured at first by the selection of his stepbrother, Arrhidæus, as king under the title of Philip, by the birth of a son and heir, and by the appointment of Perdiccas as regent of the empire. But the foremost generals became governors of the provinces into which it was divided, and at the same time commanders of the troops stationed or about to be levied in their administrative districts. Every governor bestirred himself immediately to raise a trustworthy army, by which he might make himself as independent as possible of the imperial power and might carry out his own ambitious designs without regard for the welfare and prosperity of the whole. This naturally furnished the ground of many disputes. The scene of these wars of the Diadochi, or "Successors," was Asia Minor. Antigonus was sent thither from Babylon as governor of Greater Phrygia, Leonnatus went to Hellespontine Phrygia, Eumenes to Cappadocia, Cassander to Caria, Menander to Lydia, and Philotas to Cilicia. While the others all went to provinces long since subdued, Eumenes had first to conquer his province. The Cappadocians, whose land had hardly been touched by Alexander himself, had never reconciled themselves to the Macedonian rulers placed over them, and had actually set a native noble—probably of Persian origin—by name Ariarathes, at the head of affairs. He being a clever, enterprising man, had extended his rule over the whole of Cappadocia, to which Pontus then belonged, and maintained it with the help of a strong army of 15,000 horsemen and 30,000 foot-soldiers. According to the commands of the regent of the empire, Antigonus and Leonnatus were to help Eumenes in expelling Ariarathes; but neither obeyed orders. Perdiccas, therefore, was obliged to march against Cappadocia with the imperial army. Ariarathes was defeated, taken prisoner, and crucified, and Eumenes received the country as his province. The nephew of Ariarathes, his namesake, saved his life by flight into Armenia, whence, at a later period, he came back to influence the destinies of his fatherland.

Wars of the Diadochi

Conquest of Cappadocia

Leonnatus had in the interval aided Antipater, governor of Macedonia, in his struggle against the Hellenes, and had lost his life in the campaign. Antigonus, instead of answering the summons to explain his refusal to obey the regent's orders, fled to Antipater in Europe, and

effected there an alliance against Perdiccas, in which Ptolemy, the governor of Egypt, joined. War followed; Perdiccas was murdered in Egypt, and Antipater became regent of the empire in his stead. Antigonus received back the province of Greater Phrygia, from which he had fled, and was given the supreme command of the imperial army, with the task of carrying on the war against Eumenes, who had been on the side of Perdiccas, and had successfully held his own against Antipater and Craterus. Eumenes was defeated in the open field, but successfully defended himself in the steep mountain fortress of Nora against Antigonus, escaped, and in a short time assembled a new army, with which he conquered Cilicia and Phœnicia and finally crossed the Euphrates, in order to bring the governors of the eastern provinces over to his side. At last, in the year 316 B.C., after many battles, he fell, through the treachery of his picked troops, into the hands of Antigonus, who had him put to death. Previously to this, and in 319 B.C., immediately after the death of Antipater, who had appointed Polyperchon as his successor and regent of the empire, Antigonus had renounced obedience to the new regent, had driven out the governors of Hellespontine Phrygia and Lydia, who were on the side of Polyperchon, and had given their satrapies to men of his own party. Now, after the death of Eumenes, he was ruler of all Asia, from the upper provinces of which he returned to Asia Minor with enormous treasure.

Fall of the Regency

PHILETÆRUS
Founder of the kingdom of Pergamus about 280 B.C.

But the great power and ascendency of Antigonus produced a hostile coalition of the other governors. These were Cassander, the son of Antipater, who meantime had driven Polyperchon out of Macedonia; Ptolemy; Lysimachus, who in the year 323 had received Thrace as a province, and after subduing the warlike, freedom-loving mountain tribes, had founded for himself an important state; and, lastly, Seleucus, who, driven from his satrapy of Babylon by Antigonus, had fled to Ptolemy in Egypt. Antigonus refused their request to divide the satrapies equally; so wars resulted, which dragged on with changing fortunes and some interruptions from 315 to 301. In these the last members of the royal family—Alexander's posthumous son, who was called after him, and his illegitimate son Heracles—met their death. The rulers, therefore, proceeded to assume the title of kings in 306 B.C. Antigonus retained his power, and Asia Minor remained his choicest possession until he succumbed to the last mighty onslaught of his enemies, and was killed at the battle of Ipsus in Phrygia in 301 B.C. There is no sign of lasting institutions or of a government bringing blessings to its subjects in this disturbed period of new and constantly-growing armaments. Only the Greek cities of Asia Minor enjoyed peculiar consideration and retained their self-government and immunity from taxation.

After the death of Antigonus there were four kingdoms in existence—Egypt, under Ptolemy; Thrace, under Lysimachus; Macedonia and Greece, under Cassander; and Syria, under Seleucus. Asia Minor was divided between Lysimachus and Seleucus, who had taken the most important share in the overthrow of Antigonus. Both remained in possession of the portion that fell to them, notwithstanding that Demetrius Poliorcetes, "the Besieger," the son of Antigonus, made numerous attempts to reconquer his father's realm. Lysimachus was defeated and killed in 281 B.C., in a battle against Seleucus, to whom, as victor, Asia Minor justly fell. During the immediately succeeding period the line of Seleucus is in the ascendant, and possess, indeed, the greatest power as far as extent of territory goes; but the Seleucidæ are no longer sole rulers, as once Antigonus was.

In the confusion in which Asia Minor was involved after the death of Alexander new states had gradually been developed there, which, growing into greater power, stamped their mark on the whole subsequent period. Once more we find on the soil of Asia Minor for the first, and indeed for the last time since the dissolution of the Lydian dominion, states with a separate history and a separate policy, in complete independence of any great political power whose capital and centre of gravity lay outside the peninsula.

Last of the Separate States

Ariarathes, the nephew and adopted son of that Ariarathes whom Perdiccas had crucified at the time when Antigonus was waging his disastrous war against the allied kings, had returned to Cappadocia from Armenia, and, supported by the good will of the population, which had never grown accustomed to the Macedonian rule, entered upon the heritage of his father. His attempt was favoured by events in the immediate neighbourhood. Mithradates, the grandson of Ariobarzanes, a former satrap on the Hellespont, who had been in the service of Antigonus, warned by Demetrius Poliorcetes that his life was in danger, fled to Paphlagonia. There he was able to occupy the town of Kimiata in the gorges of the Olgassys, which he surrounded with strong walls, and now, in concert with Ariarathes, he summoned the Paphlagonians and the inhabitants of the north coast to arms. The lieutenant of Antigonus had to give way to the two; and when, after the battle of Ipsus, the two victors, Lysimachus and Seleucus, turned their attention to the subjugation of these outlying districts, it was too late. An army of Seleucus was totally defeated in Cappadocia, and Mithradates was able to hold his own in the north. Later, after the death of Lysimachus and the invasion of the Gauls, and during the continuous wars of the Seleucidæ, both within and outside Asia Minor, no more thought was entertained of their subjugation. Thus Ariarathes created an independent kingdom in Cappadocia, with which he united Cataonia; and Mithradates, who received the name of Ctistes—the Founder—founded a kingdom in the valleys of the Amnias and Iris, which, situated on the Pontus Euxinus, or Black Sea, came gradually for brevity to be called Pontus. The rulers of both territories naturally styled themselves kings.

Birth of New States

LYSIMACHUS AND POLIORCETES

After the death of Antigonus and despite the efforts of his son, Demetrius Poliorcetes, Lysimachus, king of Thrace, and Seleucus of Syria shared Asia Minor.

In the north-west new states grew up. Bithynia had been ruled in Persian times by princes of its own, who recognised the suzerainty of the Great King and were subject to his satraps, even though they often enough disobeyed them. Alexander freed Bithynia from the Persian domination, but apparently left the princely families in possession of their hereditary power; the Macedonian governor of Hellespontine Phrygia, Calas, was appointed to complete their subjection. But the Bithynian prince, Bas, repelled his attack in the open field, and his son Zipoites succeeded during the wars of the "Successors" in maintaining and even in extending his hereditary position. Zipoites is the first who styled himself king; this must have happened in 297 B.C. after a victory over Lysimachus, since the era of the Bithynian kings begins with the autumn of 297. He also maintained his position against the successor of Antiochus, Seleucus, who had sent his general, Patrocles, to force Bithynia to submission. In any case, after this Bithynia finally entered the ranks of independent states. Zipoites was able to bequeath to his son Nicomedes a realm which towards the east included the Greek towns of Teion and Cieros. About this time there arose an independent state in the valley of the Caïcus, on the borders of Bithynia. At the outbreak of the war with Seleucus, Philetærus had abandoned Lysimachus, whose citadel and treasures he was guarding at Pergamus, and had gone over to Seleucus. When the latter was soon afterwards murdered he won the gratitude of Antiochus by sending him the body of his father, held Pergamus, and succeeded in bringing the whole valley of the Caïcus as far as the sea under his dominion, and thus laid the foundations of the kingdom of Pergamus.

Founding of Pergamus

NICOMEDES

Son of Zipoites, first king of Bithynia. From a coin.

Once more a race of invaders became prominent in Asia Minor and exercised an important influence on the conditions of the country. Just as previously, at the time of the Mermnadæ, Cimmerians, combined with Thracian hordes, had crossed over into Asia Minor and had long scoured the land, plundering and robbing, so now the Gauls appeared. They had before this made inroads into Thrace and Macedonia; now in 277 B.C., Nicomedes, who was contesting his inheritance with his brothers,

took a Gallic army under Leonnorius into his pay and by their aid subdued Bithynia. At the same time a second Gallic force, under Lutarius, crossed the Hellespont, joined the force under Leonnorius, which now was again free, and, both combined, raided the fields of Asia Minor and burned the towns. Antiochus, in order to protect, at any rate, his own part of Asia Minor from the Gallic pillagers, marched across the Taurus. A pitched battle was fought between him and the Gauls. In overwhelming force—so ran the account of the fight—the "Galatians" confronted the king in a dense phalanx, twenty-four ranks deep, with 10,000 horsemen on each wing. From the centre of the line of battle eighty four-horse chariots, armed with scythes, and twice as many two-horse war chariots were to charge. It may easily be conceived that the king's courage almost failed him at the sight of this formidable multitude, especially since the greater part of his inferior army consisted of slingers and other light-armed troops. He even wished to make terms; but one of his generals encouraged him and devised a plan of battle for him. The sixteen elephants which the king had with him were driven headlong against the enemy; the enemy's horses, which had never seen an elephant, took fright, galloped in wild rout back on the ranks, and caused universal confusion. The overthrow of the Gauls was complete.

Antiochus Fights the Gauls

THE STRENGTH OF THE ARMY OF ANTIOCHUS

A terra-cotta statue of an elephant seizing a Gaul, reproduced from "Passing of the Empires," S.P.C.K. In the battle between Antiochus of Asia Minor and the Gauls the Galatian army, which included 20,000 horsemen, was routed by sixteen elephants.

This victory checked the wandering of the Gauls, in so far that they were driven back to the eastern part of Phrygia on both sides of the Halys and restricted to a region to which they gave their name permanently. Here in Galatia they founded their capital, Ancyra, which attained later great prosperity, and at the present day, as Angora, is the chief town of Central Asia Minor. Here they gradually obtained secure settlements and lived, mixed with the natives, without abandoning their language, habits, or constitution, under twelve tetrarchs, each of whom belonged to one of the four cantons of their three tribes—Trocmeri, Tolistoboii, and Tectosagi—and under a council consisting of three hundred members. Often enough, starting from here as mercenaries of the rival princes, they helped to decide the destinies of the peninsula. For, unfortunately, there was no prosperous development in Asia Minor even after the defeat of the Gauls by Antiochus. In the many wars between Egypt and Syria, which led to the occupation of the coast of Caria and Lycia by the Ptolemies, then in the long, bloody war between the brothers Seleucus Callinicus and Antiochus Hierax, sons of Antiochus Theos, the whole west coast and the central and southern districts, Caria, Phrygia, Lycia, and Cilicia, were at one time in the hands of Callinicus, at another of Hierax. No wonder that the Gauls, too, reappeared in this confusion, and, after inflicting a crushing blow on Callinicus in the interest of Hierax, once more assumed a position which threatened danger. Once more they laid waste the fields; and their neighbours, to secure peace from them, were forced to pay tribute. Even Antiochus Hierax could not secure immunity in any other way.

The Gauls Reappear

The credit of averting the new danger of the Gauls belongs to the princes of Pergamus. After Eumenes I., the successor of Philetærus, had defeated Antiochus I. at Sardis in 262 B.C., the permanence of their rule was secured. The disturbed times gave an opportunity for strengthening and extending it. Attalus I. (241–197 B.C.), the son and successor of Eumenes, had brought his name into history by an

action which conferred on him lasting fame in the eyes of his contemporaries and of posterity. He refused to pay to the Gauls the customary tribute, and faced their consequent invasion in a battle, where he completely defeated them. By this means he greatly contributed towards ending their raids and confining them to their own territory. On account of this splendid achievement Attalus was honoured by the towns and princes who were saved by him from the Gallic danger, and assumed the royal diadem. Eumenes II. dedicated to him an imposing monument, an altar to Zeus, standing on a massive pedestal, round the sides of which ran reliefs, which glorified for all time the victory of Attalus over the Gauls under the representation of the battle of the gods with the giants. Pergamene art, as shown us by these reliefs, marks in some ways the highest point reached by the Greek art of the later style. The statues of Pergamus were regarded as triumphs of art by the Romans, and the various figures of "Dying Gauls"—erroneously called "Dying Gladiators"—in our museums were copied from Pergamene originals.

RUINS OF THE ANCIENT METROPOLIS OF PERGAMUS

In the second century B.C. the city of Pergamus became the most important kingdom in Asia Minor and a centre of civilisation. These ruins are all that remain to-day.

Attalus I. not only permanently secured his realm, but extended it also by a war with Antiochus Hierax, who, after long disputes with his brother Seleucus Callinicus, had finally withdrawn and held Asia Minor north of the Taurus, so far as it was distinctly Seleucid. Hierax was defeated at Coloë, in the neighbourhood of Sardis, and compelled to fly from Asia Minor; Seleucid Asia Minor fell into the hands of Attalus. But the Seleucidæ were destined once more to establish their power in the peninsula, and, as it seemed, more firmly than ever. Achæus, the general of Seleucus, retook from Attalus the territory he had recently conquered, but could not resist the temptation of founding a separate state and of placing the kingly diadem on his own head during the confusion which prevailed in Syria after the death of Seleucus. This kingdom, severed from the main Seleucid state, lasted some years, until Antiochus III., who had restored his authority in his own kingdom by a successful war against insurgent satraps, felt himself sufficiently strong to deprive Achæus also of his sovereignty. Achæus, being beaten, shut himself up in Sardis and held out a considerable time, but was eventually murdered by traitors. Thus Antiochus III. reunited a large part of Asia Minor to his own main territory in 214 B.C.

Kingdom of Attalus

A letter of the king preserved for us in an inscription gives us a slight glimpse into the internal administration. The Seleucid kingdom, like the Persian, was divided into satrapies: we do not know how many of these were included in Asia Minor. By the side of the worship of the native gods, which naturally remained fixed, a similar worship of the king and the queen was introduced; for both there was in each satrapy one high-priest, and sacrifices were offered to both, just as, two hundred years later, in the provinces high-priests were appointed for the Roman emperor.

Worship of King and Queen

But Antiochus III. did not rest content with these acquisitions. It was not enough that he had brought even Greek towns on the western coast of Asia Minor into his power; he aimed at Europe also and laid claims to Thrace on the ground that it was by right a possession of the

Seleucidæ, owing to the defeat of Lysimachus by Seleucus. He had already become master of the town of Sestus, and had made Lysimacheia, which he restored, the headquarters of his army and the capital of a province of Thrace that was still to be conquered, when he became involved in a war with Rome.

Seleucidæ Confined to Cilicia

In the revolt, the dominion of the Seleucidæ in Asia Minor on this side of the Taurus was ended for ever. They kept only the territory on the far side of the Taurus—that is, practically, Cilicia—and did not venture to cross the sea with warships to the west of the mouth of the Kalykadnos. Rhodes and Pergamus, which had taken the part of Rome, were both splendidly rewarded for their loyalty. The former received the country of Lycia and Caria as far as the Mæander; Pergamus, which had withstood a siege from Antiochus, and whose territory had been ravaged, received Hellespontine Phrygia, Greater Phrygia, Lydia with Sardis and Ephesus (which had been occupied by Antiochus and had not soon enough gone over from him to the Romans), and the part of Caria which lay north of the Mæander. The Greek towns of Asia Minor, which had sided with the Romans on the day of the battle of Magnesia, where Antiochus had met with his overthrow, were conceded self-government and also immunity from tribute. By the despatch of Manlius Volso against the Galatians, who were defeated by him in two battles, the Romans deserved well of Asia Minor; for even after the defeat inflicted on the Galatians by Attalus many towns had still been obliged to pay tribute to them to secure protection from their marauding invasions. The Galatian scourge was now destroyed once for all.

The results of the battle of Magnesia are of the most far-reaching importance. Rome, without appropriating a foot's

Rome the Mistress of Asia Minor

breadth of land, becomes from this time the foremost power in Asia Minor. It is clear on the face of it that Pergamus and Rhodes, which had long been allies of Rome, would seek to further their prosperity and power by this connection; but the longer the other states, Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Pontus itself, resisted, the less they could avoid the influences of Rome. The power of the Macedonian, Syrian, and Egyptian monarchies over Asia Minor was broken from that day. For at least a century the peninsula enjoyed peace, in which it had had no share since Alexander's death. What conception Rome had of its rights as the leading power is clearly shown by the political changes which were introduced into Asia Minor thirty years after the battle of Magnesia. After the third Macedonian war Rome, being dissatisfied with the conduct of the free city of Rhodes and its unwelcome intrusion into the course of this war, deprived it of its possessions on the peninsula of Asia Minor and declared Caria and Lycia to be "free." The Rhodian garrisons had to be withdrawn from these countries, and the considerable tribute which till then had flowed into the Rhodian treasury from that source was stopped. Thus the power of Rhodes suffered a heavy loss. The trade of Rhodes was bound to fall off, since the Romans had established the free harbour of Delos and had blocked the main artery of the Rhodian exports and imports on the coast of Macedonia, which had now become Roman.

Lycian City League

In Lycia the towns, of which there were many of various sizes, formed themselves into a close organisation, the Lycian league. They had always unwillingly submitted to the Rhodian rule, and knew how to make good use of the freedom now conceded to them for the welfare of the country. The beginnings of this Lycian city-league may have been older, especially as far as the common worship of the Lycian tribal deity is concerned; but now other duties fell upon the league: the representation of the country in foreign lands, negotiations with strange powers, the maintenance of the common interests, as well as the establishment of systematic and assured conditions at home. Though such a city-league in itself presented no novelty, the fundamental thought on which the Lycian league rested was new and excellent. Every member of the league had a different number of votes, according to its size, distributed in such a way that the largest towns gave three, the intermediate towns two, and the small towns one vote, respectively, at the meeting of the league, which was held in turn in each of the communities. At the head of the league was placed a president, chosen similarly in turn from the towns which were members, and elected annually. The

Tiwenthaler

ONE OF THE TRIUMPHS OF THE ART OF PERGAMUS: AN ALTAR TO ZEUS

This imposing altar to Zeus was erected in honour of Attalus I., who completely routed an invasion of the Gauls. The reliefs round the sides of the altar mark in some ways the highest point reached by the Greek art of the later style.

towns exercised their right of voting through representatives. A similarly organised league, the Chrysaorian, existed in Caria, where there were comparatively few towns, but many large village communities.

The most splendid picture at this time is presented by Pergamus, which, through the courage and statecraft of its kings, had become an important kingdom. From the struggle against Bithynia, which broke out immediately after the war with Antiochus III., Eumenes II. emerged as victor. Prusias of Bithynia had occupied some territory in Mysia, which in the peace with Antiochus had been conceded to Eumenes. On this ground a quarrel began between the two, which has the greater interest for us because Hannibal for the last time played a part in it, and for the last time, uselessly, it is true, tried to form a powerful coalition against Rome. Despite some successes of Hannibal, Eumenes was not only able to maintain his position, but also to incorporate into his own kingdom the territory conquered by Prusias on the Sangarius. Prusias did not venture to shelter Hannibal when the Romans demanded his surrender; and the great Carthaginian, being abandoned, put an end to his life at Libussa, on a height above the Gulf of Nicomedia. The princes of Pergamus, distinguished as they were for their cleverness and statecraft, were not less renowned for their warm interest in art and science. We have already mentioned the altar to Zeus. On the acropolis, which towers above the city, they reared a rich group of buildings, which, rising in terraces one above the other, crown the summit of the royal citadel. And in the middle of it, among palaces and temples and public buildings, was the library, which was also a museum, where, besides a rich collection of books, originals, as well as copies of prominent

works of the older Greek art, were preserved. In this manner Pergamus became an important centre of civilisation, and will be always mentioned with honour by the side of Alexandria.

By the side of Pergamus, Bithynia fell into the background; its princes had gradually subdued the whole territory from the Rhyndacus and the Mysian Olympus to Heracleia, and southward from Heracleia over the Sangarius up to the Paphlagonian frontier. Hellenism early made an entrance here; and an increasing number of Greek towns sprang up. But none of them can be compared with Pergamus in glory and importance.

Extent of Bithynia

Up to this time Rome had had no possessions of her own in Asia Minor. But when Attalus III. of Pergamus died in the year 133 B.C. and made Rome his heir, the Romans accepted the inheritance. Here begins a new phase in the historical development of Asia Minor. It is true that Aristonicus, a scion of the princely house of Pergamus, disputed the inheritance with the Romans, raised an army, found adherents, and went against them, sword in hand. But it was impossible for him to hold out long. In the year 129 B.C. the revolt was crushed and its leader murdered. The consul, Manius Aquillius, created the Roman province, Asia, coextensive with the kingdom of Pergamus. In addition, there was Caria, which had taken part in the revolt of Aristonicus. The latter had been besieged and captured in Stratonicæa. Aquillius, having been bribed, had given Greater Phrygia to Mithradates Euergetes of Pontus; Bithynia raised a protest. The proceedings in the senate on this point were prolonged interminably, until at last Rome appropriated the country herself. From that time, 116 B.C., all Greater Phrygia, Hellespontine Phrygia, Mysia, Lydia, and Caria, were included in the new Roman province. Of the Greek towns, free up till now, those that had supported Aristonicus were deprived of their liberty and made provincial towns; but the others were recognised as free and autonomous.

MITHRADATES
The Great, king of Pontus, from a coin of his realm.

At first, indeed, Rome had magnanimously relinquished all claim to taxes, which had long been raised by the kings of Pergamus; but soon some of them were restored. They introduced a tax of one-tenth on the produce of the soil, a tax on pasture land, and duties on imports and exports; the collection of revenue was made over to a company of Roman knights, who farmed all these taxes at Rome. This method of taxation was the plague and ruin of the provincials. The Asiatics, exposed to the tyranny and caprice of these companies, who considered only their own profit, and never the welfare of the taxpayers, and who naturally wished not only to get back the sums paid at Rome for farming these taxes but to enrich themselves greatly by it, were shamelessly plundered by them, and could never hope for success if they ventured on a judicial complaint at Rome; for the very knights who composed these companies for farming the taxes were the judges.

A Roman governor, who changed yearly, stood at the head of the province. Even if some of them, such as Mucius Scævola, were very honourable and worthy men, who really had the welfare of the province at heart, the majority of them brought with them only a mass of debts from the capital; and the province was reckoned by them and their compeers to be the most suitable sphere for getting rid of their debts and acquiring new wealth. There were, indeed, opportunities enough for the governor to wring out money for himself, especially since the province had to provide all expenses for him and his suite. The amount, however, which had to be expended for him depended on his own discretion, since he could impose taxes for a definite object, such as for the building of ships to resist the bold attacks of pirates, or generally for the protection of the land; and it rested with him alone to determine the rate of taxation, while no one controlled its proper application. Again, he alone distributed the garrisons among the towns, and many towns were only too glad to be quit of these unwelcome guests by a money payment to the governor. It was not, in any case, difficult for the Roman officials to plunder thoroughly the province entrusted to them. And, unfortunately, the number of the selfish governors at this time was greater than

Romans Plunder Asia Minor

that of the honourable. Besides this, the suite of the governor was large, and consisted mostly of young aristocrats, to whom the opportunity for acquiring wealth was not unwelcome.

In short, the maladministration of the Romans was appalling. And in Rome itself the senate usually turned a deaf ear when complaints against its members were raised. Such misgovernment must have greatly excited the anger and dissatisfaction of the provincials. Only a spark was needed to kindle a terrible conflagration, and the man was soon found who knew how to deal with these conditions. We saw earlier that the house of Mithradates in Pontus had founded a dynasty.

Appalling Misgovernment of Rome

In the course of time the frontiers of this kingdom were widened. The Greek towns on this coast, Amastris, Amisos, and, above all, Sinope, with its own colonies of Trapezûs and Cerasus, had been conquered and Sinope made the capital of the kingdom of Pontus. On the other hand, the various attempts of the Pontic princes to bring Galatia and Greater Phrygia under their rule were frustrated, either by a coalition of the other kings in Asia Minor or by the intervention of Rome. Mithradates Euergetes, who had fought in the war of Aristonicus on the side of the Romans, and then thought he had claims on Greater Phrygia, was murdered, at his own wife's instigation, before the transactions with Greater Phrygia were completed. He left a son of tender age, who, young as he was, fled from the plots of his mother and remained for many years hiding in the lonely mountains. Mithradates Eupator reappeared at Sinope as a young man of twenty, and the people hailed him as their king. His mother was obliged to resign the government to him. Filled with ambition and energy, his first and foremost thought was the aggrandisement of his kingdom; but that required means, money, and soldiers, of which he had not sufficient at his disposal. A happy chance helped him. In the Tauric Chersonese, the modern Crimea, the Scythians of the great South Russian steppe were pressing hard the free town of Chersonesus and the kingdom of Bosporus, now Kertch; Mithradates, being asked for aid, sent over his general, Diophantus, with an army. He

FAMOUS BRONZE FROM PERGAMUS

The statues of Pergamus were regarded by the Romans as triumphs of art. This group is "The Gaul and his Wife."

THE OUTSTANDING EXAMPLE OF PERGAMENE SCULPTURE

The familiar figures of "Dying Gauls" in the museums, erroneously called "Dying Gladiators," are Roman copies of Pergamene originals. The above is from an original.

defeated the Scythians, drove them back from the peninsula, and admitted the Chersonese, as well as the kingdom of Bosporus, which had submitted to his master, into the union of the subject states.

Training the Army of Pontus

Perhaps more important than the increase in territory was the replenishment of the Pontic treasury by the taxes which flowed in from the Crimea. Mithradates strengthened his army and increased its efficiency by continual training. He had already conquered Paphlagonia and Galatia in combination with Nicomedes of Bithynia, had partitioned them with his ally, and had secured his influence in Cappadocia, when the protests of Rome forced both of them to relinquish their conquests. Mithradates bowed this time to the dictates of Rome, since he did not yet feel himself strong enough for defiance; but the wish to wreak vengeance on Rome for having prevented first his father and then himself from realising the ardently desired scheme of conquest was cherished from this moment.

The disputes about the succession in Bithynia between Nicomedes III. and Socrates, who held possession of the throne by the help of Mithradates until Nicomedes, supported by the Romans, expelled him, and finally the invasion of the territory of Pontus by Nicomedes, led to the outbreak of the war between Rome and Mithradates. This so-called First Mithradatic War broke out in 88 B.C., at a time when the Romans were still fully occupied in Italy itself. The Roman legate, Manius Aquillius, levied, indeed, some troops in Asia; but he, as well as the remaining Roman commanders in the province of Asia, were defeated by Mithradates or repulsed without attempting serious resistance.

Slaughter of 80,000 Italians

The king marched by way of Apamea and Laodicea into the Roman provinces. Isolated towns, such as Magnesia, near the Sipylus, and Stratonicæa in Caria, resisted for some time the attacks of the king, and had to be conquered by him; but these were exceptions. Mithradates was received with open arms and hailed as a liberator from the universally hated yoke. In a very short time the province joined him. At his orders on one day 80,000 Italians were murdered. These had gradually become numerous, as more and more people had poured into the incalculably rich land of Asia for the sake of gain and commerce. Greece also was affected. Athens first of all espoused the cause of Mithradates; the Bœotians, Achæans, and Lacedæmonians declared for him. His general, Archelaus, was in Greece with 100,000 men, and had his headquarters at Athens. At Rome itself there was civil war. Not until the beginning of the year 87 B.C. was the great Sulla able to start with an army for Greece. His mere appearance brought many Greeks back to their allegiance. Only Athens resisted and remained loyal to Mithradates, and was conquered on March 1, 86 B.C. after a long siege; a few days later the Piræus also was stormed and given to the flames. The first great success was followed by others. Sulla defeated Archelaus at Chæronea, and Dorylaus, who had come up with considerable reinforcements, at Orchomenos.

Peace with Rome

In Asia Minor also the situation was not as favourable for Mithradates as at first. Rhodes had refused submission to the king, and Lycia did likewise. The siege of Rhodes, like that of Patara in Lycia, had been a waste of time, for on both occasions Mithradates had been forced to withdraw without effecting any result. Again, the cruel and tyrannical government of the liberator began soon to prove intolerable. At Ephesus, Tralles, and other places the king's governors were murdered or expelled, and the towns put into a state of defence. Lucullus, Sulla's general, had assembled a fleet in Syria and Egypt, with which he took Cos, Cnidos, Chios, and other towns from Mithradates. Pressed on every side, the king resolved to enter into negotiations for peace with Sulla. By the terms of peace Mithradates was obliged to evacuate the Roman province, give up his conquests in Bithynia, Paphlagonia, and Cappadocia, and to restrict himself to his Pontic territory; he was also to surrender 70 warships and pay 2,000 talents as war indemnity.

Thus ended the First Mithradatic War, and the Province of Asia was once more Roman. Sulla reorganised it. Rhodes was rewarded for its heroic resistance by a gift of Caunia and other districts on the Carian coast; the towns which had remained loyal were declared free; while those that had revolted were punished and a heavy fine was imposed upon them. This penalty weighed heavily upon the

towns; and since it had to be met by loans, it materially retarded their prosperity, already seriously impaired. Ten years afterwards we see Lucullus endeavouring by wise measures to discharge the debts of many of the towns, and vigorously combating the pernicious system by which unpaid interest was regarded as bearing interest in turn. He reduced the rate of interest, wiped out the interest which had run up above the amount of the original capital, and appropriated the fourth part of the income of the debtor for the satisfaction of the creditor.

The Work of a Wise Financier

The Second Mithradatic War, from 83 to 81 B.C., was in reality nothing more than a marauding expedition of Muræna, the governor of Asia, into the Pontic territory.

Towards the end of the year 74 B.C. Nicomedes III. of Bithynia died and bequeathed his kingdom to the Romans. That gave Mithradates a welcome opportunity to invade Bithynia in the spring of 73 B.C., and to bring the whole land under his rule. Lucullus and Cotta were immediately sent from Rome to Bithynia, and the Third Mithradatic War began. Cotta, to whom the supreme command of the fleet had been given, was to defend Bithynia. He withdrew to Chalcedon, while Lucullus advanced from Cilicia and Asia with the legions which had been collected there. Cotta offered battle under the walls of Chalcedon, and was defeated; at the same time Mithradates' fleet forced an entrance into the harbour and captured sixty Roman warships. After this success Mithradates began the siege of the rich, free town of Cyzicus, which was loyal to the Romans and defended itself bravely. Lucullus advanced to its relief. Mithradates, taken on two sides, and no longer besieger, but besieged, with his mighty army crippled by hunger and disease, was compelled at last to abandon his attempt and to fall back hastily on Pontus, saving what he could. Even his fleet was by degrees driven out of the Ægean Sea. Lucullus, on his part, now marched through Bithynia and Paphlagonia into the king's territory, defeated him at Cabeira, and compelled him to fly to his son-in-law, Tigranes, King of Armenia. After the conquest of the towns of Amisus and Sinope, Lucullus advanced into Armenia, defeated Tigranes at Tigranocerta in 69 B.C., and after a second victory at Artaxata, was making preparations to subdue all Armenia, when his soldiers mutinied and forced their general to retreat. As even the enormous booty captured on this retreat did not alter the soldiers' purpose, Lucullus was forced to abandon Armenia.

The Last War of Mithradates

Meantime, Mithradates had escaped and collected a new army, with which he advanced to reconquer his kingdom. The hostility of the equestrian class in Rome to Lucullus was so strong that he was recalled, and Pompey was entrusted with the conduct of the Mithradatic War in his place.

Pompey had just ended the War with the Pirates. After the Seleucid and Egyptian fleet had lost the mastery of the Ægean Sea, piracy became rampant. Pompey deserves the credit of having at last energetically checked this plague. Covered with glory in this war against the pirates, he appeared the most competent general to end the Mithradatic War. He therefore started in the year 66 B.C. for the new theatre of war, and so completely crushed Mithradates at Dasteria, which he himself afterwards named Nicopolis or City of Victory, that the king of Pontus could save himself only by precipitate flight through Colchis to the Bosphorus. In the midst of mighty preparations and great plans—he intended to lead against Italy a large army of Scythians, Thracians, and Celts, and to attack Rome itself—he was betrayed by his son Pharnaces and the army, and died by his own hand. Thus Pontus, the kingdom of Mithradates, fell to Rome; Bosporus was left to his son and betrayer, Pharnaces. Pompey organised Pontus as a province, founded eleven townships in it, and united it with Bithynia under one jurisdiction. Rome was now mistress of all Asia Minor, except Cappadocia, Galatia, and Lycia. By 25 B.C. Galatia too was a province. Cappadocia was absorbed after the death of its last king, and Lycia in the middle of the first century A.D.

Pontus Falls to Rome

Asia Minor had no separate history in the time of the Roman emperors, just as later under Byzantine and at present under Turkish rule. It has been a part of world-empires, and only as such has it had a share in the events of world-history. The age when its independent states played a part in the history of the world passed away with the early years of the empire.

REMAINS OF SYRIAN TOWNS FOUNDED BY SELEUCUS

The first picture shows the remains of the port of Seleucia, on the Mediterranean, built by Seleucus Nicator near the mouth of the Orontes. The second illustrates the actual ruins and some of the Seleucid sepulchres cut in the rock. The third is a picture of the walls on the west side of Antioch, built by Seleucus when he founded the city.

THE EMPIRE OF THE SELEUCIDÆ

FROM Asia Minor, after the death of Alexander, we turn to follow the fortunes of another portion of his empire: the eastern countries extending between Asia Minor and Egypt from the Phœnician coast to the Jaxartes and from the slopes of the Taurus to the Indus. The death of the great king brought no great immediate changes to these districts; Babylon remained the capital of the empire, and the provinces continued, for the most part, under their previous governors, excepting Media. At the partition of satrapies at Babylon, Media fell to Peithon, son of Craterus, while its former possessor, the Persian, Atropates, was restricted to the north-western part of Media, the province later called Atropatene after him. Syria was given to Laomedon of Mytelene.

A great change in the affairs of the East took place at the death of Perdiccas in 321 B.C. Babylon ceased to be the capital.

Seleucus Governor of Babylon

The new partition of satrapies at Triparadisus, arranged by the new regent, Antipater, affected the East much more than the former partition. Laomedon, indeed, retained Syria; Peucestas, Persia; and Peithon, Media; but Parthia received a new governor in Philip, as did Bactria and Sogdiana in Stasanor, Mesopotamia in Amphimachus, Susiana in Antigenes, and, what is most important for the ensuing period, Babylon in Seleucus.

Seleucus was born about 356 B.C. A member of the Macedonian nobility, he, like all his companions, entered early into the army and followed Alexander into Asia. He owed it not merely to his birth, but also to his courage and capabilities, that he belonged to the more intimate circle around the king. We are told, as an instance of his great strength and his courage, that one day in the presence of Alexander he brought a raging bull to the ground. He distinguished himself in the Indian campaign and in the battle against Porus. After Alexander's death he assumed the command of the household cavalry in place of Perdiccas, who became regent of the empire; Alexander had attached peculiar distinction to this post, and the holder of it, who was then called Chiliarch, filled, according to Persian precedent, at the same time one of the highest places at court. In this office he made the campaigns of Perdiccas against the insubordi-

The Rise of Seleucus

nate governors, first against Antigonus, and later against Ptolemy of Egypt. When the Egyptian campaign failed, he was among those generals who abandoned their commander; and it is to him and Antigenes of Susiana that the murder of the regent is ascribed. He was appointed governor of the province of Babylonia, giving up the Chiliarchy and the command of the household cavalry. It therefore became his first concern immediately to create an army for himself. Alexander's principle that no satrap should keep an army had been disregarded directly after his death. Seleucus was very soon drawn into the whirlpool of events. Eumenes, who had sided with Perdiccas, had been declared an enemy to the empire at Triparadisus; Antigonus had been appointed strategus, or captain-general, and entrusted with the conduct of the war against Eumenes. This war took a new turn when Eumenes, after the death of Antipater, had been appointed strategus in Asia by the regent, Polyperchon, and by Olympias, mother of Alexander, and had been amply provided with funds. The theatre of war was shifted to the east, where he at once found support from

Alexander's Empire Breaks up

the governors of the eastern provinces. These were still with their troops in Media, where they had expelled Peithon, who had killed Philip, satrap of Parthia, had placed his own brother in his place, and had thus roused the suspicions of other satraps.

But Seleucus neither took part in the combination against Peithon nor did he then join the side of Eumenes. He expressly declared that he could not make

common cause with the enemy of the empire. On the contrary, he joined Antigonus, who came to the East in order there to prosecute the war against Eumenes. Fortune, indeed, seemed to smile on Seleucus at first. He received the province of Susiana, the former governor of which, Antigenes, fought on the enemy's side; but fortune proved fickle. When Antigonus had put to death Eumenes, betrayed by his own troops, and handed over to his enemy, he behaved as an absolute despot and arbitrarily appointed and deposed governors. When he was in Babylon he required from Seleucus, from whom he had already taken away Susiana, an account of his administration; Seleucus refused, and, feeling himself no longer safe, fled from Babylon to Egypt and the court of Ptolemy.

Seleucus Flees to Egypt

The great power of Antigonus, as well as his despotic behaviour, led to an alliance of Ptolemy, Lysimachus, and Cassander, to the consummation of which Seleucus contributed his share. Wars then ensued, which continued almost without cessation from 315 to 301. Here we are concerned only with the struggle for Syria and Phœnicia, with which the first war began. Ptolemy had occupied these countries; Antigonus drove him out, and when he himself went back over the Taurus, in order to be near the scene of war in Asia Minor, he left behind his son Demetrius there. The decisive defeat of the latter at Gaza and the reconquest of Syria by Ptolemy allowed Seleucus to return to Babylon in 312 B.C. Seleucus had undertaken the march with only 800 infantry and 200 cavalry; but the population, whose love he had known how to win previously, welcomed him back. As most of the garrisons, too, went over to him, he was able without great trouble to re-enter on the possession of his province. When Seleucus, together with Lysimachus of Thrace, appeared in Asia Minor for the last decisive passage of arms with his old opponent, Antigonus, he had extended his power far over the borders of Babylonia, and created for himself an empire which went from the Euphrates eastward to the Jaxartes and comprised all the so-called upper satrapies. It would be interesting to be able to follow the distinct steps of this expansion of his power, but our sources fail here.

Founding the New Empire

We hear only that Seleucus unexpectedly by night attacked Nicanor, who had been placed in command by Antigonus in Media and the upper satrapies, and had advanced upon the news of Seleucus' return to Babylon. In this night attack many distinguished leaders fell, among them the satrap of Persia; and the greater part of the troops went over to Seleucus. Nicanor was forced to fly. Susiana, Media, and Persia fell to Seleucus, who thus won a powerful position. The feeling of the upper satrapies was not favourable to Antigonus, which was to Seleucus' advantage. The governors of those parts either voluntarily submitted or, as in Bactria, were forced into submission. Similarly he tried to make the Macedonian power once more felt in India, where it had been destroyed since the establishment of a strong native empire by Chandragupta. Seleucus crossed the Indus to fight him, but concluded a peace on favourable terms for the Indian prince. In return for a tribute of 500 elephants he confirmed Chandragupta in his former dominions, and a subsequent alliance by marriage established permanent friendly relations between the two empires. Seleucus had thus in a few years founded an empire and grown strong enough to interfere in the West. Like his neighbour, he assumed the royal diadem in 306 B.C. The advance of Demetrius Poliorcetes in Hellas, and his pressure on Cassander, induced the latter immediately to turn to Antigonus, in order to make his peace with him. Antigonus demanded complete submission, and thus unequivocally asserted his claims to the overlordship. Lysimachus, Ptolemy, and Seleucus, to whom Cassander communicated this answer, saw the common danger—all four kings concluded a new treaty of alliance and began the war against Antigonus. But only Lysimachus and Seleucus took active part in it. When the former marched across the Hellespont to Asia Minor, Seleucus went to join him with his army in Phrygia, and in conjunction with Lysimachus offered Antigonus battle at Ipsus in 301 B.C., where Antigonus was defeated and slain.

Tribute from India

The allies divided the spoils. The chief share in it, as was fair, fell to the two actual conquerors. Lysimachus received north-western Asia Minor—Caria, Lydia, Ionia and Hellespontine

Phrygia; Seleucus had Greater Phrygia and Syria. Ptolemy, who as a member of the alliance against Antigonus had invaded Syria, but had again evacuated the land on the false news of a victory and further advance of Antigonus, was forced to waive his claim on Syria, for the possession of which he had long striven. The expedition of Demetrius Poliorcetes—who had lost Macedonia—into Asia in 286 B.C. was without noteworthy influence on the affairs of Asia Minor, for he soon fell into the power of Seleucus and died a prisoner in 282 B.C. But once again Seleucus had to take the field. Lysimachus had caused his son and successor, Agathocles, to be killed on the malicious accusation of his wife, Arsinoe, and her brother, Ptolemy Ceraunos, who had fled from Egypt to Macedonia because his younger brother had been appointed successor. Lysandra, widow of Agathocles, fled with her children to Seleucus in Syria. Thither also resorted Ceraunos, who no longer felt himself secure in Macedonia, and another son of Lysimachus, by name Alexander. Seleucus received them all with friendly hospitality. Hence a war broke out in 281 B.C. between Lysimachus and Seleucus. Lysimachus was killed in battle, and Seleucus entered on his inheritance in Asia Minor and Europe.

Thrace and Asia Minor Gained

Seleucus appointed his son Antiochus, who had for a long time administered the upper satrapies, regent of Asia, desiring himself to reside in Macedonia, in order to end his days in the land of his birth; while he intended Thrace for the children of the murdered Agathocles. He had already landed in Europe when, in 281 B.C., he fell beneath the dagger of Ceraunos, the very man who had shortly before fled to him, beseeching help. The murderer made himself master of Macedonia and Thrace.

In a long life Seleucus had, indeed, learnt the uncertainty of all things, but towards the end had enjoyed permanent prosperity and had attained greatness. Shortly before he died the greater part of Alexander's empire was in his hands. But he was not merely a fortunate conqueror, who forced large tracts of land to his own rule, and might with justice style himself Nicator, or Conqueror, but he resembled Alexander the Great in having done all that lay in his power to disseminate Hellenic culture, while he promoted trade and traffic in his own dominions and opened new sources of prosperity. He continued on a magnificent scale the policy of colonisation begun by Alexander. The founding of seventy-five towns is ascribed to him, including Seleucia on the Tigris, which, rapidly flourishing, contained soon after the Christian era 600,000 inhabitants; Antioch on the Orontes, which flourished even in later antiquity; Seleucia Pieria, the port of Antioch; Seleucia on the Calycadnus in Cilicia; Laodicea in the Lebanon, and Apamea on the Orontes. In the east also numerous towns were founded on the Greek model, with a senate and a popular assembly; and these soon became centres of culture and growing prosperity.

Founder of Seventy-five Towns

When Seleucus I., Nicator, died, the empire established by him had attained its greatest expansion. The power of the Seleucidæ—the name usually given in honour of its creator and founder to the dynasty which, through Seleucus, became lords of these dominions—stretched then from the Bosphorus and the western coast of Asia Minor to the Indus and from Syria to the Jaxartes and the Pamir. Those who wish to designate the empire of Seleucus no longer by the reigning dynasty, but by a geographical term, are accustomed to call it, in accordance with the true position and the real fulcrum of the power of its rulers, the Syrian empire; this designation is, indeed, less appropriate for the period of Seleucus and his immediate successors than for the later Seleucidæ.

But this empire was merely a conglomeration of countries, inhabited by the most heterogeneous nations. In this lay its weakness. Seleucus at first resided in Babylon, at about the centre of his empire. He afterwards removed his residence to Antioch on the Orontes—that is to say, almost to the western border. This shifting of the centre of gravity of the empire from its central point to the circumference was clearly due to the fact that Seleucus had entrusted his son, Antiochus, with the administration of the upper satrapies; but Antioch remained the capital even after his death. The choice of the royal residence was a very important matter for the empire, which, badly defined and devoid of natural coherence in all

Antioch the Capital

respects, as it was, found its ideal unity only in the person of its monarch. Although the Seleucidæ obviously did not renounce any claim on the eastern satrapies by this arrangement, these became, in fact, far removed from the heart of the empire and withdrew more and more from the influence of the central authority. The first successor of Seleucus was his son, Antiochus, surnamed Soter, who even in his father's lifetime had administered as co-regent the countries lying east of the Euphrates. He had taken to wife Stratonice, daughter of Demetrius Poliorcetes. Stratonice was originally married to his father, but had been voluntarily surrendered by the latter to the son, who was wasting away with love for her, an occurrence which soon became a fertile subject for the Greek writers of romances. He followed his father's example, and nominated his two sons as regents; first the elder, Seleucus, and after his murder, the younger, Antiochus.

The Love of Antiochus

The history of the next two generations, which are taken up by the reigns of Antiochus I., Soter (281–261), Antiochus II., Theos (261–246), and Seleucus II., Callinicus (246–226), is marked by the relations of Syria to Egypt and by the wars which the Seleucidæ had to wage with the neighbour states. The position of Syria as regards the states of Asia Minor was not less important. In addition, there was the defection of the countries on the Oxus and Jaxartes; for now began the subjugation of the Parthian province by the neighbouring inhabitants of the steppes and the formation of the new Parthian empire.

Complications with Egypt began directly after the death of Seleucus. The first question at issue was that of the possession of Phœnicia and Cœle-Syria, countries to which Ptolemy Soter laid claim on the ground that he had conquered them in 318 B.C., had lost them through Antigonus, but had demanded them once more on the occasion of the last alliance of the kings against Antigonus as a prize of victory for his share in the war. Since, however, the battle at Ipsus had been fought without Ptolemy's assistance, Syria had been awarded to Seleucus in the distribution. For this reason Ptolemy's son and successor, Ptolemy Philadelphus, soon after the death of Seleucus, began the First Syrian War. We know little of its course. Philadelphus conquered Cœle-Syria, the southern part of Syria, and by means of his fleet brought strips of the coast of Asia Minor under his rule, so that Egypt firmly established herself on the coasts of Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia, Caria, and Ionia.

Wars with the Ptolemies

But besides the Ptolemies, other foes to the Seleucidæ had arisen in Asia Minor. In the north-western corner lay Bithynia, which had been able under native princes to preserve its independence throughout the whole of their period. Even the attempt made by Antiochus, immediately after his accession, to subdue Bithynia had failed. To the south-west of it, in the valley of the Caïcus, lay Pergamus, a strong fortress, the commander of which, Philetærus, revolted from his new masters, the Seleucidæ, after Lysimachus' death, and, being amply provided with funds, was able to lay skilfully the foundations of an important dominion. In addition, the Galatians had come into Asia Minor as a new power. They had been invited in 277 B.C. by Nicomedes of Bithynia to come over from Thrace, and had remained here. They occupied the country on the upper Sangarius and middle Halys, and as far as political influence went, greatly contributed to the disintegration of Asia Minor. Against them also Antiochus had to fight to protect his territory. It is recorded that he defeated the Galatians. This victory helped to confine them to the district called, after them, Galatia, but it did not effect their subjugation. Antiochus was still more unlucky in the war against Eumenes of Pergamus, in which he was defeated at Sardis. Soon afterwards he died, in 261 B.C.

Coming of the Gauls

His son and successor, Antiochus II., surnamed Theos, who reigned from 261 to 246 B.C., was not in a position to alter the state of affairs in Asia Minor and to win back the districts torn from his kingdom. With Egypt he waged the Second Syrian War. We know nothing more of it than that its objects, the recovery of Cœle-Syria and the driving out of the Egyptians from the coast of Asia Minor, were not realised. The status quo was recognised in the subsequent peace; and to seal and confirm it, Ptolemy Philadelphus gave his daughter Berenice to Antiochus in marriage. Antiochus'

first wife, Laodice, who was disgraced and divorced for the sake of the Egyptian princess, in revenge poisoned her husband and instigated her eldest son, the new king, Seleucus II., surnamed Callinicus, to the murder of his stepmother. To avenge this crime, Ptolemy Euergetes, who in 246 B.C. had followed Philadelphus on the Egyptian throne, began the Third Syrian War. While Euergetes marched to Syria at the head of his troops his fleet sailed from Cyprus to Cilicia, where many Seleucid officials, as well as many Cilician towns, voluntarily joined the Egyptians; the officials devoted to their old lord, had to fly, and the towns who favoured him were besieged. The fleet then sailed for North Syria. Seleucia, the important coast town, and later Antioch, the capital, which lies a short distance from it, were occupied. Euergetes himself crossed the Euphrates with an army, made himself master of the upper satrapies, and brought back the treasures and relics which the Persians had in earlier times carried off from the Egyptians. In spite of such astounding successes, the Egyptian king suddenly concluded peace, because, it was said, uproar and revolt in his own country summoned him back. Only Seleucia and the Cilician coast remained in the Egyptian power.

The reign of Seleucus II. was extremely stormy and disturbed; and its records lack coherence. His brother Antiochus, surnamed Hierax, disputed with him the dominion over Asia Minor and rose against him, relying on the independent states of the Bithynians, Cappadocians, and Galatians. But in the war of the two brothers against each other and in that with Attalus, Prince of Pergamus, who conquered and routed Hierax, the country as far as the Taurus was lost to the Seleucidæ. Hierax was murdered in his flight by robbers about 227 B.C. Even in the east the dominion of the Seleucidæ fared badly. In the time of Antiochus Theos the Bactrian governor, Diodotus, had revolted. He proclaimed himself king of Bactria, and was recognised in Sogdiana and Margiana in 250 B.C. About the same time the brothers Arsaces and Tiridates, chiefs of the nomadic tribe of the Parni, whose pasturing-grounds were on Bactrian territory, had moved further west and had occupied the Seleucid territory of Astabene. Arsaces was immediately proclaimed king there. Thence they invaded Parthia, and, after

THE LOVE OF ANTIOCHUS FOR HIS STEP-MOTHER STRATONICE

Stratonice, daughter of Demetrius Poliorcetes, was married to Seleucus I., who voluntarily surrendered her to his son Antiochus because the latter was wasting away with love for her. From the picture by De Lairesse.

defeating the governor, made themselves masters of the country. The attempt of Seleucus Callinicus to expel Arsaces failed, and the Parthian empire of the Arsacidæ became established more firmly; it disappeared only in 226 A.D., after a duration of 480 years. When Callinicus died, in 226 B.C., the Seleucid empire comprised only Northern Syria, without the important seaport Seleucia Pieria; Cilicia, with the exception of the coast; and the land eastward from the Euphrates as far as Media, Susiana, and Persia. Asia Minor this side of the Taurus and all the land east of Media was in the hands of the enemy: Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia, for which battles had so often been fought, belonged now, as formerly, to the Egyptians.

The Reduced Empire

Seleucus III., surnamed Soter, eldest son of Callinicus, reigned only a short time—226–223 B.C. He was assassinated while on a campaign over the Taurus against Attalus of Pergamus. He was followed by his brother, Antiochus III. (223–187 B.C.), aged twenty, to whom the surname Megas, or the Great, has been given. At first he was a pliant tool in the hand of his first Minister, Hermeias, an intriguing Carian. The settlement of affairs in Asia Minor, where, after 227, Attalus had extended his territory up to the Taurus, and the war with Pergamus, were entrusted by him to his cousin, Achæus. He himself planned a war against Egypt, in order to bring once for all under his power the long-disputed Cœle-Syria. And in this plan he still held firmly to the counsel of Hermeias, when, in 222 B.C., news was brought him of the revolt of the Median satrap Molon, and his brother Alexander, who governed Persia. Antiochus did not himself march until Molon had conquered several of his generals, placed the diadem on his head, and, starting from Apolloniatis after the capture of Seleucia on the Tigris, had actually taken Babylonia. In 220 B.C. Antiochus crossed the Tigris and pushed into Apolloniatis, in order to cut off his enemy's retreat into Media. A battle was fought, Molon was defeated, and died by his own hand. As a warning example his corpse was crucified and displayed on the highest point of the Zagros Mountains, over which the road from the West into Media led. Antiochus settled affairs with leniency and moderation. Seleucia alone was severely punished. He then invaded Atropatene. Here the prince, Artabazanes, who had taken Molon's side, was terrified by the sudden invasion and made a treaty favourable to Antiochus. Hermeias, the powerful Minister, was afterwards murdered.

Wars of Antiochus the Great

Antiochus on his return to Syria began extensive preparations for the Egyptian war. The campaign of the year 219 B.C. opened favourably. Seleucia Pieria, the port of Antioch, which had been Egyptian since the time of Ptolemy Euergetes, was taken. The Egyptian governor of Cœle-Syria, Theodotus, an Ætolian, went over to Antiochus and delivered up the seaports of Ptolemais and Tyre. Other towns also surrendered to him. But what was universally expected did not happen. Instead of attacking Egypt, which was ill-prepared for war, the king marched back from the Phœnician coast to Seleucia. Now began negotiations by Ptolemy's Ministers, Agatholes and Sosibus, while they were busily arming; and in the winter of 219-218 B.C. the conclusion of a four months' truce was actually obtained. In the summer of 218 Antiochus was again in Cœle-Syria and defeated the Egyptians; but when Ptolemy, in 217 B.C., after mighty preparations, took the field in person, Antiochus was beaten at Raphia on the borders of Syria and Egypt and was forced to relinquish the conquered districts. Ptolemy made no further use of his victory.

A Truce After Victory

Meantime, in Asia Minor, Achæus had revolted from Antiochus and had been proclaimed king. Antiochus took up the war, and in 216 marched over the Taurus, forced the enemy back to Sardis, and after a siege of two years took the town by a stratagem. Achæus was delivered into the hands of Antiochus, who caused him to be executed.

There now followed a series of successful operations. In 209 B.C. Antiochus undertook a campaign of several years' duration in the East. He first invaded the territory of the Parthians, where the Arsacid dynasty was compelled to recognise the supremacy of Syria. He then marched to Bactria. Euthydemus encountered him on the Areios, but had to retreat after a gallant fight. Bactria, the capital, was besieged; and Euthydemus, reduced to great straits, threatened

Seleucus I.

Antiochus I.

Antiochus II.

Seleucus II.

Seleucus III.

Antiochus III., the Great

Antiochus IV.

Alexander Balas

Demetrius II.

Diodotus Tryphon

Antiochus VIII.

Antiochus IX.

Cleopatra Selene

Tigranes

THE RULERS OF THE EMPIRE OF THE SELEUCIDÆ FROM 306 to 64 B.C.

The dynasty and empire of the Seleucidæ was founded by Seleucus I. about 306 B.C. Under the rule of his three successors, Antiochus I. and II. and Seleucus II., who waged the three Syrian Wars, the realm fared badly. Seleucus III. reigned for three stormy years, but his brother, Antiochus III., the Great, restored the empire to its original importance. Both he and his son, Antiochus IV., however, had to submit to Rome. Alexander Balas, an upstart king encouraged by Rome, was driven out by Demetrius II., and he, in turn, by Diodotus Tryphon. Antiochus VIII. and IX. and the latter's son all married, in turn, Cleopatra Selene. Tigranes, king of Armenia, conquered Syria before the final supremacy of Rome. The portraits are from coins in the British Museum.

to call the nomads into the country and to give up the Greek civilisation to their mercy. The Seleucid, whose house had disseminated Greek culture everywhere, did not refuse to listen to such arguments. The parties then concluded an offensive and defensive alliance in 206 B.C. Antiochus now went over the Hindu-Kush into the valley of Kabul and renewed with the Indian king, Subhagasena, the friendship which Seleucus Nicator had formed with Chandragupta. Subhagasena also gave him elephants and furnished his army with provisions. He began his return through Arachosia and Drangiana and wintered in Carmania, or Kerman. From there he made a digression towards the opposite Arabian coast to the rich trading nation of the Gerrhæi. Thence the king returned to Seleucia. This campaign brought the Seleucid name once more into honour in the East, and won for the king among his contemporaries the surname of "the Great."

In the meanwhile, the young Ptolemy Epiphanes had come to the throne in Egypt in 205 B.C. The kings Antiochus of Syria and Philip V. of Macedonia concluded therefore a treaty, with the avowed object of seizing the Egyptian possessions and of dividing them among themselves. Philip crossed into Asia Minor, but was there entangled in a war with Pergamus, Rhodes, and lastly with Rome herself. Antiochus sought to realise his former intentions against Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia. The diplomatic interference of Rome in favour of her ward, Epiphanes,

was not able to check the king in his project, successfully begun, of subjugating Cœle-Syria, which was completed by the defeat of the Egyptians under the Ætolian mercenary, Scopas, on Mount Paneum, near the sources of the Jordan, in 198 B.C. Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia thus became once more Syrian.

Marriage With Egypt

As Antiochus wished to have a free hand for Asia Minor and Europe, he concluded peace with Egypt and sealed it by the betrothal of his daughter Cleopatra to Ptolemy Epiphanes.

In 196 B.C. Antiochus crossed over to Europe, occupied the Chersonese, rebuilt Lysimacheia, made this town his arsenal, and set about the conquest of Thrace, as if all belonged to him which his great ancestor, Nicator, would have ruled if he had not been suddenly murdered. The strained relations with Rome were intensified when Antiochus hospitably received Hannibal, Rome's greatest foe. After diplomatic negotiations, war with Rome finally broke out, when Antiochus, at the instigation of the Ætolians, crossed to Greece in 192 B.C. and began to subdue Hellenic towns and provinces. Contemptuously ignorant of Roman power, he landed with ten thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry. He attempted to bar the advance of the Roman army at Thermopylæ, but was eluded and defeated. With few followers he fled to Asia Minor in 191 B.C. The Syrian fleet also had been defeated at sea: first in 191 B.C. by C. Livius at Corycus, between Chios and Ephesus, then in 190 B.C. by Æmilius at Myonnesus. The king's consternation at this reverse was so great that he evacuated Lysimacheia, his fortified arsenal on the Thracian coast, and thus left the road to the Hellespont free to Cornelius Scipio. The decisive battle took place at Magnesia on Mount Sipylos; Antiochus was completely defeated in 190 B.C. By the terms of the peace he had to cede Asia Minor as far as the Taurus, to surrender his elephants and his fleet, except ten ships, and to pay a war indemnity of 15,000 Euboic talents ($24,000,000), of which 3,000 were to be paid at once, and 12,000 in the course of the next twelve years. Soon afterwards Antiochus was killed by the Elymæi, or Elamites, on an expedition to the East, where he wished to plunder the temple of Belus, in order to fill his empty coffers in 187 B.C.

Expensive Peace With Rome

Antiochus was succeeded by his sons, Seleucus IV., surnamed Philopator (187–175 B.C.), and Antiochus IV., surnamed Epiphanes (175–164 B.C.). Seleucus, who had to struggle with the financial distress caused by the payments to Rome, was murdered by his minister, Heliodorus. The latter attempted to usurp the throne, but could not hold it. Antiochus came to the throne, supported by Pergamus. He was immediately entangled in a war with Egypt. His sister, Cleopatra, had married Ptolemy Epiphanes in 193 B.C. and had received as a bridal gift the assignment of the taxes from several towns in Cœle-Syria. Cleopatra died in 173 B.C. and disputes arose over her dowry. The Egyptians claimed the towns, and demanded the continuance of the payments even after the death of the queen. Antiochus declined, since the Syrian claim of supremacy had never been relinquished there. Very shortly, war resulted. A victory at Pelusium delivered that important town into the hands of Antiochus, and made his road to Egypt open. The king, Ptolemy Philometor, fell into the hands of the enemy, and at the wish of the people his brother, Physcon, undertook the government in Egypt. Epiphanes was repulsed, but kept Pelusium. Philometor, having regained his freedom, came to an agreement with his brother. Epiphanes now attacked Egypt afresh and besieged Alexandria.

Antiochus Conquers Egypt

At this juncture C. Popillius Lænas appeared in the camp of the king at Alexandria with an order from the Roman senate, bidding Antiochus leave Egypt at once. He marched out of Egypt, and gave up Pelusium, but kept Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia in 168 B.C. The peremptory command of Rome had been enough. Enlightened by his father's disaster, and feeling himself not strong enough to wage a war with Rome, he was compelled to recognise the domineering foreign power in distant Italy, and submit himself to it. In the course of a generation, then, Syria had fallen for ever from the position of a world-power, which it held under Antiochus III.

We have just seen how Armenia had formed itself into two independent kingdoms. The next campaign of Epiphanes was directed thither in 166 B.C. He penetrated far into the land, took King

Artaxias prisoner, but replaced him in his kingdom, just as once his father, notwithstanding successful campaigns, had in the end recognised the kings of Parthia and Bactria. Armenia must certainly at this time have recognised the supremacy of Syria, but it did not again become a Syrian province. From Armenia, Epiphanes turned to the Persian Gulf, where he rebuilt a town founded by Alexander at the mouth of the Tigris, which had fallen to ruins, and called it Antioch. The new Antioch at the mouth of the Tigris having been again destroyed by the floods, was rebuilt afresh by the satrap, Hyspaosines, secured by strong dams, and called Charax. It soon afterwards became a flourishing commercial town and capital of a small kingdom. On the way to Persia to suppress a revolt, Antiochus IV. died at Tabæ, in 164 B.C., of consumption. The story of his relations with Judæa and the Maccabees is related in a following section.

After the short reign of Antiochus V. Eupator (164–162 B.C.), Demetrius I. Soter came to the throne (162–150 B.C.). He was the son of Seleucus IV., and had been at Rome as a hostage when his father was murdered and his uncle, Epiphanes, became king. From the outset he had to contend with the hatred of Roman tutelage. Timarchus, satrap of Media, revolted from Demetrius, and with the assent of the Roman senate assumed the diadem. In alliance with Artaxias of Armenia he soon subdued the neighbouring lands, and became master of Babylonia; but when Demetrius took the field against him, was defeated and slain in 160 B.C. Thus Media and Babylonia were again saved; and the grateful Babylonians, who hated Timarchus, gave to Demetrius the title of Soter, "the Saviour."

Under Roman Tutelage

But Rome, irritated at the destruction of her protégé, created fresh difficulties for Demetrius and formed an alliance of the neighbouring countries against him, in accordance with which a certain Alexander Balas, who was given out to be the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, set up as a rival king, and invaded Syria. Demetrius fell in the war against him in 150 B.C. The new king, who styled himself Alexander Theopator Euergetes, was, however, totally incapable. Ptolemy Philometor of Egypt, who had joined in supporting him, soon put forward Demetrius, son of Demetrius I., against him. After long struggles, in which Alexander Balas was worsted, Demetrius II. became king in 145 B.C. But against him also a certain Diodotus rose as a rival under the name of Tryphon, and succeeded in driving Demetrius out of the greater part of Syria. The effect of these calamitous civil wars was soon apparent. The rich and fertile provinces of Media and Babylonia were now lost and passed into the power of the Parthians. Seleucia, on the Tigris, the proud creation of the first Seleucidæ, was taken by them, and Demetrius II. himself was defeated by the Parthians and taken prisoner in 138 B.C.

Victories of the Parthians

His brother, Antiochus VII. Sidetes, who took his place in Syria, succeeded in ending the civil dissensions, after removing Tryphon, and in re-establishing the royal power. In 130 B.C. he undertook a campaign against the Parthians. The latter, being defeated on the Lycus, now released his brother Demetrius from captivity, probably in the hope that he would begin afresh the civil war and thus draw off Antiochus from Parthia. But before that happened the Parthians once more confronted Antiochus, and this time he was defeated and slain in 129 B.C. Thenceforth the dominion of the Seleucidæ was limited to the countries west of the Euphrates.

When Demetrius returned to his home under Parthian auspices, he began a war immediately with Egypt. The Syrian towns, especially the capital Antioch, and Apamea, sick of incessant war and misgovernment, and contemptuous of a Parthian protégé, revolted; and Ptolemy of Egypt set up against him in Syria Zabinas, the son of a merchant, who received the name of Alexander, and was passed off for an adopted son of the fallen Antiochus. He succeeded in defeating Demetrius, and the unpopular Demetrius went to Tyre, where he was killed as he disembarked from his ship in 125 B.C.

Antiochus "Long Nose"

Demetrius II. had two sons by his marriage with Cleopatra. Of these, Seleucus was killed by his own mother soon after the father's death, because he had assumed the diadem without her consent; the other, however, mounted the throne. A disturbed reign was the lot of this Antiochus VIII. Grypus, or "Long Nose," as it had been that of his father. A breach between Ptolemy and the rival king, Alexander Zabinas, led to closer

relations between the Egyptian and Grypus, in consequence of which the latter received not only ample assistance from Egypt, but also the hand of the Egyptian princess, Tryphaena. This open help from Egypt brought many Syrian towns to the side of Grypus, who thus, being supported on all sides, could confront his rival. Alexander Zabinas was worsted in the battle; a fugitive, he was seized by robbers, and was brought to Grypus and killed. Thus Grypus was lord and ruler of his father's realm. He did not, however, long enjoy the sole rule. His stepbrother, Antiochus IX. Cyzicenus, opposed him. The war between the brothers led eventually to a partition of the realm. Grypus obtained Syria proper and Cilicia; Cyzicenus had Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia. In the year 96 B.C Grypus was murdered. His son, Seleucus VI., repulsed, indeed, the attack of Cyzicenus, but had to fight with his four brothers. In Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia, after the death of Cyzicenus, his son, Antiochus X. Eusebes, "the Pious," reigned. He married—an event which throws light on the morality of family relations at that time — his own mother, Cleopatra Selene, who had been the wife of Grypus and then of Cyzicenus, after having been previously wedded to Ptolemy Lathyrus of Egypt.

War of the Brothers

A greatly diminished empire, torn by fraternal wars and civil dissension, whose history teemed with murder and horrors of every kind—that is the unedifying picture of the conditions of the Seleucid dynasty about 100 B.C. There was no longer any thought of accomplishing the great task pointed out by Seleucus, that of making the powerful empire into a state which should spread the blessings of civilisation and should find its most honourable work in the dissemination of Hellenism.

Antiochus III. had ultimately given back to the empire for a brief moment the position which it had held under the first Seleucidæ, although none of the successors had ruled an empire as wide as that which Seleucus had bequeathed to them. Antiochus Epiphanes and Antiochus Sidetes had striven earnestly to re-establish the former power, but all they created or founded soon fell to pieces again. Under their successors the empire was abandoned to the influence of the neighbouring powers. The intervention of Rome or Egypt in Syrian affairs proved too often fateful and calamitous to the house of the Seleucidæ.

In this helpless condition of the empire King Tigranes of Armenia was able to conquer first Syria proper in 83 B.C. and then the greater part of Phœnicia with Ptolemais in 74 B.C. The Roman, Lucullus, prepared the death blow to his supremacy in these regions. Shortly after, in the year 64 B.C., Pompey appeared in Syria and put an end to the Seleucid rule. Henceforth Syria ceases to have any history of its own. It flourished under the strong arm of the Roman emperors, for Rome carefully continued all that the Seleucidæ had accomplished by the extension of Hellenic culture. The land passed from the Romans to the Byzantines, and from them to the Arabs.

K. G. BRANDIS
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GREEK INFLUENCE ON INDIAN ART

The wonderful Buddhist art of Gandhara, the modern district of Peshawar, of which the above is an example, was based on the tradition of classical art brought to Bactria and India by Greeks.

BACTRIA: A GREEK CENTRE IN THE EAST

NORTH of the Hindu-Kush, west of the Pamirs, and east of Iran there stretches towards the Caspian Sea and the Sea of Aral a wide region, through which two streams, the Oxus and the Jaxartes flow. In antiquity the country on the upper course of the Oxus was called Bactria, on which Sogdiana bordered in the direction of the Jaxartes, towards the north, while the country on the lower courses of these two rivers, which stretched to the Caspian and the Sea of Aral, was usually called Chorasmia or Khwarezm.

The Bactrian kingdom, the rulers of which are said to have fought for many centuries against the Turanians—that is, against the nomads—and to have won great victories, was of immense antiquity. But the kings in the accounts handed down are mere mythical figures.

The Bactrian kings ended when Cyrus on his great expedition to the East subdued Bactria and gave the administration of the land to his brother, Bardias. The supremacy of Persia over the Iranic East was maintained until Alexander the Great, as heir of the Persian empire, which had been destroyed by him, subdued Bactria and Sogdiana in the course of his conquests. He sought, by founding towns —among them Alexandria Eschate on the Jaxartes—to ensure the obedience of the conquered country and to win it over to Greek civilisation. He settled Macedonian and Greek soldiers here; and these, doubtless, were joined soon by merchants and enterprising persons of all sorts, since the country, through which of old the wares of India were brought to the Black Sea, promised rich profits.

Bactria Under Persia

On the tidings of Alexander's death, the Greeks settled by him in the military colonies, consisting of 20,000 foot-soldiers and 3,000 horsemen, marched out, wishing to force their way to their old home; but, at the orders of the regent, Perdiccas, Peithon, governor of Media, went against them, defeated them through the treachery of one of their leaders, and his victorious troops put them and their generals to the sword, in order to seize their property. Notwithstanding this, the Macedonian supremacy remained unshaken here.

When Seleucus became governor of Babylonia and founded round it a great empire for himself, Bactria and Sogdiana formed part of it. The first Seleucidæ spared no precautions to secure these Eastern dominions. Alexandria Eschate was strengthened, and a new town, Antioch, founded in the same district, and others were restored or strengthened. These countries remained provinces of the Seleucid empire until, in the year 250 B.C., the governor, Diodotus, revolted and caused himself to be proclaimed king. Margiana and Sogdiana belonged from the first to the new kingdom. The times had been peculiarly favourable for the revolt. The successors of Seleucus Nicator had been so occupied in Asia Minor and by the wars with Egypt that their attention had been completely diverted from the Far East. The Bactrian empire was able, in the meanwhile, to strengthen itself. The treaty that Diodotus II., the son and successor of the first king, made with Tiridates of Parthia against Callinicus shows that both rulers recognised their common danger. Diodotus might enjoy his possession undisturbed so long as the Parthian empire lay between him and his former masters.

Settling a Greek Colony

But the dynasty of Diodotus was soon dethroned by a Greek from Magnesia, in Asia Minor, named Euthydemus. When Antiochus III. had brought the Parthians at least to recognise the Seleucid supremacy and marched against Bactria in 208 B.C., Euthydemus ruled there. The campaign ended with the recognition of Euthydemus as king, and with the betrothal of his son Demetrius to Antiochus' daughter in consequence of the Bactrian ruler's threat of calling the nomads into the country and giving up Hellenic civilisation to their mercy. The treaty shows the importance attached both by Euthydemus and Antiochus to Bactria as a barrier against the "Scythian" barbarians.

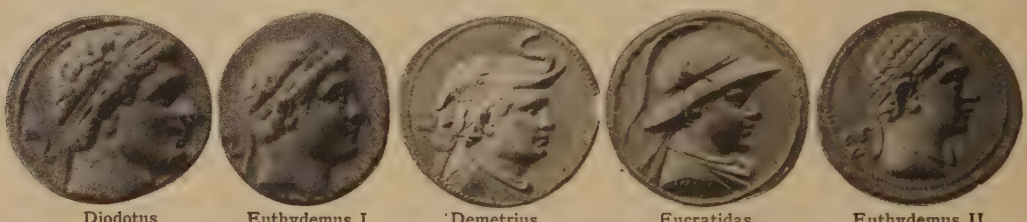
Greek Rule in Bactria

The same Demetrius, to whom Antiochus III. had betrothed his daughter while his father still lived, crossed the Hindu-Kush and extended the Bactrian rule as far as the Indus and the Punjab. Thus, the valley of Kabul and the Punjab, which Alexander had once possessed, were won back to Hellenism. The old town of Sangala, henceforth called Euthydemia, was made the capital of the Indian possessions. About the same time Arachosia, where the city of Demetrias, so called after Demetrius, was founded, and probably also Aria and Drangiana were made subject to the Bactrian supremacy. This is the period of Bactria's greatest power. Demetrius succeeded his father, Euthydemus, in the government, but was fated to see Eucratidas successfully contest the rule with him. Eucratidas also fought against the tribes inhabiting Aria, Drangiana, Sogdiana, and Arachosia. We have no details about these internal wars,

Bactrian Conquests in India

and culture from them. At any rate, these conditions greatly simplified the conquest of Bactria by the barbarians.

When, about 140 B.C., the Yue-tshi, nomads akin to the Tibetans, driven by the Turkish people of the Hiungnu from their abodes, appeared on the Bactrian frontiers, in order to seek new homes for themselves there, they found no opposition. The land as far as the Oxus fell to them. This sealed the fate of Greek culture north of the Hindu-Kush. South of the Hindu-Kush the Greeks maintained themselves a century longer. Among the numerous kings, handed down to us on coins, who seem to belong to this era and this country, only Menander is known from other sources also. He extended his dominion over the Punjab up to the middle course of the Ganges, but ruled also down to the mouth of the Indus and east of it in Syrastene, the present Gujerat. He is said to have been a Buddhist, and was renowned for his



Diodotus | Euthydemus I. | Demetrius | Eucratidas | Euthydemus II.

CONTEMPORARY PORTRAITS OF RULERS OF BACTRIA FROM THEIR COINAGE

Diodotus proclaimed himself king in 250 B.C. His dynasty was overthrown by the Greek Euthydemus, who was followed by his son Demetrius. Eucratidas in turn, overthrew him. Euthydemus II. was one of the later kings.

but only hear that the Parthians, under Mithradates, at this time became masters of Aria, or Herat, and that Eucratidas, on his return from an expedition to India, was murdered by his son.

But in addition to him there were other kings. The civil war had thus had ruinous consequences. Numerous royal names have been handed down to us on the coins, and the empire was clearly broken up into separate portions, the respective kings of which were at war with each other. But however little we are able to give with certainty the order of succession among the recorded kings, or the period of their reign, or the country where this or that king ruled, still it is very certain that this empire, weakened by intestine wars and manifold divisions, must have continually become more alienated from its chief task—namely, that of keeping the barbarians far from its frontiers and in protecting civilisation

justice. This Greek dominion in India was ended by a chief called by the Chinese Kieu-tsieu-Kio, or Kadphises in the Greek legend on the coins, the prince of Kushang, one of the five tribes into which the Yue-tshi were broken up. After he had united all these nomads into one aggregate, he conquered Kabul and Kophene south of the Hindu-Kush. His son, Kadaphes, added part of India to his dominions. This Scytho-Indian empire lasted to the end of the fourth century A.D. Its central point was the territory of Gandhara, the modern district of Peshawar. Here developed in the first century B.C. the wonderful Buddhist art which was based on the tradition of classical art brought to Bactria and India by the Greeks [see the statue of Buddha reproduced on page 1846]. The influence of Greek art on that of Gandhara is obvious.

Greek Art in India

THE JEWS AFTER THE CAPTIVITY

WITH the Persian conquest of Babylonia, the "Babylonian captivity" of the Jews was brought to an end. Cyrus, who on the whole followed the policy of granting self-government to small communities, had nothing to say against the desire of the fervent Jews to sacrifice to God in His own dwelling place. He granted permission for the return. From this point we have as authorities only the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah. From the post-exile narratives, such as the Chronicles furnish, it is impossible to gather even such facts as can be established from the Books of the Kings. Ezra and Nehemiah write in the spirit of the Chronicles—namely, from the standpoint of the hierarchical party. Although we are unable, in the absence of other sources of information, to compare their statements with secular narratives or evidences, historians may make use of them by recognising the bias which underlies their narrative. Soon after the occupation of Babylon by Cyrus, in 539 B.C., a caravan of Jews—stated to consist of 40,000 persons—started for the Promised Land under the leadership of Zerubbabel, a descendant of David and of the priest Jeshua. In Zerubbabel's descent we may see evidence of the belief that the house of David and the priesthood must govern together the promised Jewish kingdom. The newcomers fared like all enthusiasts. They found everything very different from what their spiritual Utopia had made them expect. They could not be prominent in the midst of a population which cared little about the Jewish people, and the kingdom of David soon proved to be still a thing of the future, like the ideal states of so many a Utopian undertaking of later times. On the other hand, the temporal and spiritual powers, the prince of David's lineage and the high-priest, soon fell out. Cambyses then forbade the completion of the Temple.

Return From Exile

A new stimulus, or rather, subsidy, was given to the undertaking, in the year 520 B.C., under Darius, at the urgent request of the new community, which found expression in the prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah. The rich body of Jews in Babylonia and elsewhere in the empire went out of their way and exerted all their influence to effect the completion of the Temple. At the same time the quarrel between the prince and the high-priest was decided in favour of the latter. The high-priest was recognised as possessing equal privileges. It must, however, have been apparent that the returned exiles had already begun to show themselves ordinary mortals in place of religious sectaries. Many, including the leaders themselves, had abandoned their strict isolation and had begun to seek contact with the heathen world. It was seen from the very first of what spirit "this return from exile" was the offspring. It was an attempt to realise the hierarchical ideals of Judaism, with the aid of its supporters throughout the world. The situation was precisely the same as would be created if the Jewish plutocrats of the present day founded a new Jewish Jerusalem. There never was a state which has been independently developed on the basis of the Jewish code, and there never can be one, for this code is the organisation of a religious body. It arose as such, and as such it was employed; but a state obeys the universal laws of the development of mankind, and these are different from those of a religious body, which lives under their protection. There has never been any political history of Judaism, and least of all can the history of the period we are now examining be regarded as political. A history of Judaism belongs to the internal history of the development of all civilised countries—in

Help From Darius

No Political History

fact, of all nations lying within the region of Western civilisation, from the Persian era to the present day. The branch of Judaism, which hoped to attain its ideals in the Promised Land, was far from playing the most prominent part in this development, and it has little or no bearing on the history of the world. Even Christianity did not grow up in the narrow sphere of this Jewish hierarchy, but in the wider domain of the civilised East, flooded by Judaism, as well as in the countries of Hellenistic culture over which it also spread. Judaism, which was a power in the Persian empire and at the court, was forced therefore to make a fresh advance if it did not wish to acknowledge the ideals of its religion to be impracticable. It was powerful and sufficiently imbued with its faith to undertake even costly political attempts. Ezra, described as a Jewish scholar from Babylonia and of priestly descent, received in the year 514 B.C. permission from Darius—tradition erroneously makes him out to be Artaxerxes Longimanus—to head the second great migration to Jerusalem, in order to realise the ideal state of the Jewish hierarchy. The undertaking was carried out with the fullest sanction and support of the state. Judaism accordingly was in a position to obtain a hearing for its wishes at court. But Ezra and his trusted followers soon experienced the stern realities of life to the detriment of their ideals. Ezra met at once with opposition from the most influential part of the population already settled in the land, which was by no means willing to submit to his demands. There was especial opposition to the stringent regulation that non-Jewish wives should be put away, and mixed marriages avoided. Even strict Jewish discipline had to give way before the force of the requirements of daily life.

Judaism in Persia

Our accounts are vague, and give no actual facts for the ensuing period of his activity until thirteen years had passed. The hierarchical party, in order to secure for themselves the possession of Jerusalem, took steps to rebuild the walls of the city. The secular party, as we may term them, who saw in this the consummation of the rule of the intolerant priesthood, strained every effort in order to hinder the undertaking, through the Persian officials and the neighbouring princes—Tobiah the Ammonite, Geshem the Arabian—with whom they entered into close relations. But strictly enforced orthodoxy had long been the firm bond of Judaism throughout the empire, and thus the party of the priests won the day. The influence of the Jewish element which listened to them was stronger at court than that of the government officials; and Nehemiah, a Jew holding, it is said, the high post of cupbearer, was enthusiastic enough to devote his powers to the service of the holy cause. The Persian government, meanwhile, came to the conclusion that the purely hierarchical organisation was not a success. Nehemiah was therefore nominated Persian governor, and given full authority, which placed him above the secularised high-priest. Armed with all constitutional authority, which the influence of the great Jewish party procured for him, he started for Jerusalem, and in the face of all the difficulties which his antagonists, supported and incited by the secular party, placed in his path, he carried out his purpose of fortifying Jerusalem with a wall. He thus offered to the hierarchy the means by which to exclude the influence of their neighbours, and to control those sections of the population in the city which were in league with them.

Rebuilding of Jerusalem

Nehemiah Governor of Jerusalem

Nehemiah is said to have governed in Jerusalem for twelve years, and then to have retired to the court of Susa. But he had hardly turned his back, when the ascendency of the orthodox party was again threatened; he was compelled to return if he was not to abandon the realisation of the ideal religious state. Once more he exerted all the power which the influence of his sect conferred on him in order to exercise compulsion on the refractory; and he converted them by force to an acknowledgment of the strict demands of their religion. Even the family of the high-priest was bound to admit that Israel endured no attack upon its institutions. The Ammonite Tobiah, who was related to the high-priest El-ashib, was expelled from the Temple precincts; and a grandson of the high-priest, who had married a daughter of Sin-uballit. or Sanballat, probably the prince of Moab—not as usually assumed, Samaria — was driven from Jerusalem. Strictest orthodoxy reigned.

EZRA, LEADER OF THE SECOND MIGRATION TO JERUSALEM, READING THE BOOK OF THE LAW
Ezra received permission from Darius to head the second migration from Babylon to Jerusalem, and, with Nehemiah, legalised the experimental state by the publication of the book of the law, which event is here pictured.

The new order of things, such as Ezra and Nehemiah wished to introduce into the experimental state, received its legal confirmation by the publication of the book of the law, which comprised the institutions of Judaism, the priestly code. The account given of the outward ceremonial which attended its solemn publication by Ezra is unimportant; as might be expected, he tells us only of the rejoicings and enthusiasm of the people. The record of the difficulties which had been surmounted enables the historian to form a correct idea of the matter. The law was not the work of Ezra and Nehemiah, nor did they raise it to be the effective law of Judaism. It had long been the standard round which Judaism in the empire rallied; and its introduction into Jerusalem signified only the obligation of the ideal state, restored with the help of Judaism, to observe the law which it had been founded to fulfil. The real development of Judaism was not perfected on the soil of Palestine. The law was not the product of a political community, but of a religious body, and it was not the result of a national struggle for existence. The spirit of the law itself, which had thus been long in force for Judaism throughout the empire, is tolerably familiar. It is the spirit which since then has prevailed and has become only more rigid—the spirit which Judaism has observed down to the present day.

The Book of The Law

Vague and scanty as are the accounts for this period of the vigorous activity shown by the new Jewish spirit in the process of its development, they are still more so during the ensuing period of the Persian rule. We can, however, reconcile ourselves to this lack of information. The hierarchy which was here established presents in no respect a momentous event in the history of mankind. It was not even a unique phenomenon in the history of antiquity. Similar constitutions were possible even in the sphere of pagan religions, as is shown, for example, by the priestly state in Comana, in Cappadocia. In the Persian period the development of the hierarchy continued to advance. Although Ezra and Nehemiah exercised a sort of secular power, conferred on them by the court, and were to some extent governors, and although from the first there had been the wish to uphold the royal dignity of David, yet power was gradually concentrated in the hands of

The Priestly State

the high-priest. The Persian court looked on quietly at this growth, which threatened no danger to the maintenance of order and was fostered by the influential body of Jews. As punishment for an attempt to take part in the Syrian insurrection against Artaxerxes Ochus, the Jews had to submit to the deportation of part of their population into Hyrcania; the satrap Bagoas is said then to have shown that Persia would not tolerate any contumacy. Dissensions, which are reported to have been rife at this period in the family of the high-priest and to have led to the murder by the high-priest of his own brother, were certainly connected with the hostility of the rival parties, but are, after all, of no great importance.

Growth of the Priesthood

When Persia broke up, the Jews are said from the very first to have secured for themselves the favour of Alexander by adroit compliance. From this point onward we possess accounts which are influenced, even more than those of the Persian period, by Jewish self-complacency. Flavius Josephus is an untrustworthy and, from his conceit, irritating authority.

The disputes among the Diadochi severed Egypt from Babylonia. Syria was the apple of discord, but soon came under Egyptian influence. During the prosperity of Egypt under the Ptolemies we see Judaism also powerful and prosperous and affording welcome assistance to the government in all matters of trade and of administration.

Judaism undoubtedly did not then come to the front in Egypt for the first time. Just as one part of the hierarchical party had been brought by Nebuchadnezzar to Babylonia, so another had taken refuge in Egypt. During a later attempt at insurrection, Jeremiah and others had been carried there by force. With the further spread of Judaism these fugitives and newcomers had there, as elsewhere in the empire, gained in importance and had played a prominent part. It is, however, quite plain that the real strength of Judaism lay with the ruling power of the East—that is, in Persia and Babylonia. The East was now divided, and we see at once two centres of Judaism—in Babylonia-Syria and in Egypt. This is again an indication that the evolution of Judaism did not have Palestine for its scene. A Hellenic Judaism now comes into prominence at the court of the Ptolemies, which was able rapidly to appropriate the results of the ripening Hellenic spirit ingrafted on the East, and adroitly adapt them to its own requirements. It was more through this transference of the centre of the power of Judaism from Persia and Babylonia to Egypt than through political conformity to the rule of the Ptolemies that the Jewish state fell under the influence of Egyptian Hellenism. A production of Egyptian Judaism is the Septuagint Version, intended in the first instance for the use of those who could no longer read the Holy Scriptures in the original language.

Judaism in Egypt

Towards the end of the third century, in the struggle between the Seleucidæ and the Ptolemies, the former gained the upper hand and Judah became subject to Syrian supremacy. Antiochus III. was received by the Jews with open arms. Assistance was even given in the siege of the Egyptian garrison in the Akra, the citadel of Jerusalem. Antiochus is said to have shown himself correspondingly gracious at first and in particular to have sanctioned a remission of taxation, which was certainly calculated to win men's hearts, since their own compatriots had already proved themselves very active tax-collectors in the service of the Ptolemies. But when the power of Antiochus was afterwards broken by the battle of Magnesia, in 190 B.C., the greater advantage seemed once more to rest in an alliance with Egypt. Antiochus, in order to pay the war indemnity, was certainly forced to wring from his subjects all that he possibly could; on the other hand, the influence of the Egyptian Jews, in whose support hopes were now centred, must have been powerful.

Antiochus in Jerusalem

How far the ever restless spirit of enterprise had already ventured to cross from the land of the Pharaohs to the latter's powerful protectress on the Tiber we do not know, but we can hardly place the beginnings of a Jewish colony in Rome at a much later date. In short, the influential and wealthy members of the Jewish body must now be looked for more and more in Egypt and the west rather than in the east, which at this time under the Parthian rule was quite severed from civilisation. Accordingly, Judah, which was thrown upon the support of those

JUDAS MACCABÆUS, THE HERO OF THE JEWS, ADDRESSING HIS TROOPS

The famous rebellion of the Maccabees against the rule of the Seleucidæ was begun by Mattathias Maccabæus, and waged most successfully by his son Judas, who defeated the Syrians. From the engraving by Gustave Doré.

who held the same faith, was forced in its policy to incline more to the west than to the empire of the Seleucidæ, now approaching its end.

In conformity with old tradition, it was once more the orthodox party that leaned towards Egypt. The Seleucidæ attempted, with the support of the elements in Jerusalem which were inclined to Hellenism, to secure Judah for themselves. Jason, the brother of the high-priest Onias, was favoured by Antiochus IV. For a time everything in Jerusalem followed the Athenian mode, and the theatre and the palæstra attracted the Jewish youth, who were eager to ape their Greek models. The domestic quarrels of the family of the high-priest with the Tobiadæ, the chief representatives of philhellenism, are of no importance here. The accounts do not tell us how, after the failure of the philhellenic pro-Seleucid party, an open breach with Antiochus IV. was brought about; but Israel is represented as having been an innocent victim. We may see the reason for the intervention of Antiochus in the fact that the orthodox party really had the upper hand and was in sympathy with Egypt and Rome. When Antiochus, in 168 B.C., returned from the expedition to Egypt, which had begun triumphantly and had been so suddenly interrupted by Rome, he called the Jews sternly to account; they must have known the reason well. Jerusalem was stormed, sacked, and devastated, the walls razed to the ground, the inhabitants massacred and dispersed. Only the "renegades" remained behind and were reinforced by pagan settlers; all that could escape fled to Egypt.

Jerusalem Becomes Hellenic

Antiochus Sacks Jerusalem

But the destruction of Jerusalem was not enough. Antiochus knew perfectly well that the power of Judaism did not depend on the existence of the city. He took measures against the entire body of Jews in his dominions, and he must have had deeper motives for his action than his philhellenism. He did not wish to extirpate the Jewish religion, as tradition represents, but to disperse the subject community which had the seat of its power in the enemy's country, and must therefore naturally be in favour of a union with it. His fury was not really directed against the Hebrew religion and its unaccustomed manifestations, and he was no ardent supporter of Zeus. Antiochus did not attack the Jewish religion, but the Jews,

who in his empire courted Egypt and had in their religion a bond which kept them together. It was no accident that the orthodox and the philhellenic parties in the Jewish body collapsed.

Rebellion of the Maccabees

Antiochus with his forcible intervention now met the resistance which brutal violence always provokes when opposed to a living ideal, especially that of stubborn Judaism. The Books of the Maccabees tell us of those who sealed their faith with their blood, many of whom have had their deeds extolled in verse down to our days. The more violent the measures taken by Antiochus, the more stubborn became the resistance, which finally found its expression, after the characteristic method of the country, in the formation of a band of men, which grew from small beginnings among the mountains into a force that at last could not be easily suppressed. The famous rebellion of the Maccabees has been assumed to be a glorious monument of Jewish heroism, owing to the method of description adopted by our authorities; but it was nothing extraordinary, and has its parallels by the score in the history of Oriental as well as of other peoples.

The course of the rebellion, according to the account given us by the First Book of the Maccabees, was as follows: In Modin, a place between Jerusalem and the sea, a priest, Mattathias, of the family of the Hasmonæans, resisted the violent Hellenising measures of the Syrians, and gradually collected a band, which was joined by the pious, and succeeded in holding its own among the mountains. On his death soon afterwards, in 166 B.C., his son, Judas Maccabæus, took over the command, and defeated the detachments of Syrian troops sent against him. Antiochus, meanwhile, had started on his Parthian expedition, in the course of which he died. In the place of Philippus, the intended guardian of his son, Antiochus V. Eupator, Lysias usurped the regency of the empire. This latter now sent a larger army against Judas, to help Gorgias, the commander of the troops in Philistia; but Judas was able by a sudden attack to defeat it also in 165 B.C. When Lysias himself advanced against him in the same year, he had no better success. Judas was now able to reoccupy the pillaged capital, Jerusalem, with the exception of the Akra, which was held by a Syrian garrison. The Temple and divine worship were restored, and in the name of the true God vengeance could now be taken on the "renegades," the adherents of Syria. But we have no particulars of their martyrdom.

Victories of Judas Maccabæus

For two years Lysias desisted from operations, and Judas ruled with unlimited power as the head of the orthodox party. The country, as may be easily imagined, does not seem to have found this system of administration an unmixed blessing. Numerous attempts at resistance—which our accounts naturally term contemptible raids—were made against the dominance of the minority. It is clear from the records that the country was still far from being Jewish, and that the "liberation" by Judas was in fact a despotism maintained by force of arms, though it championed the cause of right.

It was a fortunate occurence for Judas that Antiochus IV. died on his expedition in 164 B.C., and that Lysias's attention was thus occupied with the arrangement of affairs. Judas proceeded to lay siege to the Akra, which had hitherto been a refuge for the partisans of Syria. The question of active interference was now urgent for the government. Lysias therefore started with a nominally large army, accompanied by his ward, the young king Antiochus V., and marched against Jerusalem from the south. He defeated Judas in the field near Beth-Zachariah, captured Bethsura, and besieged Jerusalem where the temple hill had been fortified. After a long resistance, negotiations were begun which Lysias accepted, since he wished to turn his arms against Philippus, who in the interval had raised claims to the crown in Syria. The contents of the treaty are not known; but since Lysias ordered the execution of Menelaus, the candidate for the high-priesthood who had been previously recognised by him, we may fairly assume that the orthodox party had offered guarantees of their loyalty, and that the trustworthiness of Menelaus had been questioned.

Jerusalem Falls to Lysias

Soon after this, Lysias and Antiochus V. were deposed by Demetrius I., who seems on the whole to have given the Jews in Jerusalem a free hand. He had every reason to avoid a breach with Rome; however, even then the power of the ubiquitous Judaism was making itself felt. His appointment of Alcimus, of the family of the high-priests, as "Ethnarch," proves

BURIAL OF JONATHAN MACCABÆUS, A HERO OF THE MACCABÆAN REBELLION

At the death of Judas Maccabæus, his brother Jonathan held out against the Syrians, and eventually succeeded in founding the Hasmonæan dynasty, which lasted in Jerusalem from 145 to 63 B.C. From an engraving by Gustave Doré.

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that the power of Judas had, as a matter of fact, been restricted by Lysias. Alcimus, ushered in by an army under Bacchides, was accepted without resistance; since, however, he was a representative of the Syrian Hellenistic party, it would have been strange indeed if he had not very soon aroused the dissatisfaction of the orthodox. Naturally, according to the version in our account, Alcimus was the peace-breaker; but we may perhaps find a cause for the revolt among the Maccabæans also, who, on his appointment, had certainly been forced to leave Jerusalem. So soon, therefore, as the Syrian army had withdrawn the orthodox party revolted, and Alcimus had once more to fly. He was brought back by an army under Nicanor, and the two were received with acclamations in Jerusalem. The Maccabæans, however, defeated Nicanor at Adasa, in the vicinity of Beth-Horon, in 161 B.C. The country was forced once more to recognise in Judas the "liberator," until Bacchides himself with an army, reputed to have been very large, advanced against him and totally defeated Judas, whose whole following amounted only to 800 men. We may estimate from this his relative importance to the "nation." After a gallant resistance near Elasa, Judas himself was slain. The Hasmonæans thus lost their warlike leader, who had confidence both in himself and his righteous cause.

COINS OF SIMON MACCABÆUS
Simon Maccabæus struck money in his own name, dating it from his accession in 142 B.C. as the year 1.

The Syrian party was once more quit of the blessings conferred by the orthodox, and Alcimus was reinstated in Jerusalem. No sort of restrictions were placed on the exercise of religion. Bacchides restored order in the country and cleared it of the unsettled bands of Maccabæans. A part of them still held out under the leadership of Jonathan, a younger brother of Judas, and lived as nomads in the desert of Thekoa. To these circumstances—namely, the struggle between the religious zealots and the fruitless efforts of an enlightened party to Hellenise the Jews—the most remarkable book which the biblical canon has accepted, Ecclesiastes, owes its origin. The work gives expression to the pessimism of a well-meaning man who, while holding the post of ruler, was anxious to guide his people aright, but at the end in despair lets his hands fall feebly by his side. The suggestion is forced upon us that Alcimus the high-priest was himself the author, and that the book may have been published after his death, with some additions in the same spirit. Owing to its reception into the canon, which could not have been refused to the work of a high-priest, it was afterwards furnished with qualifying rejoinders in the spirit of devout orthodoxy.

How Ecclesiastes was Written

The Work of the High-priest

Alcimus died in 159 B.C. When Bacchides soon afterwards withdrew, the Maccabæans once more caused trouble. A message was therefore sent from Jerusalem to Bacchides imploring help. But since a sudden attack on the castle of Jonathan failed, Bacchides concluded peace with him and acknowledged him as high-priest. Jonathan was probably no longer a zealot for the faith and the interests of Egyptian and international Judaism, but he fought for the establishment of a Hasmonæan dynasty. To attain this end, he ceased to be a "Jew" and made his peace with the Seleucidæ. Jonathan, in the wars between Demetrius I. and Alexander Balas, and under Demetrius II. from 145 to 138 B.C., held his own; and finally, notwithstanding his action against the Syrian party, obtained acknowledgment from Demetrius II. He then joined cause with Tryphon. He at last went to the length of setting aside the influence of the Syrian party with the help of his orthodox followers, and seems to have had the sanction of the court in doing so. At least the influence of Judaism over Tryphon seems to have ceased; and the latter advanced with an army into Palestine. Jonathan now presented himself at Akko to render an account of his actions, and was arrested.

In his place Simon Maccabæus took over the management of affairs. When Tryphon attempted to interfere, the former was skilful enough to frustrate all the designs of the Greek army, including an attempt to relieve the Akra, and he contrived to free the land from it. By means of giving the required hostages in the shape of his brother's sons, he at the same time got rid of any rivals to himself. When the Syrians had left the country, and the walls of Jerusalem had been rebuilt,

he could securely regard himself as prince of Judah. With him the princedom of the hierarchy of Judah—that is, the high-priesthood—was transferred to the Hasmonæans. Simon struck money in his own name, and dated it after his accession the year 1 (142 B.C.). The Syrian party was thus overthrown, and orthodoxy could benefit the people in its own way. The records speak only of tranquillity and happiness in the land.

Reign of Simon the Maccabee

Simon was murdered in 135 B.C. by his son-in-law, who aspired to power; but his son, John Hyrcanus, succeeded in securing Jerusalem and the crown for himself. The rapidly advancing downfall of the Seleucid empire was favourable for him, for he could thus assert his independence. When he had successfully concluded an alliance with the Romans he proceeded to demonstrate the splendour of the new realm and to realise the ideal of his religion—namely, the restoration of the kingdom of David. His comparatively small territory was enlarged by a successful subjugation of Sichem, of Samaria—thanks to Roman intervention—and of Edom.

Hyrcanus was succeeded by his son, Judas Aristobulus, who secured his authority, according to Oriental custom, by the murder of his relations. He died after one year. His widow, Salome, by marriage procured the sovereignty for his eldest brother, who had been kept in captivity by him, Jannæus (Jonathan) Alexander, who held the power from 104 to 78 B.C. The latter first secured his position by the removal of one of his two brothers, and proceeded to complete the conquest of Palestine. As he was besieging Akko he was hindered in the further prosecution of his plans by the intervention of Egypt, and he was saved from the direr consequences of his ambition only by the efforts of the Jewish influence with Cleopatra, mother of Ptolemy Lathurus, in 100 B.C. He then conquered Raphia and Gaza, and secured to himself the country east of Jordan. But Jannæus here came into collision with an enemy stronger than himself, the North Arabian empire of the Nabatæans; and he was defeated by their king, Oboda, in Gilead. When he returned to Jerusalem without an army an insurrection broke out among the orthodox party, the Pharisees, which, after many changes of fortune, ended in the victory of Demetrius Eucherus, who had been called in by the insurgents, over Jannæus in 88 B.C. But the indefatigable Hasmonæan was able to collect a new force around him in the mountains, and, after the withdrawal of Demetrius, to reoccupy Jerusalem. He wreaked his vengeance there, as only Orientals can, in the course of party struggles in 87 B.C. After Jannæus had thus firmly re-established his power, he renewed the war with the Nabatæan king, Oboda; but as the latter had meantime won for himself Coele-Syria, Jannæus was worsted and was forced to make peace. He then strengthened his power once more in the territory east of Jordan, and died there on an expedition. He, like his father, had extended the Jewish dominion, although he did not gain possession of the whole of Palestine. The map of this country, so adapted for petty states, presented even under him a very chequered appearance.

Revolt of the Pharisees

Jannæus always relied on the support of the now powerful party of Sadducees, which tried to harmonise in some degree the unendurable bonds of Judaism with the demands of ordinary life. This led insensibly to a closer sympathy with Hellenism, and the Hellenic culture which dominated even the East. The house of the Hasmonæans, which had formerly entered the war on behalf of religion, thus became a purely Oriental dynasty, which adapted itself to the requirements of religion only so far as was necessary to serve its purposes. Now the state had only been founded to realise this very ideal of a hierarchy in the sense of the "law," and not in order to call into existence a kingdom, on the model of so many others, with a Jewish religion. So long as the state existed, it was constantly brought back to the path which it wished to desert, until such attempts were brought to an end by Titus and Hadrian.

Rise of the Sadducees

On the death of Jannæus a reaction followed. His wife, Salome Alexandra, took over the government, which had been nominally conferred on her by Jannæus on his deathbed. Her son, Hyrcanus II., a feeble character, who was completely under her control, was appointed high-priest, while his capable brother, Aristobulus, was passed over. This state of things lasted for nine years, from 78 to 69 B.C.

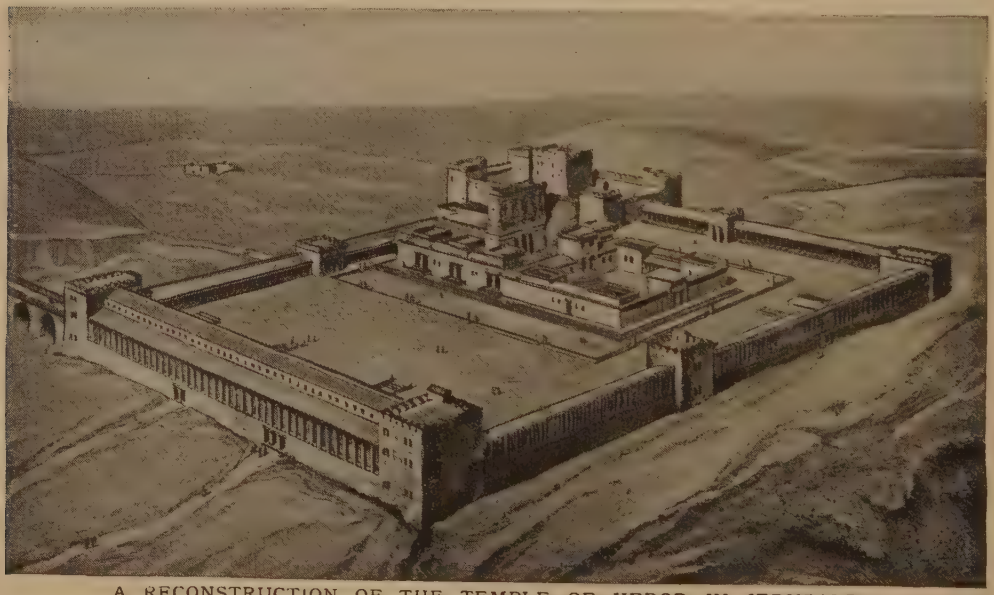
Meanwhile, the Pharisees governed after their own heart and laid no restraint upon themselves.

Intolerable Rule of the Pharisees

The country, however, could not possibly tolerate the Pharisaic rule for long, and Aristobulus gained more and more adherents. After the death of Salome there could be no more doubt to whom the kingdom belonged. The Pharisees had no sort of following in the country. They attempted a resistance and led Hyrcanus, with the mercenary army, against Aristobulus. But at Jericho, where the battle was fought, their troops went over to Aristobulus, and he was able without great difficulty to occupy Jerusalem. He was acknowledged as high-priest and king, and Hyrcanus retired into private life.

Tranquillity, however, did not last long. Jannæus had appointed as governor in Idumæa a native convert to Judaism, Antipater, the father of Herod. This man himself cast longing eyes on the throne of Judah. He followed a policy of his own and induced Hareth III., king of the Nabatæans, to make an expedition in 65 B.C. against Aristobulus, who defended himself in the Temple. The protracted siege was ended by Roman intervention. The Arabians were forced to withdraw from Jerusalem, and Aristobulus momentarily triumphed over Hyrcanus, although the latter had part of the country on his side. When, then, in 63 B.C., Pompey came in person to Palestine, after many prevarications on both sides, he finally decided against Aristobulus. The latter was taken prisoner; his adherents threw themselves into the Temple and gallantly defended themselves against the onslaught of the Romans, until they finally succumbed, and the Temple was taken by storm. This brought the rule of the Hasmonæans to an end, and Judæa became a component part of the province of Syria. Pompey granted the Jews liberty of religion and confirmed Hyrcanus in his office of high-priest. The orthodox party loudly sang the praises of the great Roman; they preferred that Judæa should be tributary rather than non-Pharisaic. The new province, and with it Judæa, received four pro-consuls, until the overthrow of Pompey made Cæsar master of the East and West. Cæsar allowed the Jews religious liberty, and appointed as procurator Antipater, the Idumæan, who was clever enough to make himself indispensable.

Judæa a Roman Province



A RECONSTRUCTION OF THE TEMPLE OF HEROD IN JERUSALEM

Under the Romans the religious influence of the Jews greatly increased throughout the empire, and although Herod the Roman king of Judæa, spent much in building the Temple, he never succeeded in winning his subjects' affection.

THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN ASIA

AFTER the final campaign of Pompey, Western Asia lost its political independence. Nevertheless, the part it played in history during the first six centuries of the Christian era was not insignificant.

The chief of the Roman possessions in Western Asia, Asia Minor and Syria, were retained by Rome throughout their whole extent until the Arabian conquest, and to them were added, during favourable times, portions of Mesopotamia, Armenia, and the South Caucasian districts. Asia Minor was the most tranquil, the best protected, and the most uniformly organised of the Roman Asiatic provinces. Scarcely a trace remained of political independence; but in many of the country districts and towns a certain form of self-government, such as the Romans were in the habit of allowing to their dependencies, still existed. The larger of the settlements in the peninsula were, as a rule, of Hellenic origin.

Greek Influence in Asia Minor

Thickly distributed along the western coast and in the river valleys, more sparsely on the elevated plateaus and among the mountains of the interior, they formed the centres of the Greek influence which had penetrated into the peninsula during an earlier period, encouraged by the Attalidæ, and in later times had been allowed to continue undisturbed by the Romans.

When Rome first took possession of the peninsula, entire provinces exhibited hardly a trace of Greek influence; others, such as Lycia and Pamphylia, had developed an independent civilisation on a Hellenic foundation. In the very centre of the land were settled a Celtic people, the Galatians, who had preserved both their language and their martial spirit, and during the times of the emperors furnished the majority of the recruits from Asia Minor. But gradually these local peculiarities grew less and less apparent, the language and civilisation of the Greeks, slightly Latinised, it is true, became diffused over the entire peninsula; and, finally, even rustic Cappadocia sent to Athens its bands of students, whose rude dialect must, indeed, have caused the cultured professors to wring their hands in despair.

The few politically independent provinces and small states that had survived the period of Roman conquest, as well as a number of unimportant principalities which had once belonged to the empire of Mithradates and were allowed a provisional existence by the Romans, disappeared during the first period of the emperors. The kingdom of the Galatians was transformed into a Roman dependency as early as 25 B.C. Shortly after his accession in 17 A.D., Tiberius put an end to the independence of Cappadocia. The territory of the Lycian league of cities was annexed in the year 43 A.D., and the provinces of Pontus were added to the Roman Empire in 63 A.D. The wildest, least civilised districts of Roman Asia Minor were the Taurus provinces, Isauria and Cilicia. The Cilicians were practically unconquerable so long as they remained in their native surroundings. The thickly wooded mountains that sloped down to the sea soon became the favourite haunt of the dissatisfied spirits and criminals of the Roman Empire, who, together with the native inhabitants of the coast, soon gave themselves up to piracy, which became in time their habitual occupation. Neither the republic nor the empire was able to put a stop to the deeds of robbery by sea and by land, or to subdue the inhabitants of the mountains, among whom several tribes of the Pisidians are also to be reckoned. But in Asia Minor also, with the gradual opening up of the country, customs became less rude; and the mountain dwellers were compelled to cease their warfare, although even a short period of political disorganisation was sufficient to cause them all to return to their old manner of life. In fact, the Cilicians and Isaurians constantly made their appearance as robbers and pirates, until the sturdiest of the wild rabble attained the honour of forming the

Last Independent States

Pirates of the Taurus

bodyguard of the Eastern Roman Emperor; and finally two of them, Zeno and Leo III., succeeded to the imperial dignity itself.

Asia Minor Flourishes

The remainder of Asia Minor became under the Roman emperors a flourishing land with a dense and highly civilised population. The province was governed by the Senate, and was divided into four districts, of which only two—Asia Minor proper, and Pontus together with Bithynia—were situated on the mainland. Cyprus and Crete, to which Cyrene in Africa was added, were accounted parts of the peninsula for purposes of administration. In later times this division was frequently altered; and during the period of Byzantine rule, owing to the constant danger of invasion, the province was separated into a great number of districts and governed according to military law. The inroads of hostile nations began at the time of the Persian wars. In the year 609 A.D. the Iranians first appeared in Cappadocia, and during the following decade they marched through the peninsula several times, finally threatening Constantinople itself. The invasion of the Persians was only the first of many blows dealt to the civilisation of Asia Minor.

The condition of Syria was totally different from that of Asia Minor. Only the eastern boundary of the latter was a frontier of the Roman Empire, and was, moreover, protected by the buffer states Armenia and Iberia. Syria, on the other hand, was directly adjacent not only to that portion of Mesopotamia, for the possession of which continual war was being waged between Romans and Persians, but also to the boundless Arabian desert, over whose anarchic Bedouin tribes a permanent government was never to be established by the Romans. The province itself, however, was exceptionally favoured by its racial and political peculiarities; then, as to-day, it was a harbour of refuge for an immense number of different peoples and adherents of various creeds. Two of the most remarkable states known to history, the Phœnician league of cities, which occupied a narrow strip of Mediterranean coast, and the kingdom of the Israelites in the mountains of Palestine, arose during an early period on Syrian soil. The prosperity of both had faded when Syria became a Roman province; in fact, Phœnician freedom, if not Phœnician civilisation, so far as commerce and industry were concerned, had long ceased to exist. There were still flourishing settlements scattered along the coast, and commerce was actively carried on; but the civilisation of Phœnicia was that of the Greeks. Hellenism had expanded in all directions from the city of Antioch as a centre during the period of the Seleucidæ; and as for the northern districts of Syria, however undisturbed the native population had been allowed to remain, and however little influenced by Greek culture, they formed at the time of the Romans practically a Greek province. It is true that the infusion of Oriental luxury and effeminacy was of the greatest injury to the Greek spirit; and Antioch as a city of sensuality and pleasure stood in sharp contrast to Alexandria, which had developed under the influence of the Greeks on Egyptian soil. The shiftless inhabitants of the Syrian metropolis contributed little enough to the development of morals; but for all that, Syria long remained the centre of the Eastern Roman Empire. As a result of the dominion of the Seleucidæ and the subsequent process of Hellenisation, Northern Syria fell into the hands of the Romans as a tolerably well-organised province, which even during later periods developed no very marked characteristics, and of which the administration presented no great difficulty. Southern Syria, on the other hand, consisted of a multitude of small mutually antagonistic states. There were some more or less independent principalities in Lebanon, which had ever been a land of promise for the dispersed and conquered races. On the borders of the desert lay the kingdom of the Nabatæans, and Arab tribes were constantly appearing on the steppes and along the Mesopotamian frontier.

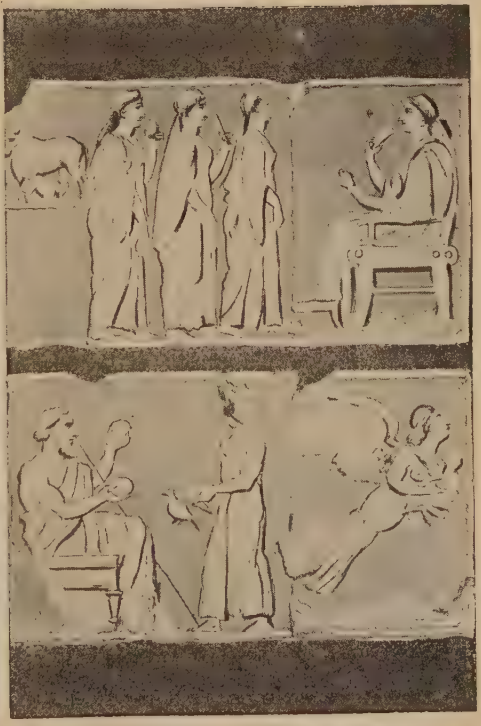
Syria Open to Invasion

Syria the Centre of the East

The greatest confusion of all, however, was to be found in Palestine. At first the Romans found it to their own interest to increase the number of minor states in order to avoid the risk of united resistance. Many different races and parties were clamouring for a settlement of their political, national, and religious claims. The Jewish ecclesiastical state of Jerusalem, constantly striving for freedom, and yet not strong enough to

THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM BY THE ROMANS

From the painting by Francesco Hayez in the Royal Academy of Venice



ART AND CIVILISATION OF LYCIA AND PAMPHYLIA UNDER ROME

When Rome took possession of Asia Minor most of the provinces and settlements were centres of Greek culture, but a few, such as Lycia and Pamphylia, had developed an independent civilisation on a Hellenic foundation. The outstanding examples of their art are their tombs. The top picture on the right is of a Pamphylian tomb among the mountains. That on the left is a Lycian tomb at Xanthus, some of its sculptures being shown at the bottom right. The remaining illustration shows one of the remarkable rock-tombs at Myra, which occur throughout Lycia.

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maintain the independence it so greatly desired, could not be treated as a helpless minor province. Indeed, in dealing with the Israelites of Palestine the Romans had to reckon with the entire Jewish people, already widely diffused throughout the empire and in many districts dangerously numerous, who could not have regarded a violation of their ancient sanctuary as other than an attack on their very existence. Moreover, the religious influence of the Jews was increasing, for the unsettled state of religious thought led numerous proselytes to join their ranks. It even appeared for a time as if Judaism would succeed in overthrowing the belief in the deities of the Greeks. The rise of Christianity, however, turned this phase of development into another channel.

Rome and the Jews

In spite of all the caution exercised by the Romans in their administration of Palestine, the antagonism between the claims of political life and the rigid ritual of the priesthood remained a constant source of complication. In the year 47 B.C. Julius Cæsar appointed Antipater the Idumæan procurator and successor of the Maccabees, and he could scarcely have made a better choice. Nevertheless the numerous champions of the Jewish national spirit were not in the least satisfied; and after the invasion of the Parthians, during which the new dynasty was temporarily compelled to take flight, Herod, the son and heir of Antipater, was obliged to resort to force in order to subdue his rebellious subjects. Herod passed through the period of the great struggle between Cæsar Augustus and Marcus Antonius with singular good fortune; but he was unable to win the affection of the Jewish people. The ruthless manner in which he put to death the members of his own family injured him, however, far less in the eyes of his subjects than his foreign origin and leaning to Hellenism.

Division of Herod's Kingdom

After the death of Herod, in the year 4 A.D., his kingdom, which had been considerably enlarged by the annexation of minor principalities, thanks to the benevolence of Cæsar Augustus, was divided between his three sons: Galilee and Peræa fell to the share of Herod Antipas, the region south of Damascus to Philippus, and Judæa, Samaria, and Idumæa to Archelaus. The two northern kingdoms continued in existence for many years; they were united into one state by Agrippa II., a great-grandson of Herod, and remained intact until the time of Trajan. In the south, however, insurrections soon broke out among the Jews. Archelaus proved incapable of government, and it was not long before Cæsar Augustus found it necessary to transform Palestine into a Roman province with Cæsarea as its capital. It is obvious that this time also the Romans desired to spare the feelings of the Jews as much as possible; but a true reconciliation with the subjects of the Jewish ecclesiastical state, whose demands increased rather than diminished with the growing hopelessness of their cause, was impossible. Christianity provided a means for escape from the bigotry that must finally have led to destruction, although it received but little support from the true Jews, among whom the national spirit was at first strongly at work. In general, the Christian religion cannot be said to have played other than a subordinate part in the political history of Palestine.

The hostility between the Roman emperors and the Jews of Palestine gradually increased. The Jews who had emigrated to various parts of the empire also received but little sympathy, as was proved by the terrible riots that broke out in Alexandria during the reign of Caligula—the first manifestation of anti-Semitism in the Roman world. It was unfortunate that the imperial government had not from the very first taken such precautions as would have rendered a rebellion in Palestine an impossibility; instead of ruling with a firm hand, it carelessly allowed events to take their own course. Bands of rebels were in constant activity as early as the year 44 A.D.; Roman soldiers and officials were murdered more and more frequently; and a spirit of sullen hostility gradually spread over the entire province. In the year 66 A.D. an insurrection broke out in Cæsarea; another soon followed in Jerusalem, where frightful scenes of carnage took place; and soon the whole of Judæa was in a state of civil war. Vespasian, the imperial legate, conquered the land anew in a difficult campaign which lasted for several years. The confusion that reigned in the Roman Empire until Vespasian himself ascended the throne in 69 A.D. was of great assistance to the Jews, although a final victory

First Anti-Semite Riots

PETRA, THE ROCK-CAPITAL OF THE NABATÆAN KINGDOM

Nabatæa lay between the Red Sea and the Jordan and even included at one time Damascus. Petra, its capital, situated on a rocky plateau, perhaps flourished most under Roman rule. At the top are shown some of the remarkable cliff structures above the city, and below on the right the most beautiful of the relics, probably a tomb. On the left is the ravine by which the city is entered at the east, and at the bottom a view of the plateau from the theatre.

of the Hebrews was out of the question owing to their fanaticism and lack of unity. In the year 70 A.D., Titus, son of Vespasian, entered Jerusalem, destroyed the Temple, and put an end to all hopes of Jewish independence.

Jerusalem lay in ruins until the time of Hadrian. The Jews of Palestine had but little share in the great rebellion which broke out during the reign of Trajan; and it is a significant fact that the last great insurrection of the Jews in the Holy Land came about owing to the well-meant design of Hadrian to establish a new city on the ruins of Jerusalem. At that time the Jews arose in final despairing revolt under the leadership of Eleazar the priest and the bandit Bar-Kokhba, with the result that their country was completely devastated and lost even its name of Judæa, henceforth being known as Syria Palæstina.

The Last Effort of the Jews

A quiet neighbour, and in later times a dependency of the Roman Empire, was the kingdom of the Nabatæans, which during its period of widest expansion embraced the greater part of the region north of the Red Sea and east of the river Jordan, at one time even including Damascus. The original Nabatæan people in all probability were descended from a mixture of Arabian and Hamitic, or, at least, Syrian elements. A part of their kingdom lay on the north-eastern coast of the Red Sea, and was at the same time a natural junction of many caravan roads; the Nabatæans had thus from the earliest times devoted themselves to commerce, thereby acquiring a culture that rendered them far more capable of developing a permanent state than the Bedouins of the neighbouring steppes, for all their love of freedom and courage in battle. The capital of the kingdom of the Nabatæans and the residence of the sovereigns was Petra, situated on the rocky plateau that lay between the Dead Sea and the Gulf of Akaba. Nabatæa submitted to Cæsar Augustus, and in spite of various small misunderstandings remained undisturbed until the time of Trajan, when, together with the bulk of the minor Syrian states, it was transformed into a Roman province. In the year 106 A.D., Damascus was annexed to Syria, and the remainder of the kingdom, henceforth known as the "Province of Arabia," was placed under Roman rule—by no means to its disadvantage, as the ruins of its once flourishing cities testify. Roman Nabatæa included only a portion of the northern border of the Arabian desert, and was environed by a number of semi-independent Bedouin states, of which the influence and extent greatly increased when the power of the empire began to weaken.

Kingdom of Nabatæa

Remarkable for sudden changes of fortune was Palmyra, a kingdom of the Syrian-Arabian borderland. In early times, before the occupation of Syria by the Romans, a flourishing community arose in an oasis of the great Syrian desert that had long served as a convenient halting place for caravans travelling between Phœnicia and the middle Euphrates. The city was made a dependency of the Roman Empire during the first period of the emperors; but owing to its important frontier situation between Parthian and Roman territory, it retained a certain amount of freedom, and at the same time became possessed of considerable power. The necessity of protecting the caravan routes led to the formation of a well-organised army; and constant feuds with the Bedouins, which, as a rule, terminated in the victory of the Palmyrans, resulted in continual accessions of territory, so that Palmyra finally embraced the greater part of the region between the Euphrates and the Syrian border.

Growth of the Power of Palmyra

The language of the Palmyrans was not the Arabic of the Bedouins, but the Syrian of the agricultural and town-dwelling classes. Originally the city may have been organised as a republic; but the Romans, who were accustomed to choose a ruler from among the native inhabitants of their provinces, created a monarchical form of government that finally became hereditary. No small amount of power lay in the hands of a Palmyran sovereign, who possessed a well-trained army of veterans who had taken part in numerous struggles with Arab tribes, and the hoarded wealth of a strongly fortified city—a city, moreover, that was in addition protected by the desert. Thus it is not surprising that before many years passed an ambitious ruler came to the throne, who resolved to take part in the border wars between Rome and Persia, to seize the balance of power, and to establish a new empire at the expense of both the contending parties.

RUINS OF PALMYRA, THE "MIRAGE" KINGDOM OF THE SYRIAN DESERT

Palmyra arose, before the Roman occupation, in an oasis on the Parthian frontier, and became supreme over Syria. It fell as suddenly as it rose. The ruins of its magnificent city are now one of the sights of Syria. The principal remains are shown at the top and bottom of the page, and in the centre are a temple to Diana and specimens of Palmyran sculptures.

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The opportunity for such an undertaking was never more favourable than during the reign of the Sassanian Shapur I. The Roman emperor Valerian was a prisoner in the hands of his enemies, Antioch had been captured, and the whole of Syria, with the exception of a few unimportant strongholds, lay open to the Persians, who, eager for plunder, marched about hither and thither in disorganised companies. As soon as Shapur began to withdraw his forces, the Palmyran cavalry sallied forth, dispersed whole divisions of the scattered Persian army, and returned to their desert city with untold spoils. Odenathus, king of Palmyra, made the most of the prestige won by this daring stroke by immediately espousing the cause of Gallienus, son of Valerian, whose opponents in the struggle for the succession had gained the upper hand in the east. As a result, when Gallienus finally triumphed over his enemies and ascended the throne, Odenathus was rewarded with the title of Augustus, and became practically supreme in Syria. He soon restored affairs to order, strengthened his troops by the addition of the remains of the Roman legions, and marched against the Persians. After clearing Roman Mesopotamia of the enemy, and raising the siege of Edessa, he appeared twice before the walls of Ctesiphon.

Palmyra Supreme in the East

On the death of Odenathus, his wife Zenobia, or Bat Zabbai, seized the reins of government in the name of her son, who was not yet of age. Her energy was quite equal to that of her husband, but she was lacking in the diplomatic skill which had enabled the latter to preserve at least the appearance of being a vassal of Rome, and thus successfully to maintain his difficult position. As "Regent of the East" she laid claim to both Asia and Egypt, invaded the valley of the Nile, and advanced into Asia Minor—sufficient cause for a declaration of war on the part of Aurelian, the new emperor, who realised that unless a decisive step were taken it would not be long before the last trace of Roman power would disappear in the East. Egypt was reoccupied by the Romans in the year 270 A.D., after a severe struggle; and in the next year Aurelian himself appeared in Syria at the head of a powerful army. The forces of Zenobia were defeated at Antioch and at Emesa; but Palmyra, difficult to approach and still more difficult to besiege, still remained in her hands. However, when Aurelian made it clear that he intended to march on the capital, she lost courage; under cover of night she fled towards the Euphrates in order to escape into Persian territory. It may have been that she also hoped to relieve the city with the aid of a Persian army; but she was immediately pursued and taken prisoner by Roman cavalry. Thereupon Palmyra opened its gates to the Romans, and the empire of Zenobia fell. A riot of the citizens in the year 273 A.D. ended with the complete destruction of the city, which never again arose from its ruins. Like a mirage of the desert, this strange empire suddenly arose on the eastern horizon of the Roman world, and as suddenly disappeared.

Fall of Zenobia's Empire

In Armenia, the rugged mountainous country from which the Euphrates and Tigris flow down into the Mesopotamian plain, a warlike, freedom-loving people had developed from a mixture of ancient Caucasian and Iranian elements. The original Armenian race must have been very heterogeneous. The presence of numerous small feudal demesnes and strongholds scattered over a land of ravines and forests caused their country to be from the earliest times a theatre of private warfare and a home for robbers and fugitives of all nationalities. As time passed, the influence of Iranian culture and religion smoothed over the roughness of the native population. The example of the Persian emperors fired the ambition of Armenian rulers, and at the same time aroused the national spirit to the development of unexpected power.

Expansion of Armenian Empire

For a time it appeared as if the Armenians were destined to become the most representative of all the Iranian peoples. Under the rule of Tigranes the Armenian empire expanded with surprising rapidity and power. But the mutual jealousy of the various sovereigns of Western Asia bore bitter fruit. Tigranes did not make the slightest attempt to assist his great western neighbour, Mithradates, king of Pontus, in his hopeless struggle with Rome; and with the same composure the Parthian emperors rejoiced when Tigranes, cast down from his high estate, knelt before Pompey and placed his crown in the hands of the Roman consul.

THE CAPTURE OF ZENOBIA, QUEEN OF PALMYRA, BY THE ROMANS

After the death of Odenathus his wife, Zenobia, reigned. She did not maintain the fiction of vassalage to Rome, and the emperor Aurelian marched on her capital, from which she fled, but was captured by his cavalry.

After the overthrow of Tigranes, there was no longer any hope of Armenian supremacy. Several times Armenia was separated into a western and an eastern province, temporarily, as early as the days of the Seleucidæ, and again during a later period, when the Eastern Roman Empire and the Persians agreed as to the division of their spheres of influence. Moreover, the country was usually a patchwork of dominions of minor princes, who seldom refused to accept foreign aid against their own sovereign.

It is scarcely worth while to give a detailed account of all the varying phases of the wars between Rome and Parthia, or to enumerate the constant changes that took place in the dominion of the Romans and Parthians in Armenia. It is, however, important to remember that throughout this troubled period, in spite of all confusion that reigned in political affairs, the Armenian consciousness of nationality constantly increased, and finally produced a spiritually independent people; and that this people, by developing a purely Armenian civilisation, ultimately succeeded in defeating the attempt of the Iranians to acquire a position of intellectual supremacy.

The decay of these world powers, largely brought about by their own fierce rivalry, prepared the way for the advance of Islam. The process of disintegration, which marks the period between the close of the Alexandrian epoch and the earliest of the Arabian conquests, rendered the task of the Mohammedan generals easier than it would otherwise have been, but it does not in itself explain their success. The empire founded by the Arabs after the death of Mahomet was the result of an influx of new blood, brought by the nomads, who once more were pressing forward from the Arabian peninsula, and were beginning to flood and overwhelm the more highly civilised but decaying races of Western Asia. Signs of this expansion had not been wanting in the previous period, as we shall see when we turn later to Arabia itself in order to trace in greater detail the earlier periods of her history, and to define the events which preceded and led up to the victory of Islam.

THE EMPIRE OF PARTHIA

AS a result of the wars of Alexander the Great, the Persian nation was suddenly cast down from its position of supremacy, and placed under Greek rule. The dominion of the Seleucidæ also rested upon a Greek foundation, and found its most powerful support in the Hellenised cities of Syria and Mesopotamia; within Persia, strangely enough, the civilisation of the Greeks took firmer root in the eastern mountain districts and in Bactria than in the western and more ancient provinces of Iran. But the Seleucidæ soon recognised the impossibility of holding their vast empire together, and decided to move the centre of government to the west, and we have seen that a new Power arose in the east, which, unlike the Seleucid empire, was never brought within the Roman dominion.

The New Power in the East

Even during the most gloomy periods, the old civilisation and religion of Iran had not been wanting in a place of refuge. Atropatene, a small Persian state, had all the while preserved its existence in the mountainous country of the north-west, in the neighbourhood of Lake Urumiya. This district was either overlooked or intentionally spared during the stormy period of Alexander; for, according to all appearances, it was the seat of no temporal power, but a region sacred to the priestly class of Persia, a sort of Iranian ecclesiastical state which Alexander did not venture to destroy.

The origin of that religion itself, and the history of its founder, Zoroaster, or Zarathustra, are obscure. It would seem to have been the outcome of an effort to spiritualise the Hindu doctrines at an early stage. Its fundamental tenet is the dualism which sets in opposition, in eternal war, the spirit of Good, Ormuzd, and the spirit of Evil, Ahriman; and undoubtedly influenced later Western conceptions of Satan. Fire and, by consequence, the Sun are the visible manifestations of the good spirit, the emblem of purification. Hence arose the prohibition against burning the bodies of the dead, extended first in the case of the priesthood to prohibition of burial. The Zoroastrians have their representatives at the present day in the Parsees of India, who "bury" their dead on a high tower, where the corpses are consumed by birds of prey.

It is significant that the foundations of the Parthian nation do not seem to have been laid by a man of Iranian blood, but by a Turanian, a member of one of the nomadic tribes, of which many had already won for themselves a secure position in the steppe lands of Central Persia. But the Turanian ruling house that gained the position of supremacy in Iran had already become conversant with Persian customs and culture before its advance to power; indeed, it consciously trod in the footsteps of its great Persian forerunners, tracing its origin back to Artaxerxes III., the Achæmenian.

The early history of the Parthian empire was so devoid of interest that the contemporary Greek chroniclers hardly mentioned the affairs of Persia, and have left us little more than a few bare statements concerning them. Moreover, since all Parthian kings were known by the name Arsaces on their accession to the throne, many changes in the succession must have taken place, of which we now possess little or no knowledge. It is probable that Arsaces I., the founder of the dynasty, reigned but a short time. In the year 248 B.C. he made way for his brother and successor Arsaces II., or Tiridates I., who, profiting by the neglect into which the eastern provinces of Syria had fallen, greatly enlarged his dominions at the expense of the Seleucidæ. Unfortunately, the extent of the territory originally occupied by the Parthians is no longer known with certainty. There can be no doubt that it was situated in the north-eastern part of Persia; and that it must have consisted largely of steppes may be inferred

Territory of Parthian Empire

from the fact that the bulk of the Parthian army was made up of cavalry. Although the Parthians were not of pure Iranian descent, both the language and civilisation of the empire were Persian.

Tiridates I. also added to his empire the province of Hyrcania; this included the greater portion of the Khorassan of to-day, of which the inhabitants were especially nearly related to the Parthians. The rulers of the neighbouring kingdom of Bactria, that remarkable Greek state on Iranian soil, were, naturally enough, at first unfriendly to the new empire. With the assistance of the Bactrian king, Diodotus I., Seleucus Callinicus expelled Tiridates from his kingdom in the year 238 B.C.; but Diodotus II. reversed the policy of his predecessors, joined forces with Tiridates, and compelled Callinicus to withdraw. At the end of these wars the Parthian empire may be looked upon as firmly established.

The mountainous country in the west was also conquered by the Parthians, with the old Median capital, Ecbatana. The ecclesiastical state of Atropatene entered into a close relationship with the new empire, without, however, becoming merged in it. In later periods it even happened that this curious nation of priests at times assumed a position of decided hostility to the Persian rulers, who were never looked upon as true Iranians, and allied itself with the Romans. That Antiochus the Great planned a campaign against Atropatene after crushing the rebellion of the Median governor Molon from 222 to 220 B.C. proves only how dangerous this little state had become now that the Iranians had entered into a conflict with Hellenism and the religious influence of the priesthood was beginning to transform itself into a political agency. Artavasdes, the governor then in office, escaped the storm through timely submission in 220 B.C. The third Parthian Arsaces, Artabanus I. (214–196), was also compelled to acknowledge the supremacy of the Seleucidæ when Antiochus advanced with a powerful army into Iran and penetrated as far as India in 209 B.C.; but this acknowledgment was little more than an empty form, and the campaign of Antiochus remained for a long time the last attempt made by the Seleucidæ to maintain their prestige in the east. The vigorous efforts towards expansion made by Antiochus the Great in the west, and the rise of the Bactrian kingdom in the east, were great obstacles to the development of the Parthian state. Not until the accession of Arsaces VI., (or Mithradates I.), who came to the throne in the year 174 B.C., did circumstances become more favourable to Parthia. While the empire of the Seleucidæ was in a state of hopeless confusion, Mithradates invaded the western provinces of Iran at the head of his multitudes of horsemen, and advanced into Media and Persis. He next broke through the mountain passes, subdued the Elimaei, who inhabited the south-western slope of the Iranian mountains, and finally appeared on the broad plain of Mesopotamia—a region that was destined long to remain a field of action for the hordes of mounted Parthians.

A Nation of Priests

Seleucid Supremacy in Parthia

ZOROASTER
From a Persian rock sculpture.

In the east, also, the decay of Bactrian power furnished an opportunity for engaging in a successful war, as the result of which Bactria lost several provinces, and finally acknowledged the sovereignty of the Parthian king. An attempt to reconquer Western Iran, made by Demetrius II., Nicator, terminated in the capture of the Syrian king in 139 B.C. Mithradates gave Demetrius the hand of his daughter in marriage, and then endeavoured to place him upon the throne of the Seleucidæ as a vassal of the Parthians. Although this effort to extend the influence of Parthia failed, the Seleucidæ were unsuccessful in winning back their lost provinces. The vast army which Antiochus VII. assembled in the year 130 B.C. was attacked, and the greater part of it destroyed at its winter

quarters in Mesopotamia, almost without assistance from the Parthians, by the non-military inhabitants of Western Iran. With this event the period of wars between the Seleucidæ and the Parthians ended.

Turks Against Parthia

The former contented themselves with their western provinces until they were overcome by the Romans; the latter were soon obliged to defend themselves against new enemies.

Phraates II., the successor of Mithradates, for the conclusion of the struggle with Syria obtained the aid of troops of "Scythian" horsemen; not Aryan Scythians, but probably Turks. The Turks, however, arrived too late upon the scene, and were told that they would have to return to their Turanian home without receiving either pay or plunder. Thereupon they attacked the Parthians, who sought to strengthen their army by enrolling among their ranks the prisoners captured during the campaign against Antiochus. These recruits went over to the side of the Scythians. The Parthians took to flight, and King Phraates was slain on the field of battle in 127 B.C. The Turkoman Scythians, laden with booty, now returned to their native steppes; but their disappearance was followed by a new and still more serious invasion of the nomads.

Another great movement had taken place among the Central Asian races—a movement similar to the many that were constantly recurring in this boundless region. The nomadic tribes of the Yue-tshi, a mixed Turkish-Mongolian race, driven from their homes in the north of China by the Hiungnu at the beginning of the second century B.C., had thrown themselves upon the regions lying to the south, but were again dislodged and driven still farther southward by the Usun, a race that had likewise been disturbed by the Hiung-nu. After marching through the plains of Turkestan, the Yuetshi finally descended upon the eastern provinces of Iran, and took possession of the kingdom of Bactria,

Mongols in Bactria

about the year 126 B.C. Thus the Parthian empire also was threatened by a formidable enemy upon its very borders. This danger was not to be warded off so cheaply. The Yue-tshi soon succeeded in establishing their power, and by conquering the northern valley of the Indus as well as a portion of Turkestan, secured for their ends the control of populous territories. Mithradates II., perhaps the most able of all the Parthian kings, was all his life engaged in endeavouring to subdue the Yue-tshi, and also to force back the Scythians, who had again attempted to take possession of the western provinces of Iran. In the west the activities of Mithradates were necessarily limited; but it speaks volumes for his political sagacity that he sought to extend the influence of Parthia over the rising nation of Armenia.

On the death of Mithradates II., in the year 76 B.C., it soon became apparent that the wars in the east had not only weakened the Parthian empire, but had also endangered its position in the west. The kings of Armenia, in pursuance of their newly-instituted policy of expansion, took possession of Northern Mesopotamia, and even of the sacred state of Atropatene; and with the latter they also obtained a certain political influence over the whole of Iran. Tigranes, king of Armenia, at that time considered his power sufficiently great to warrant the assumption of the title "King of Kings,"

Tigranes, "King of Kings"

which, as a highly-valued inheritance of Achæmenid times, had descended to the Parthian Arascidæ; in other words, Armenia made preparations for supplanting the Parthians in their leadership of the Iranian race. Tigranes, however, soon became entangled in the wars of Mithradates, king of Pontus, against Rome and lost his kingdom. When Pompey took control of the affairs of Roman Western Asia there were repeated disputes with Phraates III. (Arsaces XII.), king of Parthia, who laid claim to the Euphrates as the western boundary of his dominions; but the moderation of the Romans and the internal disorders that followed the assassination of Phraates by his son Mithradates III., Orodes, prevented the outbreak of a serious conflict. The attempts of the Parthians to regain possession of the provinces that had also been torn from them by Armenia led to no open warfare. In the year 54 B.C. the civil war in Parthia came to an end; and Orodes, now sole ruler, was in a position to enter into the first great struggle with the Roman Empire.

That Rome was unable to gain any permanent success in this war, and that the Roman legions failed to make their

way to India across the mountainous frontiers of Western Iran, following in the footsteps of Alexander, are facts of vast historical significance. The civilisation of the western world, which had once been carried by Alexander as far as the Indus, was destined for more than a thousand years to be cut off from all contact with the world of the east; for the small flame of Greek culture that shed its feeble rays over Bactria counted for little and was soon extinguished.

When the Parthian empire first made its preparations for war with the Romans no one would have ventured to prophesy that the power of Rome would be unable to penetrate beyond the Tigris, or that the Euphrates was destined to become the eastern boundary of Latin influence. The land ruled by the kings of Parthia was great and populous, it is true; but it was possessed of small unity, being rather a conglomerate of small and more

Mithradates I. Phraates III. Orodes I. Tiridates II.

SOME OF THE RULERS OF THE PARTHIAN EMPIRE

Mithradates I. (174 B.C.) extended the Parthian dominion to Western Iran and Mesopotamia. Phraates III. claimed the Euphrates as his western boundary. He was assassinated by his son Orodes I. Tiridates II. reigned from 33–32 B.C.

or less independent kingdoms. Everywhere, especially in the mountainous districts, small dynasties had been preserved, and retained their independence throughout the storms of the Alexandrian period. These princes played an important rôle in the struggle between the Seleucidæ and the Parthians for the possession of the mountain regions of Western Iran. In the wars with the Romans, however, they took a less prominent part, because the scene of conflict lay further to the west in the Mesopotamian plain.

The most distinguished of the minor dynasties—one, moreover, that was frequently independent of Persia—was the Armenian. Here the Arsacidæ had succeeded in placing one of their own family upon the throne. It is worthy of note that in Eastern Persia also, after the government had been overthrown by the Yue-tshi, Arsacid dynasties soon came to the front again, and acknowledged the sovereignty of the Parthian emperor. As in China, the native population, owing to the superiority of its civilisation, despoiled their conquerors not only of their national character, but also of their dominion.

Armenia Subject to Parthia

United Parthia Defies Rome

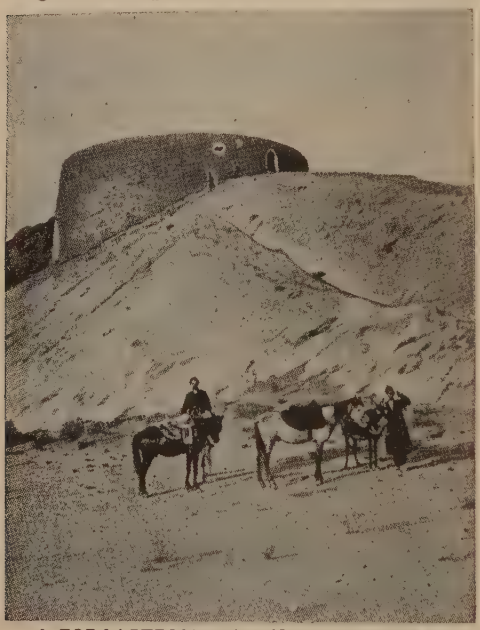
Thus it finally became an easy matter for the Parthians to overthrow the feeble government of the foreigners, and through the installation of a branch of the house of the Arsacidæ, once more to unite the eastern provinces to Western Iran. Hence the Parthian kings were enabled to oppose the Romans with the undivided strength of their empire.

There was also another small kingdom of Arsacid origin in Persia; but of this our knowledge is very indefinite. It appears that on their accession to power the family of the Arsacidæ came to an understanding as to the division of the spoils. One branch obtained the imperial dignity, and the others were granted semi-independent dominions, most of which were situated in the northern part of Persia. Certain hereditary offices also seem to have been given to members of the imperial family—for example, the Suraship, a bearer of which title commanded the forces sent against Crassus in the year 53 B.C. The Sura was also possessed of other important functions, and his title seems to have signified both an office and a family name, somewhat in the way that the name Arsaces was adopted by all the emperors as a title as well as a surname.

The Parthian empire being thus loosely constructed, its military system remained badly organised and thoroughly inefficient. On the outbreak of a conflict each of the separate nations of the empire were called upon to furnish its quota of irregular horsemen. These assembled in helpless masses, differing greatly from one another in armament as well as in methods of battle, and ever ready to scatter in wild flight on the death of their leader. There is also

but little to be said in favour of the Iranian infantry. The strength of the army lay in the mercenary cavalry, mainly Turanian, before whom the Roman legions, for all their uniform equipment, and their magnificent tactics and discipline, were constantly compelled to retreat. Archers, who overwhelmed the opposing forces with a hail of arrows, formed the bulk of the Parthian cavalry, and behind them rode heavily armed lancers, ready at any moment to break through the weakened ranks of the enemy.

It was fortunate for the Parthians that the decisive battles against Rome were fought on the plains of Mesopotamia, where



A ZOROASTRIAN TOWER OF THE DEAD

Zoroastrians are forbidden to bury or burn their dead, but, like the Parsees of India, expose the corpses on high towers, where they are consumed by birds of prey.

the hordes of Iranian cavalry found a field well adapted to their peculiar methods of fighting. The effects of the heavy blows dealt by the well-tried Roman legions were completely lost on the endless plain, and the clumsy pilum and short sword were useless against the scattered Parthian squadrons. The latter, fleeing before the legions, poured back upon them a storm of lances and arrows, and returning from all sides, surged over the awkward masses of Roman infantry as storm-tossed waves dash over a sinking ship. The hot sun that beat down upon the arid plain was the best ally of the Parthians, for it placed many a body of hostile troops almost defenceless in their hands, and proved but a small obstacle to the movements of their desert-bred horses. Thus, it was with true nomadic weapons that the Parthians fought and conquered in a region thoroughly adapted to their national methods of warfare. However, the Romans were not completely lacking in allies. There were still remains of former civilisation and abundance to be seen in Mesopotamia along the banks of the rivers. After the conquest of Alexander a number of towns and cities were founded there by the Greeks, the inhabitants of which in later times were by no means inclined to acknowledge the supremacy of the Parthian emperors. As long as the Seleucidæ ruled over Mesopotamia these cities had been the firmest support of their power—indeed it seemed then that the whole land would be Hellenised and permanently united to the culture of the West. After the downfall of the Seleucidæ the Romans became the representatives of the western world. It is true that they were less sympathetic to the Greeks than the Seleucidæ had been; nevertheless, they were far more acceptable to them than the hated Iranian races. That the Romans were able to establish themselves at least in the northern provinces of Mesopotamia was due in a large measure to the influence of the Greek cities.

The Limit of Western Culture

As soon as Romans and Parthians had become close neighbours, a conflict was only a question of time. Julius Cæsar himself looked upon war as inevitable. Nevertheless, the outbreak of the first struggle was due entirely to minor considerations. M. Licinius Crassus was elected consul for the second time in the year 55 B.C., and received from the senate a commission to restore order in the eastern provinces. This important but comparatively humble task promised as little gratification to his ambition as did the plunder to his greed for possessions. Moreover, his being sent to Asia was little more than a compensation granted him by his allies, Cæsar and Pompey, in return for the pitiful part he had already played elsewhere. However, he now resolved to make the most of his opportunities. The deeds of Lucullus, who had returned from Asia with boundless treasure,

Rome Against Parthia

awakened in the vain man a spirit of rivalry, and it was not long before his lively imagination presented to his eyes the vista of a campaign even greater than that of Alexander.

Affairs were not entirely unfavourable to Crassus when he first arrived in Western Asia. The struggle for the Parthian succession between Arsaces XIII. and Arsaces XIV. had just been brought to an end by the assassination of the former, and the new emperor had had as yet scarcely time to seat himself firmly on the throne. King Artabanus I., or Artavazd, of Armenia, voluntarily allied himself with the Romans; and the Mesopotamian cities welcomed Crassus as a liberator. But the consul was unable to take advantage of his position. To

A GROUP OF MODERN ZOROASTRIANS IN PERSIA OF TO-DAY

be sure he crossed the Euphrates in the year 53 B.C. without making a very careful search for a pretext, won several victories over the Parthians, whom he surprised, and occupied a number of cities which offered but little opposition; but in the autumn he recrossed the river in order to seek more comfortable winter quarters, and left the conquered cities under the protection of disproportionately feeble garrisons. The Parthians took advantage of this laxity, and, collecting their forces, marched against the Romans.

Parthian Defeat of the Romans

The two armies met not far from the city of Charran, on the river Belikh. The Romans were able to effect little or nothing with their short swords in face of the showers of arrows that were shot into the closely formed legions from all sides, as they toiled painfully onward under the hot rays of the sun. After a contest that lasted for two days the remnants of the Roman army took refuge behind the walls of Charran. Crassus was treacherously put to death while negotiating with the Parthian general, and his troops were soon forced to lay down their arms on June 9th, 53 B.C. This unlucky campaign cost the Romans more than 30,000 of their best soldiers, of whom about 10,000 were taken prisoners by the Parthians, and sent to the eastern provinces of Iran. But the Parthians did not follow up the victory, and so lost their natural rewards, Mesopotamia alone falling into their hands. They also failed to reap any advantage from the wars between Cæsar and Pompey, although the latter had prevailed upon them to become his allies. Cæsar's plan to invade Iran was shattered only by his assassination in the year 44 B.C. On the whole, the Parthian successes amounted to very little indeed; everywhere they had been foiled by the stubborn valour of the Romans.

10,000 Captive Romans

Yet Antony's expedition in 35 B.C. was entirely unsuccessful. He intended to avoid a battle on the Mesopotamian plain, and by invading the mountainous districts of Iran thought to avail himself of the superiority of his infantry. But he neglected to make proper arrangements for provisioning his vast army. When he had advanced as far as Atropatene, he

began to lay siege to the city of Phraspa with insufficient war materials at his disposal, and was soon obliged to retreat and to seek refuge in Armenia, after suffering severe losses. The faithlessness of the Armenians, who did not send the promised reinforcements, contributed not a little to the defeat of the Romans, who soon afterwards—in 30 B.C.—led away the Armenian king, Artavasdes, a prisoner to Alexandria. Shortly after the retreat of Antony, the king of Media and Phraates IV. quarrelled, and as a result the repulse of the Romans led to no further Parthian successes. Antony was even able to form an alliance with the Medes.

Retreat of Antony

During the following years Phraates IV. was fully occupied in maintaining his position on the throne, and consequently he treated the Romans with great deference. In the year 20 B.C. Cæsar Augustus received back from the Parthians the captured insignia and the prisoners of war, to the general satisfaction of the Roman people. Neither Phraates nor his incapable successor took any important part in the Armenian-Roman wars. Several Parthian princes were educated in Rome, not, however, to their advantage, for when one of them, Vonones I., became emperor, his preference for Latin institutions made him so unpopular that he was soon forced to abdicate in favour of a rival, Artabanus III. (Arsaces XIX.), in the year 16 A.D. Artabanus was scarcely more successful than his predecessor; his endeavours to reconquer Armenia failed. A powerful party of his own subjects rose against him with the assistance of the Romans, and finally drove him into the eastern provinces. On his return he concluded a treaty with the Emperor Caligula, was once more obliged to flee, but nevertheless died as emperor in 40 A.D. The civil war continued under his successors also, and disturbances in Armenia and in the East caused the empire to tremble to its very foundations. In the years 58–60 A.D. the Romans and Parthians were once more on such good terms that they finally succeeded in bringing the Armenian question to a peaceful issue. As a result of this the Parthian prince Tiridates went to Rome in 62 A.D., and was there ceremoniously invested with the sovereignty of Armenia, as a dependency of the Roman Empire.

Parthian Sovereignty in Armenia

The decay of the Parthian empire proceeded apace during the years immediately following. The Parthian people became less and less energetic, and the Iranian provinces and principalities gradually gained in independence; indeed, at one time the empire seems to have been divided into several independent states. For many years the Roman emperors showed no inclination to take advantage of the disturbances in the Parthian empire. Trajan was the first to resume the policy of conquest which characterised the age of the Cæsars, and the affairs of Armenia once more furnished a pretext. The great weakness of the Parthian empire was shown by the feeble resistance offered by the Arsaces of the period, Khosru I.; little opposition was encountered except that of the minor princes of the frontiers. Trajan, after the conquest of Northern Mesopotamia, crossed the Tigris, and, with the aid of a rapidly-constructed flotilla, advanced as far south as Ctesiphon, captured the golden throne of the Parthian emperors, and even penetrated as far as the Persian Gulf in the year 116 A.D. Serious disturbances in the newly-conquered region rendered it necessary for the victorious emperor to withdraw his forces after having ceremoniously—but, of course, fruitlessly—appointed a Parthian prince as ruler in his stead.

Trajan Invades Parthia

The death of Trajan, in 117 A.D., brought his unsuccessful undertaking to an end. Hadrian, his successor, hastened to recall the Roman troops from Armenia and from beyond the Euphrates, and thus re-established the old boundary line. Hadrian realised that the days of great conquests were past. Not until the time of Marcus Aurelius was Mesopotamia permanently occupied, and the boundary of the Roman Empire pushed forward to the Upper Tigris. The wretched condition of the Parthian empire finally enticed Caracalla also to seek easily-won laurels through a treacherous attack on Emperor Arsaces XXXI. in 216 A.D. Artabanus V., Macrinus, the next Parthian emperor, was obliged to content himself with the possession of Mesopotamia. Shortly afterwards a complete change took place in the affairs of the Iranian empire, when the dynasty of the Arsacidæ was supplanted by the house of the Sassanidæ.

THE NEW PERSIAN DOMINION

UNFORTUNATELY we have no certain knowledge of the more immediate causes of the change of rulers in Parthia, to which the old name of Persia is restored. The new dynasty of the Sassanidæ was beyond all doubt—as indeed became evident in later times—a more genuine representative of the Iranian race than the Turanian Arsacidæ, who must always have appeared as foreigners to the Aryan Iranians. That the downfall of the Arsacidæ betokened a more or less conscious return to the ancient Iranian spirit was shown by the great importance attached by the Sassanian rulers to questions of religion and unity of belief. The religion of Zoroaster was an exclusively Iranian creation. The early Parthian emperors had never shown the slightest inclination towards religious propaganda; on the other hand, the Sassanidæ were fanatical defenders of their faith. The fact that the Iranian people became more and more enthusiastic in regard to their ancient religion proved only that they too were unable to escape the general tendency of the times. Questions of faith were not only becoming more and more prominent, but were also gradually being transformed into elements of political power. It was during this period that Christianity was beginning to shake the spiritual life of the ancient world to its very foundations; and the waves of this movement had already begun to flow over the frontiers of Iran. If the new religion had struck firm root in Persia, if it had finally won the victory over the worship of fire, then there would have been an end to the isolation of Persia. Iran would have become a member of the western civilised world, just as in later days it became a portion of the Mohammedan empire. The Jewish religion had already penetrated into Persia. There were large colonies of Hebrews in Babylon; and about the year 57 B.C. the king of Adiabene, a dependency of Parthia, within which was included a portion of ancient Assyria, became a convert to the Jewish faith. Toward the end of the first century Christianity had begun to spread over Mesopotamia, and the first Christian missionaries must also have appeared at that time in the highlands of Iran. The priests of Zoroaster were inflamed with anger when they beheld the advance of the new doctrine which diminished their sphere of power in the west, while in the east Buddhism had been at work for centuries in undermining the pillars of their faith. The downfall of the Parthian princes, who had looked upon matters of religion with indifference, may perhaps have come about indirectly owing to the influence of the priests; certainly there is no doubt but that the dynastic change was most welcome to the latter. The very first of the Sassanian rulers appears in history as a religious fanatic, whose accession was especially dreaded by the Jews. Almost immediately after coming to the throne he issued several edicts commanding the suppression of the Hebrew faith. During the following years the Zoroastrian religion became one of the chief means for attaining imperial unity. Its diffusion was the highest duty of the ruler; and the sacred fire remained a symbol of the exclusive and isolated Iranian nationality until it was finally quenched by the waves of Mohammedan conquest. The founder of the Sassanian dynasty, Ardishir Babekan, or Artaxerxes, son of Babek, was born in Persis, the centre of ancient Iran; his family claimed descent from a mythical ancestor, Sasan, and for that reason possessed a hereditary right of priesthood. His father, Babek, seems to have founded a small kingdom in Persis and to have seized the territories of various minor rulers. Although Ardishir vigorously continued his father's policy of territorial expansion, Artabanus V., who

Defenders of the Faith

Iran Rejects Christianity

Founder of the Sassanidæ

died in 224 A.D., permitted him to pursue his way in peace. When it was too late the "King of Kings" took hostile measures against his unruly vassal. Ardishir conquered and put to death Volagases V., the last of the Arsacidæ, on the plain of Hormujan in the year 227 A.D.

ARDISHIR, THE FIRST OF THE SASSANID KINGS OF PERSIA

Ardishir Babekan extended his power from the small kingdom of Persis until he conquered the last of the rulers of Parthia and formed the Sassanid empire of Persia. From a rock-sculpture showing the king receiving the sacred symbol from Ormuzd.

It was not long before Ardishir was acknowledged as King of Kings by the western provinces of Iran as well as by Armenia; and the east also soon became subject to his rule, the surviving Arsacid princes taking refuge in India. Other branches of the family of the Arsacidæ became reconciled to the new emperor and retained their provinces. A new feature entered Persian history with the appearance of the first of the Sassanidæ. The ancient traditions of the Achæmenian period were brought into prominence once more, and the consciousness of national unity greatly developed. Ardishir had scarcely founded his empire when he hastened to send a pretentious embassy to the Romans, and demanded that they should cede to him the whole of Western Asia. Soon afterwards he sought to regain the lost provinces in Mesopotamia by force of arms. This was in the year 230 A.D. War with the Persians, as the Iranians were once more called in the west, now that the ancient ruling nation had again risen to power, became inevitable—whether welcome or otherwise to the Emperor Alexander Severus. The first campaign, fought in the year 231 A.D., was indecisive. In the interior of Persia, however, the culture of Iran was awakened to fresh life and received the full support of the triumphant priesthood. New towns were founded, schools and temples arose on all sides, the judicial system and the army were thoroughly reformed. Everywhere there appeared evidences of a new development of the true Iranian spirit, and before long the nation deemed itself sufficiently strong once more to enforce its old claims to the sovereignty of Western Asia.

The period of the Persian-Roman wars began with the accession of Shapur I., or Sapor, who came to the throne on the death of his father, Artaxerxes I., in the year 241 A.D. The first campaign opened in the following year; Shapur advanced as far as Antioch, and after several severe engagements had been fought, was forced back to the river Tigris. The Emperor Gordian ceded Armenia and Mesopotamia to the Persians in order to avoid further conflict with a dangerous opponent during a time when serious disturbances were taking place in

SHAPUR I. TRIUMPHANT OVER VALERIAN

Shapur I. began the period of the Persian-Roman wars; in his second campaign he invaded Syria and took the Roman emperor prisoner.

Rome. The two empires remained at peace with one another until 258 A.D., when the Persian king again invaded Syria, took the Emperor Valerian prisoner together with his army in 260 A.D., captured Antioch, and returned triumphantly to his country with an immense quantity of plunder. The rising power of the Palmyran king, Odenathus, who declared war on Persia and advanced as far as the gates of Ctesiphon, saved Syria from further invasion; for Shapur was no longer in a position to make war on Rome.

The general state of affairs in his own country may also have diverted the attention of Shapur—an enthusiastic believer in the religion of Zoroaster—from matters of foreign policy. As with all the great religions of the world, imitations and degenerate cults were constantly cropping up among the Zoroastrians. An attempt was made to combine the Iranian faith with Christian and Hebrew elements, and thus to create a new and uniform belief. The leader of the new movement was Manes, the founder of the Manichæan sect, whose first appearance probably took place in the year 238 A.D. Various accounts have been preserved of his relations to Shapur. It is probable that the emperor, who died in 272 A.D., although at first disposed to treat the Manichæans

BAHRAM V. FIGHTING THE TARTAR PRINCE
In the reign of Bahram V. the frontier of Persia was pushed out into Transoxania, the country of the nomads. Tradition alleges a personal conflict with the Emperor of China, which is probably represented in this sculpture from Naqsh-i-Rustam.

with tolerance, was finally induced by the orthodox priesthood to take steps toward suppressing the sect. Manes fled to the east, and on his return to Persia in the year 274 A.D., was seized and executed by the son of Shapur, Varanes I., or Bahram, and his followers were dispersed. Thus the danger of a split in the national religion of Persia was avoided. Iran preserved its own character, but became isolated from all other nations, and in the future was obliged to depend entirely on its own resources. There is little to be said about the immediate successors of Shapur, many of whom remained but a short time upon the throne. The war begun by the Emperor Carus in the year 283 A.D., simply because the disturbances in the kingdom of the Sassanidæ seemed to present a favourable opportunity for an invasion, came to an end on the sudden death of the Roman emperor, after his army had advanced as far as Ctesiphon. The campaign of Diocletian in the year 297 A.D. was more successful; after being defeated in one battle the Romans won a brilliant victory over the Sassanian king Narses. A peace favourable to Rome followed. Armenia became a Roman dependency, and several districts beyond the Tigris were surrendered to the victors.

THE SASSANID KING NARSES
In the successful Roman campaign in Persia, Narses was defeated by Diocletian, who obtained a favourable peace.

The confusion in Persia did not come to an end until the accession of Shapur II., who ruled from 309 to 380 A.D. His was a truly Oriental government with a born leader of armies at the head of the state.

The wars with Rome, now under Constantine, continued, but with little positive result; the first period ended with a futile siege of Nisibis, or Mygdonia, the Roman stronghold of Eastern Mesopotamia, in the year 350 A.D. When the struggle broke out anew in 359 A.D., Shapur captured the strongly fortified town of Amida after a long and severe contest. The death of Constantine was followed by the accession of Julian the Apostate, who also resolved to walk in the footsteps of Alexander the Great. He set out from Antioch with a well-tried army, and without encountering any great difficulties arrived before Ctesiphon in the year 363 A.D.; but owing to a lack of supplies, he had to fall back pursued by the main body of Shapur's cavalry. Soon after Julian was mortally wounded in a battle, and his successor, Jovian, whom the soldiers had elected from their midst, was compelled to make peace on humiliating terms, in order to save his army from annihilation. Shapur recovered Eastern Mesopotamia, together with Mygdonia, and, thus in possession of a favourable strategic position, was enabled once more to turn to Armenia.

Shapur Defeats the Romans

Armenia was the chief scene of the religious - political struggle that was then taking place along the entire western frontier of the Persian empire; it was a struggle between Christianity and fire-worship, Roman influence against Persian. When, on the accession of Constantine the Great, victory was assured to the Christians in the Roman Empire, the rulers of Armenia and Iberia hastened openly to adopt the Christian faith. They naturally encountered opposition from the adherents of the older religion, who immediately endeavoured to win the support of the Persians, while the Christians looked to Rome for protection. Even the influence of Julian the Apostate was insufficient to prevent the struggle between Persia and Rome from becoming more and more of a religious war; and, as a result, it followed that until its downfall the Persian empire, in spite of many brilliant successes, was always on the defensive, never once appearing as a conquering nation.

The sweeping victory of Christianity in the west rendered it impossible for the Iranian faith permanently to keep pace with the Persian dominion in Armenia and Mesopotamia. The Iranian emperors had to content themselves with the persecutions of the Christians, begun by Shapur II., and thus at least to ward off the danger from their own territories in the east. The diffusion of Christianity in the west was, therefore, the fundamental reason why the victorious expeditions of the Persians into Roman territory remained so unfruitful; in effect they were little more than sorties from a besieged fortress, or invasions of robbers on a large scale; they were certainly not wars of conquest. After a struggle that kept him actively employed all his days, Shapur succeeded in establishing Persian rule in Armenia; but he was unable to do away with the Christian religion. Under his successors it was in 388 A.D. finally agreed that Armenia should be divided into two parts, one Roman and the other Persian, each of which was to be ruled by a native prince. We have little definite knowledge of the war in which Shapur was engaged on the north-eastern frontier of his kingdom. It is certain, however, that the Persians had to keep a sharp look-out on the nomads of Central Asia, whose frequent migrations were a constant source of danger.

Why Persia Made no Conquests

BAHRAM V. AND HIS QUEEN

Bahram V. reigned from 420 to 438 A.D., most of his reign being occupied with border wars against the Turanian nomads.

Of the immediate successors of Shapur, the most distinguished was Yesdigerd I.

(399–420 A.D.), called by his subjects "the Bad," who at first seemed to lean towards the Christian faith, but during his later years became an orthodox believer in the religion of Zoroaster, and a fanatical persecutor of the Christians. In consequence of Yesdigerd's barbarity, war was declared by the Romans, and continued through the second year of the reign of his successor, Bahram V. (420–438 A.D.). On the other hand, the Oriental accounts of an alleged conflict of Bahram with the Emperor of China are wholly without foundation, and were, no doubt, derived from an exaggerated report of one of the frequent border wars against Turanian nomads. It is almost certain that during this period the north-eastern boundary of the Persian empire was pushed out further and further into Transoxania, and that the Persians were actively engaged in diffusing their culture and religion among the Turanians, endeavouring to subdue them by the same method that was employed with such marked success by China on her nomadic neighbours. During the Arabian conquest a small nation of Zoroastrians was discovered in the Bokhara of to-day; it bravely resisted the advance of the Moslems, and must at one time have been an advanced post of Persian civilisation in the land of the Mongols.

Wars With the Turanians

The Persian emperors were soon compelled to turn their attention to the passes of the Caucasus also; troops of Huns and "Scythians" had already broken through into Iran, for the inhabitants of Caucasia either could not or would not check their advance. The most important event of the reign of Yesdigerd II. (442–459 A.D.) was the occupation and fortification of the passes of Derbent, near the Caspian Sea. Unfortunately the emperor also permitted himself to be drawn into an attempt to crush the Christians in Armenia, which led only to ruinous wars and remained without permanent result. The Persian kings were well aware of the importance of maintaining their position in the Caucasus; the Emperor Peroses even requested contributions from the Byzantines for the support of the mountain garrisons, on the ground that the closing of the passes was to the interest of Persians and Romans alike. Peroses successfully made war on the nomads, who advanced from the west of the Caspian Sea; but he encountered great difficulty in subduing the Cushans and the Hephtalitæ, who had established a kingdom in Turania, losing his life during the struggle in the year 484 A.D.

The period of Kobad I., who occupied the throne from 488 to 531 A.D., was remarkable in many respects. During his reign there developed a new reforming sect of the fire-worshippers, who were at first favoured by him, but who subsequently involved the empire in serious complications. Although a change in the orthodox belief had been avoided through the suppression of the Manichæans, nevertheless the practical lesson taught by the development of Christianity had produced an effect which was only the more powerful because concealed. The orthodox priesthood became more and more unpopular as time passed; and, as is almost invariably the case in popular revolutionary movements, extreme political and social opinions were united with ideas of religious reform; finally both tendencies found their most definite expression in the doctrines of Mazdak. The religious principles of the reformer, which were in the main a continuation of Manichæan ideals, were far less radical than his plans for a social revolution, of which the fundamental idea, a community of goods—even of wives—was received with the utmost enthusiasm by the people. For a time Kobad seems to have regarded the new doctrines as an excellent means for combating the feudalism into which his empire had fallen, and the overwhelming influence of the priesthood. It was not until later that he learned to his sorrow that communism is not precisely the best foundation upon which to build up an Oriental despotism. Mazdak no doubt meant well; but his methods of improvement were adapted only to the capacities of model citizens, and deteriorated greatly in the hands of his followers. The enemies of reform took advantage of the first opportunity offered them for bringing about a successful reactionary movement. Kobad himself was imprisoned, and for several years deprived of all share in the government. Finally, with the assistance of a tribe of nomads, he succeeded in recovering his crown, but was obliged to repeal all laws which had been framed in accordance with the views of Mazdak.

Reform of the Priesthood

An Early Persian Communist

Kobad's second period of rule was occupied chiefly with wars with the Romans, in which he found a good means for diverting the attention of his people from domestic affairs. For the first war the refusal of Rome to pay the customary contributions toward fortifying the passes of the Caucasus furnished a satisfactory pretext. After this quarrel was settled, a second soon followed. During the very last days of his life Kobad was compelled once more to lead an army to the west, this time in order to maintain the influence of Persia over Lasistan, an important South Caucasian kingdom, whose prince had become a convert to Christianity and an ally of the Byzantine empire.

Renewed Wars With Rome

After the death of Kobad the usual quarrels as to the succession arose, and finally ended in 531 A.D. with the accession of Khosru I., or Anushirvan, whom Kobad had looked upon as the most capable of his sons. Khosru was a champion of the ancient Persian spirit, a friend of the priestly class, and an irreconcilable enemy of the reformers of the school of Mazdak, who had chosen one of his numerous brothers as their imperial candidate. During his reign the Persian empire attained to the height of its splendour; indeed, the government of Khosru I., "the Just," was both equitable and powerful. But it must not be forgotten that it also signified the final victory of reaction and the cessation of all development. Nor did the brilliant feats of arms accomplished by Khosru alter this fact, of which the results were, one hundred years later, suddenly to become manifest, with most disastrous effects.

One of Khosru's first acts was to make peace with the Romans, who agreed to pay a large contribution towards the fortification of the Caucasian passes, which the Persian emperor began anew on a great scale; the Byzantines, however, retained Lasistan. In addition to strengthening the Caucasus, Khosru also sought to fortify the north-eastern frontier of his empire by constructing a great wall after the Chinese model, at the same time substantiating by force of arms his old claims to a portion of North-western India. But he soon turned his attention again to the west; for during the reign of Justinian I. the Byzantine empire had suddenly awakened to new life, overthrowing the dominion of the Vandals in Africa and annihilating the Goths in Italy. The impression made by these events on the Christian inhabitants of his kingdom was alone sufficient to cause Khosru to take measures of defence; and of all defensive measures, the very best, according to the opinion of the Persians, was a sudden campaign of aggression. Consequently, war against the Romans followed in the spring of 540 A.D., without being preceded by the conventional declaration. The Romans had no army with which to fight the Persians, and Khosru, who did not entertain any thoughts of permanent conquest, plundered as many Syrian towns as possible during a short campaign, and exacted from others exorbitant ransoms. He also captured Antioch, which was very badly defended, and refused to return to his own dominions until a large sum of money had been paid him by the Byzantines, and an annual tribute promised. During the next few years he met with less success, and in 545 A.D. a peace was concluded. In Lasistan, however, the war with the Romans still continued; for Khosru was most anxious to acquire possession of this country, which extended as far as the Black Sea, and he even formed a scheme for building a fleet there, in order to attack Constantinople by water. On the other hand, the Romans considered themselves to be the natural allies of the Christian inhabitants of Lasistan, and looked upon the province itself as a bulwark of defence against the encroachments of the tribes of the Caucasus, as well as of the Scythians and Huns, who were ever lying in wait beyond the mountain wall. The struggle ended disastrously for the Persians, and Lasistan was surrendered to the Byzantines in the year 556 A.D. During the last few years of this war the attention of Khosru had been directed chiefly to Central Asia, where affairs had once more assumed a threatening aspect. The kingdom of the Hephtalitæ had fallen before the attack of the Turks, who burst forth from Eastern Turkestan in 555 A.D., and founded a powerful empire in Transoxania. Owing to the skilful diplomacy of Khosru, Persia escaped the consequences of this storm, and was itself able to take part in the sharing of the plunder. During the following years there were

Khosru, a Splendid Reactionary

Raids on Byzantine Dominions

no further military operations on the western frontier; but the spiritual war between Christianity and fire-worship still continued. That Khosru was greatly interested in the religious life of Western Asia was proved by his interference in the affairs of Yemen, whither Christianity had penetrated through the agency of the Abyssinians. With the help of a Persian army the latter were driven out of Arabia in 575 A.D., and a Persian protectorate, which lasted until the time of Mahomet, was established in the south-western part of the peninsula. Towards the end of the reign of Khosru war broke out anew with Rome; Persian troops advanced as far as Antioch, and a number of indecisive battles were fought in Armenia.

Under Khosru's successor, Hormuzd IV. (573–590 A.D.), the boundary dispute continued. One of the results of this constant state of war was that the Persians dethroned their emperor, who was most unpopular and apparently of disordered intellect. His son, Khosru II., was installed in his place, but was straightway compelled to flee the country by Bahram, a general who had risen in revolt. With the help of the Byzantines—who were, of course, well paid for their good offices—Khosru II. finally succeeded in expelling the usurper from his provinces. But the friendly relations with Byzantium were not of long duration; in fact, an insurrection that broke out in Constantinople gave Khosru, or Aparvez, "the Victorious," a welcome pretext for declaring himself in favour of the losing side, that he might set out on a plundering expedition through Syria and Mesopotamia. Although these campaigns of robbery, which began in the year 604 A.D., and constantly increased in radius of action, were of little benefit to the Persians and cost them dearly in troops, they had a marked effect in preparing the way for the Mohammedan conquest. It was owing to these same expeditions of Khosru that the power of Roman Syria and Mesopotamia was broken. The Arabs of the steppes, however, who assisted both Persians and Romans, according to the whim of the moment, became trained in war and pillage, and were constantly being stirred up to the highest pitch of excitement, until finally the hand of Mahomet welded their various tribal elements into a power that Western Asia was totally unable to resist.

Plunder of Syria and Mesopotamia

Preparing the Way for Islam

Persia arrived at the height of her military glory during the years 614–622 A.D. Damascus was captured and plundered in 614 A.D.; Jerusalem, together with the whole of Palestine, yielded in 615 A.D.; Egypt was conquered in 616 A.D. The armies of Persia then advanced into Asia Minor; and finally Persian troops encamped on the shores of the Bosphorus, within sight of Constantinople, at the very same time that a Scythian army was threatening the city from the European side. Heraclius, the Roman emperor, resolved to avert the danger by making a counter attack on Persia. His plan was wholly successful; he advanced through Armenia to Atropatene, destroyed the temple of the Zoroastrians, and compelled Khosru to return to Persia in 623 A.D. During the following years, also, he held the Persians in check, threatened Ctesiphon in 627 A.D., and finally brought matters to such a pass that Khosru was deserted by his own subjects, who had become thoroughly embittered, owing to the excessively heavy burdens of war. The army, which until this time had been encamped opposite Constantinople, retreated in disorder to Persia, and found that Khosru had already been dethroned and put to death in the spring of 628 A.D. The fact that it finally became necessary

KHOSRU II. RECEIVING THE ROYAL DIADEM

Khosru II., one of the last Sassanid kings of Persia, was surnamed Aparvez, "the Victorious." He broke the power of Roman Syria and Mesopotamia and thus prepared the way for the Mohammedan conquest.

to enrol even women in the ranks of the Persian forces is a proof of the terrible loss of life occasioned by the ambition and insatiable greed of the king.

Khosru was succeeded by Kobad II., who reigned seven months only—from February to September, 628 A.D.—and made peace with Heraclius. The reigns of Kobad's successors also were short. Among them were two daughters of Khosru, who came to the throne on account of the lack of male princes, and the grandson of Khosru, Yesdigerd III. (632–651 A.D.), the last of the Sassanidæ. The wars with the Arabs broke out during the first years of Yesdigerd's reign, and at the same time the gradual dissolution of the empire began.

Lack of Male Soldiers and Princes

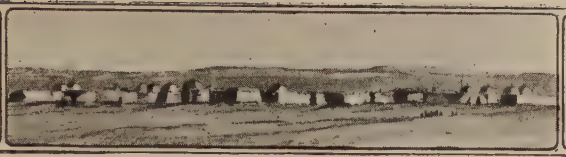
It has already been mentioned that the exhaustion of the Persian empire—a result of the incessant wars with the Byzantines—contributed greatly to the victory of the Arabs; but that the Persians were so swiftly and thoroughly conquered by the Moslems was due almost entirely to the isolation into which both people and prince had fallen, and to the stubbornness with which they held fast to their obsolete religion and culture. All that was progressive in the teachings of Manes and Mazdak had been forcibly suppressed; and while the most profound religious conceptions were developing in other lands the faith of Zoroaster became utterly ossified.

Practically nothing had been accomplished in either science or art; and when Khosru II. determined to build a city that should surpass Antioch in splendour, the result was little more than a grotesque imitation of Roman models. The pagan philosophers, who sought refuge and sympathy at the Persian court, returned bitterly disappointed to Roman territory. That Persia proved incapable of becoming an active member of the western civilised world, but obstinately preserved its own worst characteristics, only to be compelled finally to exchange them for an even less efficient religion and culture, was one of the greatest misfortunes in the history of Western Asia. How far Christianity would have continued in its victorious course had it not been for the barrier of Iran is hard to determine; at any rate, the great success attained by the one Christian sect that was tolerated by the Persian emperors, the Nestorians, proves that it would have made great progress.

Persia's Lack of Culture

BAS-RELIEFS FROM THE PALACE OF KHOSRU II.

Khosru II., "the Victorious," determined to build a city which should surpass Antioch in its splendour, but the result was little more than a grotesque imitation of Roman models, and this relief from his palace seems to bear out the view.



ARABIA BEFORE ISLAM

THE name Arabia or Aribi did not originally belong to the whole peninsula, but, in the Assyrian inscriptions where it first meets us, designated only the northwestern portion, substantially the Syrian desert and the adjoining districts; that is to say, the region occupied by the nomads who came into contact with the inhabitants of the countries on the Euphrates and of Syria. There, after 1000 B.C., the fourth great migration settled, that of the Arabs themselves, after whom the land henceforth was called.

The Syrian desert stretches along the hinterland of Northern Palestine in its widest extent towards the north. Here to the east and the south of the district of Damascus was one of the most suitable points of attack for Arabian tribes. Here, then, we find Arabs mentioned for the first time. In the great army which Bir-idri of Damascus put into the field against Shalmaneser II., the Arab "Gindibu"—the name is quite regular in the Arabian form, Jundub or Gundub—was also forced to furnish his contingent. We must regard him as an Arab sheikh, who lived within the sphere of Bir-idri's power, and stood in a dependent relation to him, a position which we shall repeatedly find after this time. The mention of this fact signifies the beginning of the Arabian immigration into those parts; that is to say, the beginning of the same great movement which culminated in the spread of Islam.

Beginning of Arabian Immigration

Our next notice is that Tiglath-pileser IV. made expeditions to Arabia and forced various Arabian tribes, whom he enumerates, to pay tribute. He was acquainted with a "kingdom" of Aribi in the north, in the Syrian steppe, which was ruled by queens—for instance, Zabibi and Samsi—who paid tribute and acknowledged the suzerainty of Assyria, as he definitely records, in 738 and 733 B.C. The subject condition of Aribi or Arabi, occasionally enforced by fresh chastisements, is recorded under Sargon, Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon.

Further to the west, in the land which adjoins the district of Southern Philistia and comprises the borderland of Egypt, or Musri, Tiglath-pileser IV. appointed a Bedouin sheikh as Assyrian "overseer." The district, which hitherto had been subject to Egypt, thus became an outlying Assyrian state under native princes, appointed by Assyria. A theory, according to which there were two "Musris," the one being Egypt, the other an unknown country in Northern Arabia, has lately been put forward. It is sufficient to say that the case made out for this view is wholly inadequate. The Musri over which Tiglath-pileser appointed the Arab sheikh Idibi'ilu as warden of the marches is the borderland of Egypt, not a hypothetical country in Northern Arabia. Idibi'ilu did not hold his own for long; for under Sargon we find that the governor of Musri, who is no longer appointed by Assyria, but is dependent on the "king of Melukhkha," is no other than Pharaoh, king of Egypt, or Pir'u of Musri. The king of Melukhkha is, without question, the Ethiopian monarch with whom Egypt was allied, probably Kashta.

Arabia Under Assyria

Until the year 670 B.C. only the kingdom of Aribi was kept in strict subjection to Assyria. Esarhaddon then, in continuance of his Egyptian policy, attempted to bring additional parts of Arabia under his dominion. The discord between Assyria and Babylonia, which was accentuated by the victory of the military party and the accession of Ashurbanipal, destroyed all these successes won in the spirit of Babylonian influence. Shamash-shum-ukin sought help against Assyria where he could, and summoned into the land the Bedouins, who had been so long kept in check on the frontiers. Other tribes and peoples under their "kings" now meet us as allies of the Babylonians. Besides the kingdom of Aribi, which played

a less aggressive part, there were in particular the Kedar, nominally a vassal people of Aribi, and west of these the Nebaioth of the Bible, or Nabaiati of the cuneiform inscriptions. The Nabaiati possessed the Syrian desert up to the borders of the Assyrian province; they harassed the vassal states, Moab and Edom, situated on the border of the steppe and roamed northward as far as Damascus. They were, it is true, chastised by Ashurbanipal's expeditions, and driven out of the region of civilisation; but it lies in the nature of the circumstances that they would be kept back only as long as they continued to fear a power which at once anticipated every encroachment. When, therefore, with the death of Ashurbanipal and Nabopolassar's declaration of independence, the beginning of the end drew near, the Arabs had a splendid opportunity. Naturally they immediately advanced once more. According to a notice in the book of the prophet Jeremiah, which may perhaps be traced to the annals of the kings of Judah, Nebuchadnezzar undertook an expedition against the Kedar and punished them by destroying their stronghold Hazor.

Raids of the Arabs

The want of native accounts from the Persian era deprives us also of any notices as to the relations of Persia with Arabia. The few materials, however, that we possess are at least sufficient to corroborate the idea which we should naturally form from the preceding and the subsequent periods. So long as the Persian empire was firmly consolidated and adopted a strong foreign policy, even the Arabs had to curb their eager passions. At a later period they were restrained more by concessions and payments. When Cambyses marched against Egypt they were compelled to supply him with the means for his march through the desert, more particularly the camels. Darius mentions North Arabia — the Assyrian Aribi — among the countries subject to him; but since it is uncertain whether some other names of subject peoples refer to Central and Eastern Arabia, we do not know how far his sovereignty extended. In any case the advance of the Kedar against Palestine, begun under Ashurbanipal and Nebuchadnezzar, assumed wider importance. In Yemen the kingdom of the Sabæans was now flourishing; in the north political organisations, like those of the Aribi, Kedar, and Nabaiati, were the medium of trade. We do not know when these peoples were replaced by others; and after all it does not signify what the names of the sheikhs were who maintained relations with the Persian officials. The rule over the wild sons of the desert certainly was secured to them by this alliance, and yet they remained in all their sympathies and ideas no less Bedouins than their countrymen. They cannot indeed be compared with the Bedouin sheikh, who is distinguishable from his poor fellow-tribesman, his "brother," only by a larger share of cattle; they had by this time thoroughly well civilised themselves, so far as it was a matter of filling their purses.

Persia and Arabia

An inscription from Teima, which belongs to the Persian or the New Babylo-Assyrian time, gives us a picture of the life and organisation of the North Arabian towns and states with their sanctuaries. This resembles far more the picture which some of the towns of Palestine and Israel present during the time of the kings than that which the later Islamitic tradition has given of the conditions of the pre-Islamitic time. There is a city sanctuary with a specified domain, which is reserved for the maintenance of the cult and its priests. The hierarchy, at all times ready to open the doors of the temple to new divinities, was bound then to take measures for their support. The necessary means were derived partly from the temple income, partly from the royal revenues; even the king, therefore, had his "fiscal" domain. The language of the inscription is not Arabic, which was not written until Mahomet, but Aramaic. This result of civilisation was therefore borrowed from Assyria or Babylonia, where Aramaic was the written and spoken language of commerce; the portrait of the high-priest Salm-ushezib shows Assyrian finish, and he himself bears a name constructed on Babylonian analogy. With the written language were borrowed also the political and fiscal terminology.

Life in Early Arabia

The fall of the Persian empire would have been a welcome opportunity for the Arabs to invade the civilised countries had not more energetic opponents soon arisen in the Hellenistic states. In addition to this, civilisation had already

taken a somewhat firmer hold of these countries. The beginnings, traces of which may be seen in the kingdoms of Aribi, with the inscription of Teima, developed during the Hellenistic era into the kingdom of the Nabatæans, which now exists for some three centuries as a marvellous creation of the mixed civilisation of North Arabia, thoroughly preserving its national Arabian character, on the borders of a civilisation which was once Oriental but now impregnated afresh with Hellenism. Of this kingdom an account has already been given.

The annexation of Nabatæa by the Romans resulted in the prosperity of a new Arabian commercial state—namely, Palmyra, for which also we may here refer our readers to a previous section.

With the fall of the restraining state of Palmyra (273 A.D.) the Saracens, a name by which the Arabs inhabiting the steppes were usually designated by the Romans, found the civilised country open to them whenever the Roman power was unable to protect the frontiers with a firm hand. In the wars of the Romans, Byzantines, and Sassanidæ, they played an important part as lords of the desert, and as valuable allies in the struggle for the broad districts on the Euphrates so easily traversed by them.

Rise of the Saracens

Both Byzantium and the court of the Sassanidæ were unable to extend their frontiers further than the region of civilisation, and were compelled, like the Assyrians and Persians, to allow the Saracens to retain their territory. As usual, it was thought to be enough if the sheikhs of the adjoining tribal districts were won over and brought into loyal relations with the empire. Just as Idibi'ilu was appointed by Tiglath-pileser to rule over the frontier district of Egypt, and the Nabatæans were the allies of the Romans, so now the Byzantines and Persians favoured the formation of Arab states on their frontiers, the "kings" of which, by their support from the Great Power, and with titles conferred on them by it, ruled over the sons of the desert. With an organisation superior to the Bedouins, they formed a protection both for the Persians and Byzantines against the advance of subsequent tribes. In this way both the princely house of the Ghassanidæ, on the Byzantine frontiers in Syria, and the Lachmidæ, on the Babylonian frontiers, ruled under Persian supremacy as the connecting link and barrier between civilised country and steppe. They discharged this function, perpetually warring against each other, both on their own initiative and in the service of their liege lords, with ceaseless skirmishes and raids, which the earliest Arabian poets known to us have sung. Finally, the pent-up power of the tide of nations in the heart of the country broke a way through, and, under the flag of Islam, once more flooded the countries of civilisation, helping the "Arabian migration" to force its victorious way, and at the same time rolling on the last wave of the Semites which the history of the world knows. In the ninth century B.C. we found the first Arabs on the frontiers of civilisation pressing on after the Aramæans; in the seventh century A.D., 1,600 years later, the Islamitic movement inundated the East. Since then 1,200 years have elapsed, and we cannot perceive any new movement in the cradle of the Semitic nations, which is, to a great extent, depopulated.

Last Semitic Migration

We now turn to Eastern Arabia, with the coast districts on the Persian Gulf, and their mysterious centre, Yemama. The Chaldæans, or Kasdim, whom we meet in the civilised zone first in South Babylonia, probably came hence into the light of history. So far as they became Babylonians, they no longer concern us here. But as the western districts, already occupied by "Arabs," present, even in the time of Ashurbanipal, distinct traces of their earlier Aramæan inhabitants, we may equally conjecture that remains also of the Kasdim were left in Arabia itself, until they were absorbed by the onward movement of the Arabs. The Bible is acquainted with Arabian Kasdim, who are to be found in the East—that is to say, toward Yemama; in these may fairly be seen the first stratum of the great migration. Later they are regarded in the introduction to the Book of Job on the basis of ancient tradition as being, with the Sabæans, the rulers of Central Arabia.

Chaldæans in East Arabia

A part of the Kasdim must have occupied the Arabian maritime districts of the Persian Sea. As the Chaldæans of the South Babylonian "sea country" were masters of all that was still left of Babylonian navigation and commerce on the Persian

Sea, so these Chaldæans also must have occupied the island of Dilmun, or Bahrein, which in ancient times was in close connection with Babylonia. Under Sargon, their king Uperi, after the capture of Babylon, entered into the same relations with the Assyrians which he had hitherto kept up with Merodach-baladan, the king of the "sea country" and of Babylon. Whether this king was an Arab, or still a Chaldæan, must remain uncertain. Esarhaddon records his expedition into the interior of Eastern Arabia, called by him Bazu, the biblical Buz; it can hardly be looked for elsewhere than in Yemama. Eight "kings" and queens are enumerated whose "towns" had been captured. If ever information should reach us from this still unexplored corner of the earth, we may become acquainted even there with the traces of a culture of which notices are found in Arabian writers.

Yemama Invaded by Assyria

Strabo, following old accounts, can speak of Chaldæans on the sea, whose capital and seaport, Gerrha, formed the emporium for the trade with the interior. Antiochus the Great, after the rebellion of Molon, once more secured the eastern provinces of his empire and resumed friendly relations with the Indan kings. Further, on an expedition undertaken against the maritime districts of the Persian Sea, in return for a very considerable "present," he confirmed, in 205 B.C., the independence of the Gerrhæans, who were all-important for the commerce on the Persian Sea and with the interior of Arabia.

Under the dominion of the Parthians, who did not trouble themselves about such trifles as the command of the sea and trade, a successor of the former Chaldæan "sea country" arose in the shape of Messene. This was a state which, about the beginning of the Christian era, ruled the delta of the Euphrates and Tigris, as well as the adjoining coast districts, and thus controlled the trade with Babylonia, so far as it yet existed on the Persian Sea, and did not go through Yemen. From some notices of classical writers and from coins, we are acquainted with a series of kings of Messene, who were subject to the influence of Hellenism and Parthia, and had a preponderance of Aramæan subjects, but nevertheless are certainly to be claimed as Arabs. Possibly, the head of the dynasty was a certain Adad-nadin-akh, whose inscription has been found upon bricks in a late addition to the palace at Tello, the town of the old Babylonian kings and patesis of Lagash; he had, therefore, built his palace there. The inscription is bilingual, being written in Aramaic and Greek.

State of Messene

The most important part, as the seat of a peculiar civilisation, was played in antiquity by the south, or rather the south-west corner of Arabia, the so-called Arabia Felix. This name was, perhaps, originally given, owing to a misapprehension, which took the Arabian meaning of Yemen, the land lying to the right of the Arab looking toward the east, in the sense of the augur, to whom the right side was the propitious quarter. The country, a lofty mountain plateau, with isolated higher elevations and better watered than the north, although only by mountain streams, was always carefully cultivated in the times to which the inscriptions refer. Here also the rivers forced the inhabitants to take measures to dam up the precious water in times of brimming streams, and to store it against the dry seasons. The dam of Mareb, the ruins of which are still standing, appeared to the Arabs of the desert as something marvellous.

Civilisation of Arabia Felix

Numerous ruined sites have been already discovered, the old names of which are mentioned in inscriptions still visible; but little has been done towards furnishing science with what is on the surface, to say nothing of all that is hidden in the earth, to which these remains bear witness. Where only copies of the inscriptions themselves, hastily made by an intrepid traveller at the risk of his life, are forthcoming, it is impossible to form any idea of the remaining ruins; and the temples and buildings to which the inscriptions refer, and the site of which they record, exist for us only in name. These do not enable us to draw a connected picture of the political development.

The most ancient inscriptions which we possess belong to an age which ends in the eighth and seventh centuries. A proof that a connection already existed with the great civilised countries is shown by the character of the script. This alphabetical writing, which has been developed from the general Semitic alphabet,

with the invention of some additional symbols for the greater variety of sounds in this South Arabian Ma'initic or Minæan language, may perhaps be taken to represent in the perfection of its form a completely independent effort, as compared with the North Semitic alphabet of the Aramæans and Canaanites. Alphabetical writing was invented in Phœnicia. There the Canaanites and Aramæans became acquainted with it; and thence it made its way to Yemen. It is evident that the same, or perhaps a still brisker intercourse was then maintained with the regions of civilisation from the Euphrates to the Mediterranean than in the times on which light is gradually being cast by inscriptions. We found indications of this intercourse in the ancient Babylonian inscriptions of Gudea and Naram-Sin. The very same streams of nations, which can be traced from the south of the peninsula so far as the civilised countries of the Mediterranean during the Islamitic age, were flowing at the time when the "Canaanites," and later the Aramæans, flooded the East. The tribe of the Sabæans, which submitted to Assyria, is mentioned as early as the reigns of Tiglath-pileser and Sargon. Of all the Arabian tribes then mentioned, it is the one which dwelt farthest to the south. Later on, the Assyrians were no longer able to re ain their hold upon the country. In the north, therefore, "Arabs" became masters of the country. At the same time, in the south also, inscriptions mention attacks of "Arabs." These inscriptions, however, are not composed in the language of the Minæans, but in a dialectic variety. The new masters of the south are the same people whom we have recognised as allies of the Assyrians—namely, the Sabæans. Approximately about Esarhaddon's time the Sabæans became masters of the country in place of the Minæans. For a half century, therefore, we now meet with "kings of Saba" as masters of Yemen and its civilisation.

Sabæans Masters of Yemen

The "treasures of Arabia," henceforth, according to Oriental ideas, belong to the Sabæans; Sabæans now meet us in the Hebrew inscriptions, in place of the Minæans, and the intercourse with the south is now maintained by the Kedar. It is seen that Assyria had once more to her own advantage separated the masses of nations in Arabia. The position of the great Minæan nation, which had dominated the south, was now taken by two peoples of different stock—the Kedar are "Arabs," but not the Sabæans—who, being enemies, acted as a counterpoise to each other and rendered it easier for Assyria to rule. Esarhaddon had shown himself here, in continuation of his Egyptian policy, to be one of the acutest of Oriental statesmen. If finally the "Assyrian policy" had not prevailed over the "Babylonian," the trade of Arabia would have been carried on under the control of Assyria. The struggle between Assyria and Babylon destroyed all this; for although the Kedar could be chastised, any influence over the south was lost. The Sabæans were able to withdraw from this Assyrian guardianship and to assert their independence. The realm of Saba had its most important towns situated south of the Jof country of the Minæans. The capital is Mareb, as it appears up to the Himyaritic conquest. The kingdom remained purely Sabæan for several centuries. Then other nations obtained the supremacy, and their rulers styled themselves "kings of Saba."

Assyrian Policy in Arabia

The period of Ma'in and Saba, down till about 300 B.C., was that of Yemen's greatest prosperity; and for a considerable time it commanded the trade with India. Babylonia was then cut off from the Persian Sea by the Chaldæans. Egypt was not in a position to hold the Red Sea, and thus it was a prosperous time for the intermediate trade, which went through Arabia from Yemen by land northward to the Philistine towns, or from the ports of Western Arabia to the harbours of Egypt. On the caravan route which led from Kuser, or Leukos Limen, on the Red Sea to Thebes and Koptos, the main line of communication of the Thebaid to the sea, Minæo-Sabæan inscriptions, besides numerous Egyptian ones, have been cut on the face of the rocks, testifying to the former commercial greatness of South Arabia. While the Sabæans were dependent for their intercourse with Palestine and the Euphratean countries on the services of the North Arabian Kedar, and afterwards of the Nabatæans, through whose land they passed, the Minæans had reached those districts directly; in Warka, or Uruk, in South Babylonia, a monument of these relations has been found in a

Greatness of South Arabia

Minæan inscription. When once more the Orient came under a dominion which embraced the old seat of culture in Babylonia, and at the same time was able to revive the Babylonian ideas in place of the Persian feudal economy, the conditions were then altered to the disadvantage of South Arabia. Sabæan interests must have been greatly prejudiced when the Ptolemies really set free the sea route round Arabia, and actually utilised it for trade, while the Seleucidæ reckoned with the Nabatæans and Gerrhæans as middlemen. Ptolemy II., Philadelphus, in his wars with the Seleucidæ circumnavigated Arabia and made an attack on the Seleucid possessions on the Persian Gulf. He and his successor founded on the western coast of the Red Sea, as far as the straits of Babel-Mandeb, Egyptian colonies, which sapped the vitality of the Sabæan commerce with Abyssinia and Egypt. These colonies undoubtedly formed stations for a direct Indian trade. In Adulis, or Zulla, where the communications between Saba and Habesh, or Abyssinia, crossed, Ptolemy III., Euergetes, erected an inscription commemorating one of his victories. Thus it was not a revived Babylon of Alexander that became mistress of the Indian trade and the ruin of Saba, but Alexandria.

Sabæan Commerce Ruined

We must place in the third or second century B.C. the internal commotions to which the realm of Saba was exposed. These brought another people into power, the Himyarites, who had settled originally in the south-west corner of the peninsula and occupied the capital at this time. Their kings, just like their predecessors, style themselves "kings of Saba," but add to this title "and of Raidan," the name of their Himyarite ancestral fortress. Thus, then, no longer Sabæans but Himyarites rule in Saba.

At the same time, or soon afterwards, the lords of Abyssinia, whither formerly the Sabæans had sent colonies, began, as the Egyptian power dwindled, to extend their dominion beyond the seas. Starting from the reoccupied Adulis, where one of their kings, Zoskales, son of Alizanes, had his inscription cut by the side of that of Ptolemy Euergetes, they crossed to Arabia and first gained a firm footing on the coast. There they had possessions as early as the first century B.C.; that is, the sea, or at least intercourse with Abyssinia, was barred for the rulers of Saba, who were exposed to continual attacks from the Abyssinian governors. The same king, who perpetuated his name as Adulis by the side of Ptolemy's, then subjugated the whole Arabian coast to Leuke Kome, the former seaport of the Nabatæans, and Yemen, so far as the Sabæan royal title, which became gradually wider, laid claim to it. From that time, from the second or third centuries A.D., Sabæa is subject to the suzerainty of Abyssinia.

Extension of Abyssinia

This sovereignty did not escape opposition; the South Arabian Himyarites made many, and occasionally successful, attempts to eject the Abyssinians from the country. They succeeded, indeed, for a considerable time in once more winning their independence under the standard of Judaism, which in the last centuries before the Christian era conquered Arabia and led to a revival of power in the old state of Yemen. Our information does not go so far as to enable us to recognise the political parties and currents from which the new prosperity was developed; from the nature of things, however, the general condition of affairs may be approximately ascertained. Judaism was a power to be reckoned with in all the great empires of civilisation, played a foremost part in the kingdom of the Nabatæans, and was especially prominent in Egyptian business life. In its still eager desire to proselytise it was spread by commercial connections into South-west Arabia, whither the civilised empires could not go with their armies, although they had long cherished a desire for the land, the possession of which would have put the Indian trade into the hands of its masters. The prevailing religion there was that of the old Sabæans. The shrewd Jewish men of business were opposed to this heathenism. While the ruling nobles who owned the land clung to the old religion, the missionaries of Judaism found receptive hearers, where it was possible for men to appreciate in their own persons the value of their promises of happiness—namely, among that section of the population which was engaged in trade and industries. In contradistinction to the nobility, it must have been the town population which received Judaism. By its connection with Judaism this population acquired new

Judaism in Yemen

strength; the land-owning nobility lost more and more in influence before the increasing wealth and power of the commercial class. Finally the kingdom saw itself compelled, as, for example, in Adiabene also, either by peaceful or by violent changes to side with the merchant class rather than with the nobility, and to accept Judaism; that is to say, the organisation of the feudal state formed by the Himyarite conquest had been transformed into that of a mercantile community. This reorganisation put Yemen in a position to expel the Abyssinians from the country. For some centuries now Jewish rulers held the dominion as "kings of Saba."

Such independence did not benefit Rome. The Roman attempts under Augustus to obtain possession of Yemen had been made in a period when the Himyarites were weak, and yet they had failed. Judaism had led to a recovery of strength; then the spiritual power could be opposed only by another spiritual power, and this was found in Christianity. Even the dominion of Judaism in Yemen had its dark side and could not but meet with a period of decline. Christianity, the religion of the poor, which followed on its track, here found its path made easy. Just as Judaism had once formed the standard under which the vigorous components of the people rallied against a ruling class which was no longer competent to discharge its duties, so all who were excluded from the government joined forces under the sign of the Cross.

Jewish Kings in Yemen

The legends of the Christian saints recount terrible sacrifices of human life, which the movement against the ruling class entailed. Despite all the zeal of the Christians in the lands of civilisation, they could not win an unaided victory. The attempt had to be made indirectly. After about the fourth century Abyssinia was won for Christianity from Egypt. The relations maintained with the Ptolemies were once more resumed, and were kept up by the Church, for Abyssinia always received bishops from the patriarch in Alexandria. Since Egypt was Byzantine, the kings of Abyssinia were on friendly terms with the court of Byzantium, and both shared in the common desire for the treasures of Yemen. But at Byzantium the lesson once taught to Augustus had not been forgotten, and it was recognised that the desired goal could only be reached by the former conquerors, who had been driven out by Judaism; an attempt was therefore made to incite these to a new attack. In the year 525 A.D. the Jewish-Sabæan empire fell, after a valiant resistance by the last Jewish king, Joseph dhu Nuas, who is represented in the martyrologies as a monster, but is better appreciated in the otherwise obscure Islamitic tradition. Yemen became more Abyssinian and was governed by an Abyssinian viceroy, who was very independent. Tradition tells of four rulers, the reign of one of whom is recorded in inscriptions. This state of things lasted some seven hundred years.

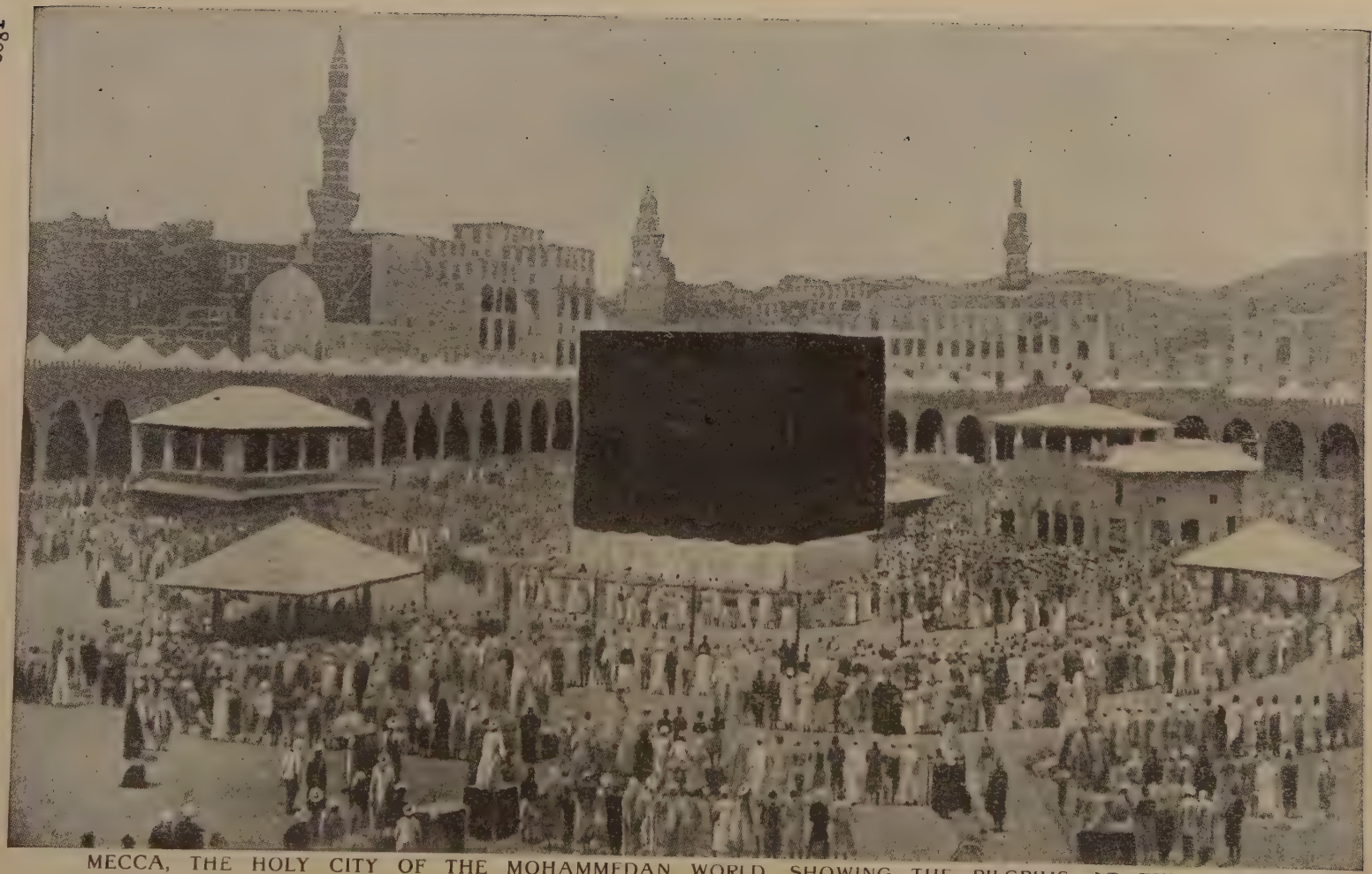
Fall of the Jewish Kingdom

The Jewish monarchy fell, but the old nobility was not yet destroyed; the latter was forced naturally to place its hopes on the opponents of the Byzantines, the Persians. A descendant of the noble families went first to Babylonia and then to the Persian court in order to obtain help from that quarter. Khosru Anushirwan crossed over to Arabia and drove out the Abyssinians about 575 A.D. Yemen became first a vassal state of Persia, then a province under Persian governors. Christianity and Byzantine influence were thus overthrown. The old nobility and paganism once more enjoyed a brief renaissance until, some fifty years later, the great union of all Arabia under Islam was completed.

In the rise of the power of Mahomet also the opposing forces which were at work are recognisable; the threads which ran to Byzantium and the Sassanian court can be taken up in Mecca. The nobles of Mecca, who commanded the trade of the important caravan station, were closely connected with Yemen. Mahomet, however, having failed to find help from Judaism, looked for support against the Meccan nobility, strengthened by the paganism of Yemen, from the Abyssinians who, even then, had possessions on the Arabian coast. But the old forces and contrasts of civilisation outlasted the conqueror and his bandits. The party of the nobility reached the throne, and the contrast between Northern and Southern Arabia is continually reappearing in the history of the following centuries.

The Rise of Mahomet

HUGO WINCKLER
LEONARD W. KING



MECCA, THE HOLY CITY OF THE MOHAMMEDAN WORLD, SHOWING THE PILGRIMS AT THE KAABA

Mecca was the religious centre of the old pagan tribes of Arabia. It grew up around the Kaaba, a square temple, in the wall of which was inserted the famous Black Stone. Although Mecca was hostile to Mahomet in his early days and had to be conquered by him he preserved the sacred character of his birthplace and its temple, adapting it to his monotheistic religion.

WESTERN ASIA FROM THE TIME OF MAHOMET

BY DR. HEINRICH SCHURTZ & LEONARD W. KING, M.A.

THE HEROIC AGE OF ISLAM

THE inhabitants of Arabia are separated into two distinct classes as a result of differences of occupation and manner of life. Even during the period of temporary union at the time of the Mohammedan conquests, the cleft caused by these differences was but superficially bridged over. The free Bedouin nomads who dwell in tents on the pasturages of the steppes, whose possessions are their flocks and herds, look down with hatred and contempt upon the agriculturists, who cultivate the scanty fertile regions—"dragging the plough with their own hands like slaves"—and crowd together, with labourers and menials, in the villages and towns. On the other hand, the agricultural classes, superior to the Bedouins both in numbers and in education, return the predatory nomads of the desert their dislike in full measure. Nevertheless, the Arabians never succeeded in making a mark in history until both elements forgot their differences, and were welded into temporary unity by a higher power. No unifying force can emanate from the Bedouins, for their whole endeavour is towards disintegration; moreover, the poverty of their land is in itself an insurmountable obstacle to their joining together in large bodies. The tribal sentiment, which transcends all other instincts and emotions, excludes the conception of nationality; and constant feuds only increase antagonisms, and hinder all mutual understanding. Even the possibility of the scattered races being forced into union by the sword of an ambitious ruler is small; for every attempt of this nature has first to reckon not only with the independent character of the Bedouins, to whom servile obedience is unknown, but also with the all-powerful clan interests, before which the very idea of individuality vanishes. Before the time of Mahomet, however, the thought had never occurred to any Bedouin that he might make use of religious fanaticism as a means for union; few races of Western Asia are so completely devoid of the religious emotions as are the inhabitants of the Arabian steppes. In this respect the Arabs stand in sharp contrast to their Semitic relatives, the Jews of Palestine, as well as to the ancient Semites of Babylonia, whose ability, first to extend their influence over the lands of Sumerian culture, and finally to attain a position of supremacy, seems to have been due almost entirely to their advanced religious development. There was no such thing as a perfected mythology in Arabia. Nothing more than a cult of rude images—which originated, no doubt, in the worship of ancestors—and a veneration of certain stars and trees,

together with an indefinite belief in a supreme being, Allah, was exhibited by the Arab of early times. Even to-day the true Bedouin has but little interest in matters of belief, and is far enough from being a fanatic; to him the prohibitions and dogmas of the Koran seem scarcely to be in existence. This scanty development of religion and insuperable indifference to matters of faith is an outcome of the poverty of imagination of the Arabian people, a characteristic which has also left unmistakable traces in the later civilisation of the peninsula. Glowing passion, a tendency toward romantic unrestraint, and finally the gift of brilliant oratory, easily conceal in the Arabs their lack of creative genius. Herein lies the most profound difference between East and West.

Bedouins' Scanty Religion

Europe is a continent of discoveries and of unlimited progress, a land of nations that constantly endeavour to extend their influence and power; on the other hand, the Mohammedan East, imperturbable in its self-sufficiency and composure, is a region that recognises neither labour nor war as other than a means for obtaining sensual enjoyment and undisturbed pleasure of life. Thus the Oriental and, above all, the Arab of the steppes conceal behind the veil of romance a spiritual inactivity which they are never able to overcome. The only art that is cultivated in the desert, the poetry of the Arabians, is very different from the poetry of Europe. The Arabs have never succeeded in the free and imaginative forms of composition that seem to be the peculiar gift of Aryan Indians and Persians, as well as of Europeans—he is fettered to the actual; to present facts in bold comparisons and images is his greatest glory, and dexterity in the manipulation of metre and rhyme is to him an indispensable requirement. The Arabian mind is distinguished chiefly by its mastery of dialectic; and, naturally, this feature is also reflected in Arabian verse. The poet is a warrior in the world of intellect; with biting metaphor and satirical play on words he falls upon the enemy of his clan. He proclaims in triumph the glory of his tribe, and with mingled praise and scorn spurs on the soldier to heroic deeds. In this sense, at the time of Mahomet, poetry was almost a common possession of the Arabs, and the ability to make verses was even more necessary to the success of a leader than his sword and lance. The development of Bedouin poetry played an important part in the unification of the Arabian tribes, and had its beginnings about a hundred years before the birth of Mahomet.

Poetry the Art of the Desert

Before the birth of the Prophet it seemed impossible that a vast, passionate, spiritual movement, capable of bearing an entire people along with it, could arise in such a race, yet nothing short of such a movement could have rendered the inhabitants of the Arabian peninsula a danger to the neighbouring world. And it was at the very centre of the Arabian world that precisely such a movement arose—at first of a religious nature, but later national — which gave to the people of Arabia a dominion over Western Asia that was to last for centuries. This movement began in Mecca, and its leader was Mahomet.

The rise of Mohammedanism was closely connected with the character and history of two cities, Mecca and Medina, both of which are situated in the steppe lands of Western Arabia, the former not far from the coast, the latter further inland, and close to the elevated plateau. The two cities differed from one another in every respect, and seemed to have been predestined to rivalry from their very origin. The doctrines of Mahomet could have arisen only in Mecca, and it was simply the hostility between Meccans and Medinans that saved them from destruction.

The Holy Cities

Mecca was the Rome of Arabia, the central point of the feeble religious life of the old pagan tribes. In a barren, desolate valley, that was but seldom exposed to the ravages of sudden rain-floods, was situated a very ancient sanctuary, the Kaaba, a square temple built of unhewn stones, in the wall of which was inserted the famous "black stone"—a meteorite, believed once to have been white, and to have descended from Paradise. According to a later legend, accepted by Mahomet, the temple was known as the oldest house of God; and was supposed to have been built by Adam and restored by Abraham. For a long time the Kaaba, like so many other Arabian sanctuaries, may have been only occasionally visited by the Bedouins who dwelt in the neighbourhood, until finally a small settlement

CARAVAN GUIDE

BEJÁ ARABS

A MOUNTAINEER

GROUP OF BEDOUIN HORSEMEN ARMED WITH THEIR LONG LANCES

BEDOUIN TRIBESMAN

A GROUP FROM PETRA

BEDOUIN SHEIKH

TYPES OF THE NOMAD BEDOUIN RACE OF ARABS

Photos Underwood & Underwood

arose, the existence of which in the midst of the desert was rendered possible probably through the discovery of a spring called Zemzem. The water of this spring, which in later times became one of the most venerated objects in the Mohammedan world, is at the present day drinkable, indeed, but strongly impregnated with mineral salts. Perhaps the water was originally valued on account of its medicinal properties; it is possible, however, that the presence of foreign elements may also have been due to the bad drainage of the city that gradually grew up about the spring.

The Sacred Zemzem Spring

In the middle of the fifth century A.D., under the leadership of Kuzai, the Qurais forcibly obtained the custody of the sanctuary and settled down about the Kaaba, which at that time had long been an object of pilgrimage. The restless, predatory Bedouin tribe soon found a rich means of livelihood in sheltering the pilgrims and in supplying them with food and water, and was thus led to exchange its old nomadic pursuits for commerce. In a short time the favourable location must have greatly furthered the prosperity of the city. The pilgrimages to the Kaaba—in which no fewer than 360 tribes placed their clan deities under the protection of the black stone—had during early times led to the custom of looking upon certain of the months of the year, the first, seventh, eleventh, and twelfth, as sacred, during which every feud must cease, and the pilgrims be permitted to travel undisturbed to the places of worship; at the same time a way was opened up for inland trade and intellectual communication between the isolated Arab tribes. Long before the city of Mecca was founded, the pilgrims had been in the habit of assembling at certain places during the holy months for the purpose of holding fairs, where they exchanged not only material wares, but also products of the intellect. The most celebrated market was at Okaz. Even when the rise of Mecca caused a falling off in the commercial prosperity of this city, as late as the time of Mahomet, the boldest and most eloquent men of the tribes of Arabia assembled there in order to recite poems, competing with one another in singing the praise of their clans and celebrating the deeds of their countrymen, or striving to win the prize offered for the best love songs. The sheikhs of the tribes, under the presidency of a "king of the poets," were the judges in the competition, which took place during the months of peace, and of which the result was awaited with intense interest throughout entire Arabia.

Founding of Mecca

Thus during the months of the pilgrimages the attention of the whole peninsula was directed towards the sanctuaries, of which there were several in addition to the Kaaba. But as soon as the inhabitants of Mecca began to take advantage of their opportunities for commerce, their city became the centre of Arabian life, the single point at which a union of the scattered tribes could take place. There are many indications leading to the conjecture that in the course of time a monotheistic belief, either the Jewish or the Christian, would gradually have taken possession of the sanctuaries and have filled the pilgrimages with an entirely new spirit, had it not been for the fact that a strange religion displaced both; a religion that, although it arose from external sources, became essentially Arabian in nature, having its development in Mecca, while through it the politically unimportant land of Arabia was suddenly assured dominion over a boundless empire. In contrast to Mecca, a settlement of Bedouin nomads of the Mahadite race, who are not townsfolk at all in the ordinary sense of the word, Medina was inhabited by various tribes of the hostile group of stationary Arabs, called Yemenites, after the most important of their provinces. Medina is situated in an oasis on the innermost terrace of the elevated plateau, copiously watered by springs that flow down from the neighbouring mountains. At the time of Mahomet's birth the people of Medina were industrious peasants, who guided the plough with their own hands and irrigated their own date groves, but showed little interest in either cattle-raising or commerce.

Medina, the Prophet's Refuge

There was a further ground of difference. Several of the stationary tribes dwelling round Medina had turned to the Hebrew religion; and although the bulk of the population of the city remained faithful to the old animistic belief and joined in the pilgrimages to Mecca, nevertheless the inhabitants of Mecca, ever watchful of their own interests, looked upon the Medinans with increasing apprehension,

ARAB MERCHANTS OF THE HOLY CITY OF MECCA

AN EXAMPLE OF ARAB DIGNITY

YOUNG ARAB WOMAN

MOHAMMEDAN WOMEN OF ARABIA WITH THEIR CHILDREN

TYPES OF THE ARABS WHO ARE SETTLED IN TOWNS AND VILLAGES

1895

inasmuch as they had discovered signs of Jewish propaganda in their own city. The Medinans certainly showed themselves to be true Arabs; there were constant feuds between the two chief tribes of the city, and thus all united action was rendered impossible. Not until Mahomet arose did these dissensions end. The religious-military movement that began after the appearance of Mahomet was at first limited for the most part to a severe struggle between the two cities, the true Bedouins of the desert appearing on the scene only as predatory spectators, or as auxiliaries; never once did they have the decision of an important battle in their hands. Owing to their closer concentration, the town dwellers possessed a vast superiority over the scattered Bedouin hordes. Judging from the size of the army that fought under the flag of Mahomet at the time of his attack on Mecca, the population of Medina and its immediate neighbourhood could not have exceeded 16,000 souls. Even today, in spite of the advantage of processions of pilgrims and consequent traffic, the number of inhabitants of the same territory can scarcely amount to over 20,000. Mecca, on the other hand, had been exceptionally favoured from the very beginning, and apparently possessed a somewhat denser population. Of the other towns of the Hedjaz, Tayef, to the south-east of Mecca, alone seems to have been of any importance. In fact, Mahomet had first looked to Tayef as a place of refuge instead of Medina; but his plans fell through because of the determined hostility of its inhabitants.

Rivalry of the Cities

The conjectured date of Mahomet's birth is April 20th, 570 A.D. His family, although old and distinguished, had become impoverished at the time of the Prophet's birth, and had fallen into the background. Mahomet's father, Abdallah, who died two months after his son was born, left to his heirs a very modest fortune; and when Amina, the mother of the future Prophet, died a few years after, the boy was thrown mainly upon the charity of relatives, one of whom, his uncle, Abu Talib, although himself poor, treated him with the greatest kindness. For a long time Mahomet was unable to better his condition; he was compelled to hire himself out as a shepherd, and even, later, when he first entered the service of Kadija, the widow of a rich merchant, he seems to have accepted a very humble post. Although opinions are divided as to whether or not Mahomet made various commercial journeys to Syria and Southern Arabia with his uncle, it is beyond doubt that after his twenty-fifth year he several times accompanied the caravans of Kadija, and was thus brought into closer touch with the adherents of more developed religious beliefs. In the meanwhile the chief sources of inspiration for his doctrines were to be found in Mecca itself, where there was no lack of proselytes to Judaism, and whither germs of Christianity—to be sure in a very garbled form—had been brought by traders and slaves from Southern Arabia and Ethiopia. Mahomet, who was decidedly unpractical by nature, seems not to have been a success as a merchant, but was suddenly freed from his material cares by an unexpected event. Kadija, although considerable older than he, chose him for her husband, and married him in spite of the opposition of her relatives. Until his fortieth year the Prophet lived the life of a quiet citizen in Mecca; and how little he thought of an attack on Arabian polytheism during these years was shown by the fact that he named one of his sons Abd Manaf—that is to say, servant of the deity Manaf, It may be remarked here that of the numerous children Mahomet had by his several wives, all, with the exception of a daughter, died before him and consequently do not figure in the history of Islam.

The Prophet's Family

Mahomet's Early Life

Finally, Mahomet, whose inquiring mind had eagerly absorbed ideas from both the Hebrew and Christian religions, became convinced that he was called upon by Allah to do away with the polytheistic worship of the Arabians, to transform the Kaaba—to which as a true citizen of Mecca he held fast with unshakable faith—into a temple of the One God, and to construct from the fragments of Christian and Hebrew doctrines, with which he had happened to become acquainted, a new and purely monotheistic form of belief. His activity was, therefore, confined to the simplification and re-establishment of that which was already in existence rather than to creative reconstruction, for which as an Arab he lacked the necessary intellectual

AN ENCAMPMENT OF NOMAD BEDOUINS ON THE PLAINS

ARAB POSTMAN RESTING WITH HIS CAMEL IN THE DESERT

SCENES IN THE DESERT LIFE OF ARABIA TO-DAY

Photos Underwood & Underwood

qualifications. The imaginative descriptions that appear in the Koran concerning either the delights of Paradise or the terrors of Hell, are nothing more than confused echoes of the folk-tales and myths of other races which were employed by the Prophet chiefly in order to supply a historical foundation for his doctrines, such as is possessed by the Old Testament. The scoffing assertion of unbelieving Meccans, who claimed that many of the sayings of Mahomet were clumsy imitations of those fabulous Persian stories which in later times formed the nucleus of the "Thousand and One Nights," and had just then penetrated to Arabia, was significant enough. In general, the revelations of the Prophet concerned matters of practical life and civil morality—in fact, the simple ethical code of the Koran is the best and the most powerful portion of the Mohammedan faith.

Code of the Koran

When, in the fortieth year of his life, Mahomet experienced the vision in which he alleged that the archangel Gabriel revealed to him his mission, a portion of the inhabitants of Mecca had already received a certain preparation for a reform in their belief through their intercourse with Jews and Christians. However, the personality of the new prophet aroused at first but little confidence. His family, the most important factor in the life of an Arab, had a good name to be sure, but nevertheless was impoverished. Mahomet himself, although distinguished in appearance and of benevolent nature, did not possess such characteristics as were likely to make the greatest impression upon Arabs. He was a bad poet, and the smallness of his right to boast of warlike virtues became more and more evident as time went on. "Couldn't God have found a better prophet than you?" was the cry that greeted him on his first appearance in Tayef. He had the mystical qualities of his nature to thank for his final victory; and although these very characteristics were ultimately to be traced back to an epileptic complaint, they were always looked upon by him as a gift from heaven, and announced as such with evident sincerity.

MAHOMET'S ARRIVAL AT MEDINA

Mahomet's migration to Medina, in 622, was the first step toward the unification of Arabia, for it meant the triumph of religious over tribal sentiment. From that time the Arabian empire began, Mohammedans reckoning time from that year.

He himself was the first convert to the visions and dreams in which his constant meditations on the true faith became plastically embodied. He learned how to heighten his states of ecstasy through fasting and long hours of prayer, and gradually succeeded in developing the tenacity of purpose and undaunted confidence which rendered his personality irresistible, and were a constant attraction to new adherents. At first he had no thought whatever of deception; but as time went on, the inner voice frequently showed a

MEDINA, THE PROPHET'S PLACE OF REFUGE

Medina, the second city of Arabia, is situated in an oasis on an elevated plateau. When the hostility of the orthodox drove Mahomet from Mecca he sought refuge there, and made it his centre until he conquered Mecca.

most remarkable docility in respect to the Prophet's personal affairs and intentions.

Nevertheless, the Mahomet of later years was no mere impostor. No longer a prophet, he was then the ruler of a vast and constantly growing empire; and it was the necessity that arose from his position which forced him into a half involuntary combination of sincerity and dissimulation, a characteristic that finally becomes a second nature to all leaders of multitudes. In later years, also, his visions were associated with serious attacks of an epileptic character, which he could scarcely have simulated. Personally the Prophet was modest in his requirements, setting aside the sensuality which constantly led him to increase the number of his wives, and prepared for him many a mortification. Fortunately for him the Arabians, like most Oriental peoples, are very lenient in regard to this point. Simplicity in food and drink undoubtedly appealed to him; but in sexual matters his sympathies were by no means with the ascetics.

Simplicity of the Prophet

It was with no finished dogmatic system that Mahomet first appeared. For a long time his position in respect both to Christianity and Judaism, neither of which he thoroughly understood, was undecided; in fact he even displayed a passing inclination to recognise, as a matter of policy, the chief gods of the Meccans, at least in the form of intermediary spiritual beings; though he soon hastened to withdraw that concession. The germ of his teaching was from the very beginning a pure monotheism bound up with a simple but impressive doctrine of immortality. Beyond doubt, the minute descriptions of heaven and hell produced a deeper impression on the pagan Arabs, whose conceptions in regard to the life beyond were extremely meagre, than did any other portion of his doctrines.

By thus combining the visionary accounts of what was to take place in the future with his easily understood ethical teachings and the indispensable prescriptions of ritual, Mahomet succeeded in creating a religion that was throughout adapted, by reason of its simplicity and

directness, not only to awaken the interest of a half-civilised people, but also in a certain measure to subject them to discipline. The Koran, which gradually arose as a firm pillar of the religious edifice, was not written by Mahomet himself—indeed, it is doubtful whether the Prophet knew how to write at all; it was not until after his death that the fragments of his revelations and sayings were united into a book. Owing to his innate bashfulness, it was long before Mahomet could summon up enough courage to appear in public. His first disciples were the members of his own family. The prophet's wife Kadija, his daughter, his nephew Ali, later his slave Zaid, and finally a friend, the honest Abu Bekr, were the earliest converts, to whom as time passed other adherents, such as Othman, who later became caliph, and, above all, Omar, the true representative of the Mohammedan policy of aggression, joined themselves.

Mahomet's First Disciples

Not until the fourth or fifth year after his first revelation did Mahomet resolve to preach to his fellow-tribesmen; and his first efforts were attended with very small success. All the while his family protected him after the Arabian custom, at least from the ill-usage with which the innovator who attacked the worship of the gods, and therewith the commercial prosperity of Mecca, was constantly threatened. The greater portion of his disciples, many of whom were members of the lower classes or slaves, and who, through their defiant behaviour had aroused the anger of the citizens of Mecca, fared far worse than he, and in all probability were the cause of the at first cool, not to say hostile, attitude of the higher ranks of society. For a time a number of the converted turned to the Christian Abyssinians—an incident that was perhaps not without its influence on the later doctrines and views of the Prophet. Mahomet himself, although safe from bodily harm, was in a most disagreeable situation. Especially unpleasant were the jeers of scoffers who demanded miracles or benevolently offered to send for a celebrated physician to cure him of his lunacy. After the death of Kadija and of his uncle Abu Talib, his position finally became unbearable. He was compelled to look about for a place of refuge where men were not unalterably hostile to his teachings.

Mahomet Driven from Mecca

After having been driven from Tayef, where he had sought assistance, Mahomet's choice fell upon Yathrib, the jealous rival of Mecca, which he afterward named Medina. Pilgrims were in the habit of making annual journeys to the Kaaba from Yathrib, as from almost all other parts of Arabia. The Prophet, who possessed relatives in Medina on his mother's side, had established connections with some of these Medinan pilgrims, and was favourably heard by them, for they had already become partly estranged from the worship of a plurality of gods, owing to Jewish influence; moreover, unlike the inhabitants of Mecca, they were not prejudiced against his doctrines by apprehensions for their material interests. A Mohammedan community arose in Medina, which soon far exceeded the settlement at Mecca in number; and finally the Prophet himself determined to emigrate thither with his followers, although at first he, as well as every other true Meccan, was an object of hatred and of suspicion to the people of the rival town. Thus was the first great step taken toward the unification of Arabia. Religion was victorious over tribal sentiment; and from the very moment that Mahadites and Yemenites joined together under the banner of the Prophet the period of Arabian empire began. It is not without reason that Mohammedans reckon time from this year of the Hegira, or "the Flight," A.D. 622.

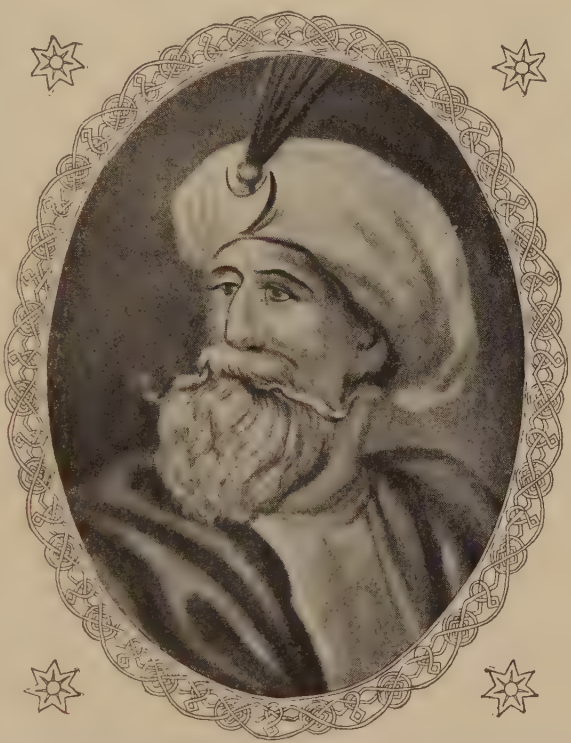
Arabian Unification Begun

The number of emigrants capable of bearing arms who gradually arrived from Mecca could scarcely have been over one hundred; but the accession of the greater part of the inhabitants of Medina, who placed themselves under Mahomet's orders as *ansâr*, or "helpers of the Prophet," furnished him with an army at one stroke, and rendered his final triumph certain. The Prophet met scarcely a single irreconcilable opponent in Medina; but, on the other hand, he had the greatest difficulty in establishing even a moderate amount of unity in the loosely banded community that practically acknowledged no chief; and he was at first obliged to be content with reconciling so far as was possible the two principal tribes into which the population was divided. This he accomplished by means of his great influence, and through the erection of a mosque, the first centre of the Mohammedan faith. However, all his attempts to convert the Jewish

inhabitants of the region, in whom he had placed great hopes, failed; even the concession first granted to the Jews, permitting men in prayer to turn toward Jerusalem instead of toward Mecca, remained without effect, until finally the favour of the Prophet turned to hatred, and he resolved on the destruction of the Jewish tribes.

Mahomet was soon entirely absorbed by the quarrel with Mecca. He saw the absolute necessity of subduing the inhabitants of the spiritual centre of Arabia if he ever expected to gain any great influence over the widely scattered tribes which forgot their disputes only during the months of pilgrimage to the Kaaba. The fact that Mecca, as an artificial settlement, was dependent upon its traffic and the importation of food products opened to Mahomet the possibility of worrying and injuring his unbelieving countrymen by watching the roads and making sudden descents on caravans in the usual fashion of Arabian private warfare. He had but little success at first; but on one occasion, having missed a caravan to Mecca, which he had determined to attack, his band encountered an armed force that had been sent out from Mecca for the protection of the threatened caravan; and thus the first pitched battle took place—at the wells of Bedr. Although greatly outnumbered, the Moslems won; and Mahomet, who had viewed the struggle from a distance, sent rich spoils and triumphant news of victory to Medina. This was in the year 624.

Mahomet's First Battle



MAHOMET, THE PROPHET OF ALLAH

Mahomet was born in 570 A.D., and it was not until he was forty that he started the destruction of Arabian polytheism which ended in the unification of the Arabian race and their subjugation of the Near East.

The wealth and distinction obtained by Mahomet through the victory at Bedr enabled him to establish still more firmly his position in Medina, and above all to come to a settlement with the irreconcilable Jewish Bedouin tribes of the neighbourhood. First of all the Benu Kainukah, who were able to put 700 armed men into the field, and possessed a strong fortress not far distant from Medina, felt the weight of the Prophet's wrath. They called in vain for assistance from one of the chief clans of Medina, with whom they had been once allied. Only a safe conduct to Syria was granted to them; their possessions fell to the Moslems.

Bedouin Jews Expelled

In the autumn of 624 the believers finally succeeded in capturing a Meccan caravan on the road to Babylon. But in the spring of the next year the grave tidings reached Medina that an army of Qurais, strengthened by the addition of several Bedouin tribes, and numbering some 3,000 warriors, was advancing against the city under the command of Abu Sufiyan, a sheikh of Mecca, tacitly chosen to be leader, who was now determined to wash away the ignominy of the defeat at Bedr in the blood of the Moslems. Mahomet would gladly have awaited the attack within the walls of Medina, but the impatience of his companions, who saw that their fields were being laid waste, soon necessitated his setting out against the Meccans at the head of about 1,000 fighting men.

The Prophet met the enemy near Mount Ohod, and was immediately deserted by

300 of his followers, who fled at the very sight of the enemy. The battle ended in the rout of the Moslems, and the Prophet, who wore a coat of double chain mail and an iron helmet, and this time had himself taken part in the struggle, escaped being made prisoner by a mere chance. The battle resulted in the loss of some seventy of the faithful, and of about twenty of the Qurais, and in spite of its insignificance was a severe blow to the reputation of the Prophet. The Meccans, delighted with their triumph, straightway marched back to their native city.

Rout of the Prophet

Mahomet then sought to awaken fresh courage in his followers by an attack on the Jewish tribe Nadir, and succeeded in compelling them to emigrate to Syria. Thus the Prophet was now in a position to reward his faithful disciples with possessions of land; and all had time to settle themselves in their new homes, an expedition that had been planned against Mecca falling through owing to the unusual dryness of the next few years.

This delay gave the indefatigable Abu Sufiyan an opportunity to form a league against Medina, which was joined even by tribes of Central Arabian Bedouins, who had been roused to action by the Jews, and were also well aware how greatly their liberty was threatened by the growth of Moslem power. The religious influence of Mecca was in this instance of the greatest assistance to the Qurais. The Quraidhah, the last Jewish tribe that had been permitted to remain in Medina, were also concerned in the alliance.

This time Mohammed's plan of remaining on the defensive met with no opposition; a deep ditch was dug for the protection of the single vulnerable side of Medina, on the advice of a Persian freedman, and behind it the Prophet and the 3,000 armed men then at his disposal took their position. This primitive fortification, the first defensive work ever seen in Central Arabia, was completely successful in preventing the hostile army, three times as large as that of the defenders, from undertaking any serious operations; and the approach of winter finally rendered it necessary for Abu Sufiyan to withdraw his forces. The Qurais had no sooner disappeared than Mahomet marched forth and fell upon the Jewish Quraidhah; the men to the number of 700 were beheaded, and the women and children were sold to the Bedouins.

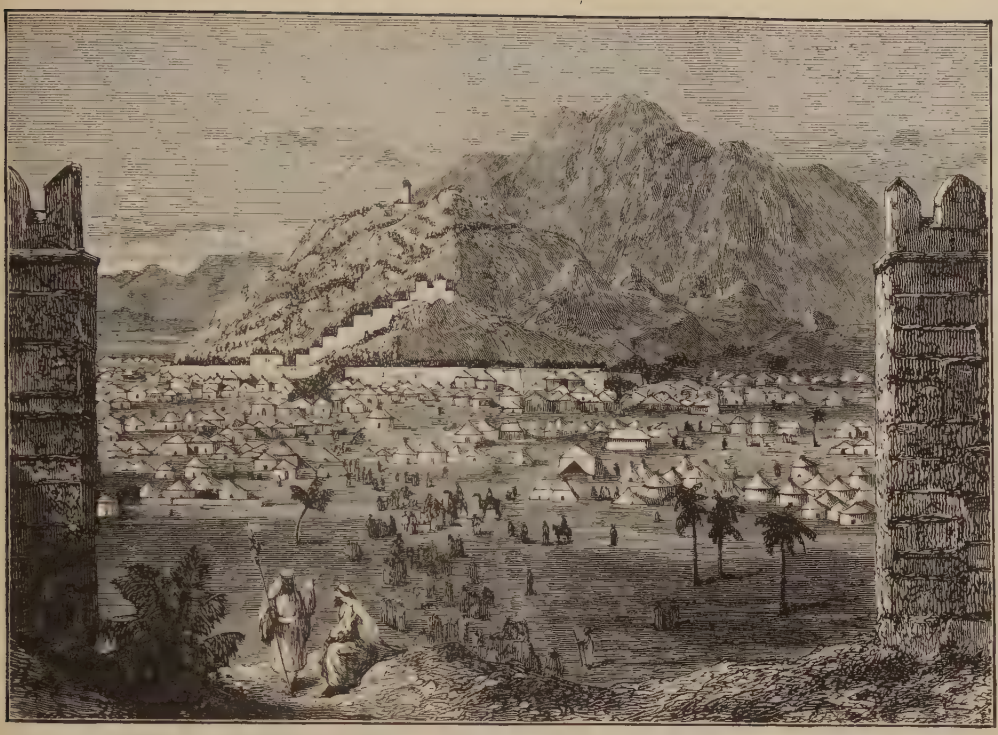
Siege of Medina

All the while Mahomet was, and remained at heart, a Meccan. While he was resolved to win the victory for monotheism, he saw that it would be better for his cause not to destroy the beginnings of a common Arabian cult, such as existed in the sanctuary at Mecca, but rather to adapt the latter to the requirements of his own faith. His attachment to Mecca sufficiently explains the fact that he had always retained in view the object, first, of becoming master of the sacred city without any unnecessary bloodshed, and secondly of obtaining the right to take part in the general pilgrimage of Arab tribes to the Kaaba at the head of his Moslem followers. Early in the year 628, during one of the sacred months, the Prophet appeared with a small force before his hostile birthplace; but it was in vain that he demanded entrance to the sanctuary. Nevertheless the expedition was a decided success. The Meccans, weary of the constant injury suffered by their trade concluded a ten years' truce with the Prophet, and on his promising to withdraw this time, granted him permission to visit the Kaaba with his followers the next year. Thus was the first step taken toward the peaceful conquest of Mecca; the Qurais yielded the very point they had been most anxious to defend.

Peaceful Conquest of Mecca

During the truce Mahomet was not idle in extending his power. The oasis of Kheyber, about sixty miles north of Medina, into which a portion of the expelled Jews had retired, was conquered. The land was divided among his followers, who now united with the Islamites who had previously emigrated to Abyssinia. The number of believers constantly increased; the Prophet's growing sense of importance found expression in his sending letters to the sovereigns of neighbouring regions, in which he demanded that they should submit to his rule and embrace his doctrines. These messages were not, as a rule, received in a way likely to arouse any sanguine hopes of success.

More important was the pilgrimage to Mecca that took place in 629. The Qurais retired from the city for several days in order that there might be no cause for trouble with the Moslems while the latter were fulfilling their mission. It became more and more apparent that there was no



MOUNT ARAFAT, WHERE MAHOMET PREACHED HIS LAST SERMON

In 632 Mahomet took his last pilgrimage to Mecca, and the ceremonies then employed became a model for all time. Afterwards he delivered an address from Mount Arafat summarising and establishing in their final form the moral laws of Islam.

one in Arabia capable of withstanding for any length of time the steadily increasing power of the Mohammedans. One after another the Bedouin tribes surrendered, and soon the Prophet turned his eyes toward Syria, where the Arabs, having received a smattering of higher culture owing to the proximity of the Byzantine empire, had here and there united into small states. An army sent out against one of the minor Arabian rulers of the region to the south of the Dead Sea was severely defeated at Muta. The time for conquests beyond the borders of Arabia had not yet come.

On the other hand, Mecca fell into the hands of the Prophet without a struggle. A trifling dispute furnished him with a pretext for suddenly putting an end to the truce with the Qurais; he immediately summoned his adherents in full force, and appeared before the astonished city in January, 630. Resistance was not to be thought of; soon the most distinguished Meccans stood before the victor imploring grace and repeating the customary Mohammedan confession of faith.

Mecca Falls to Mahomet

Reason and love for his home led the Prophet to impose mild conditions of peace upon his humbled foes. He angrily took away the banner of a Medinan sheikh, who had announced in triumph that the day of reckoning had come, and that no one would be spared, and he commanded that pardon should be granted to all Qurais, with the exception of a few opponents for whom he cherished especial hatred. The Kaaba now stood open to the conqueror, who knocked the idols to pieces with his staff and permitted the black stone alone to remain in its place as a symbol of the One God. The Meccans came forward in crowds to repeat their confessions of belief, and thus to take their places among the ranks of the Prophet's adherents. It was now recognised by all that Mahomet had no intention of destroying the holy city, but was striving rather to exalt it.

The Idols Destroyed

The work of Mahomet as a prophet was crowned by the act of taking possession of and purifying the Kaaba. The permanence of his doctrines was now assured, at least in Arabia, inasmuch as

he had succeeded in transforming the centre of the old religious life into a sanctuary of the new belief. It was also evident that sooner or later all the tribes of his race would be compelled to recognise his teaching, and that even his death could not check the progress of Islam. Immediately after the fall of Mecca, the Prophet, assisted by a levy of Meccans, set about reducing the neighbouring regions to subjection. During a fight with the Bedouin tribe of Havayins, the result of which hung in the balance for many hours, the Qurais acted in a decidedly suspicious manner; indeed, a true conversion could not yet be looked for from the greater portion of the Meccans; but Mahomet once more put his old tribesmen to shame by his magnanimity, allotting to them a larger share of the plunder than was received by his own Medinan followers.

Permanence of Islam Assured

The inhabitants of Tayef, who had more than once insulted the Prophet during his earlier years, again bravely withstood the Moslems, and refused all proposals for capitulation. Not until many months had passed were they forced to come to terms, owing to the complete isolation of their city after the conversion of the tribes that dwelt in their neighbourhood. Their ambassadors naturally sought to obtain the most favourable conditions from Mahomet, and expressed, moreover, the remarkable desire that they might be permitted to worship their favourite goddess, Allat, for another year. The Prophet would have agreed to these conditions had it not been for the influence of Omar, the most energetic and fiery of his adherents. The Tayefites were ordered to surrender unconditionally, and Allat was destroyed amid the woeful howls and lamentations of the women and children. During his long career, Mahomet had to contend against the satirical rhymes of the poets of his enemies. How greatly embittered he was by these attacks was shown unmistakably at the capture of Mecca, when he went to the length of sentencing to death a woman named Sara, who had delighted the Qurais with her derisive verses on the new prophet. It actually happened that the conversion of a certain tribe came about through a poetical competition—Mahomet, who possessed neither voice for song nor the gift of making verses, choosing the best poet among his adherents to be his representative. This extraordinary event took place in the year 630. The envoys of the Beni Tamina assembled before the house of the Prophet and sent in a formal challenge; the singers of Mahomet capped the climax of their opponents' blustering with a still greater display of bombast, and fairly shouted them down. The challengers thereupon owned, with great mortification, that the Moslem public speakers and poets were better than theirs, and that their voices, too, were much louder; and forthwith made their confession of faith. Gradually all the poets of Arabia united their voices in praise of Mahomet, and it was only from the tents of distant Bedouin tribes that now and then a poisoned dart of song was launched against him.

Conversion by Poetic Contest

MAHOMET'S TRANSLATION TO HEAVEN

From a Persian MS. representing the Prophet's ascent to heaven, his face being covered with a veil to hide his glory.

The increasing feebleness of the Prophet, who had again taken up his residence in Medina, allowed him to participate only in one more warlike expedition against Southern Syria, the region by which the Arabian Peninsula is connected with the rest of Western Asia. The campaign began in the year 630, and was attended with no decided success, apart from the subjection of a few frontier tribes. The pilgrimage to Mecca in 631, although not led by Mahomet, but by Abu Bekr, nevertheless signified a further step in the conversion of Arabia to Islam. The Prophet

commanded it to be announced in the Kaaba that from this time forth unbelievers would no longer be permitted to take part in the pilgrimages, and that all men who desired to approach the sanctuary must first make a confession of faith. This showed how certain Mahomet was of the final success of his cause. In fact, at that time the whole of Arabia, with the exception of some of the most distant regions, formally acknowledged the supremacy of the Prophet. The minor princes of Arabia Felix and the Persian governors, who, after the expulsion of the Abyssinians by a Persian army, ruled a portion of Yemen, also gave notice of their submission, and so did numerous chieftains of the Syrian frontier.

Mahomet's last pilgrimage to Mecca, the ceremonies of which became a model for all time, took place in the year 632. The Prophet solemnly walked round the Kaaba at the head of countless believers, performed the rites with scrupulous care, and delivered an address to the assembled multitude from Mount Arafat, in which he summarised and established in their final form the moral laws of Islam. The words with which he recommended to his followers his cousin and favourite, Ali, against whom various complaints had arisen, played an important part in the later history of Islam: "He who loves me will choose Ali for a friend (*maula*). May God be with them who protect him, and desert those who are his enemies." Since the word "maula" may signify either friend or ruler, the claims of the sectarian Shiites, who recognised Ali as the lawful successor of the Prophet, rested above all on this statement.

BLINDED AFTER SEEING THE SACRED PROPHET'S TOMB
After praying at Mecca it was not unusual for pilgrims to destroy their sight by gazing at white-hot bricks, so that they might never look on earthly objects again.

Three months after his return from Mecca, Mahomet fell ill with a fever. The damp, malarial climate of Medina, which had caused the death of many a Meccan fugitive, also proved injurious to the health of the Prophet, already enfeebled by the constant exertions and excitement of the last twenty-four years of his life. The sick man was able to withstand the disease but a short time; on July 8th, 632, the twelfth day of the third month in the year 11 of the Hegira, Mahomet, who had been looked upon by his followers as immortal, and who himself had not opposed this belief, died in the apartment of his favourite wife, Ayesha.

The faithful were filled with confusion, and a great uproar immediately arose; but the work of the Prophet had been

accomplished, and was no longer to be destroyed. The Arabian nation arose in the place of the visionary, and countries in which no man had ever heard of Mahomet during his lifetime soon became subject to the dominion of his heirs.

The Sacred Koran

The new religion derived its firmest support from the sayings of the Prophet, which had been written down by his most trusted followers, at first circulated merely in fragmentary transcripts, but later collected and arranged by scribes at the command of Abu Bekr, the first Caliph. The 114 chapters, or "suras," of the Koran when chronologically arranged fall into two groups, the Meccan and the Medinan. Owing to the fact that in many cases these chapters were closely connected with the life and adventures of the Prophet—who frequently endeavoured to obviate difficulties among his adherents by means of well-timed revelations—and also by reason of their numerous contradictions and repetitions, they form a remarkable commentary on Mahomet's chequered career and final triumph.

The style and substance of these revelations underwent a striking change as time passed: the earlier, composed in short rhymed lines in the vague, obscure language of the Prophet, occasionally display true poetic power, and bear witness to the genuine inspiration of their author; the later suras are more prolix and tedious, and were obviously intended to produce a shrewdly calculated effect. The reason for this is very plain. During his life in Mecca, Mahomet attacked the polytheistic belief of the Arabs with clear and powerful arguments in favour of the unity of the Divine Being—such arguments as immediately presented themselves to his simple and ill-trained, but ardent and ingenious mind. In Medina, the Prophet's time was largely taken up with polemical utterances delivered against the Jews and Christians; moreover, it was also necessary for him to exercise all his powers of intellect in order to govern and control the unruly, warlike community by which he was surrounded. It was entirely owing to the already mentioned necessity of governing his followers that Mahomet's most lasting work—his moral and legislative doctrines, which, together with the ritual, the prayers, ablutions, and fastings form the skeleton or framework of the Mohammedan religion—arose. The simple, in no wise profound, but nevertheless admirable moral code of Islam is the most valuable gift which the followers of Mahomet brought with them to less civilised peoples. In the main these doctrines rest upon a foundation of old Arabic custom, refined, however, through the influence of Jewish-Christian precepts. Many a fundamental principle was a result of the personal inclinations of the Prophet; for example, the unfavourable position that he assigned to woman was not in reality in harmony with the true Arabian spirit, but originated in Mahomet's own sensual, jealous nature. His attitude in regard to the deeply-rooted Bedouin custom of infanticide, which he immediately prohibited, was more deserving of praise. Moreover, on grounds of mere national economy he was wise in his action. The position of the Prophet at Medina gave rise to a new religious impulse. Mahomet soon found it necessary to harmonise his doctrines of immortality with the injunction to wage a religious war, as well as with the doctrine of fatalism, which, under different circumstances, he would scarcely have made so prominent in his teachings. Although the glowing descriptions of the delights of Paradise promised to the champions of the faith did not prevent Islamite armies from taking flight upon occasion, they proved to be an excellent means for awakening fanaticism in simple minds. And this was all the more important, for, owing to their small numbers, the Arabs were soon obliged to draw upon all men capable of bearing arms who dwelt in the conquered regions.

Doctrines of Mahomet

The Religious War

Thus the Koran gradually became the nucleus of Moslem power, and the centre of the spiritual life of all nations that subjected themselves to its law. Its effects were not immediately shown. The more Islamite scholars devoted themselves to the study of the sacred book the greater became the differences of opinion in regard to doubtful passages and obvious contradictions; and a separation of the believers into numerous sects was an inevitable consequence. Indeed, there were other considerations besides these which in very early times contributed to the division of the Mohammedans—above all the question, who was to be the legitimate successor of the Prophet.

THE COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET
AND THE BEGINNINGS OF CONQUEST

MAHOMET'S one surviving child was his daughter Fatima, the wife of Ali, who as cousin and perhaps earliest disciple had always enjoyed the especial affection of the Prophet; and it was to Ali that a more or less obscure declaration of Mahomet in regard to his successor seemed to apply. Had this claimant triumphed, a hereditary monarchy would have been established. The coveted position, however, was obtained by another; with the result that the Mohammedan government became an elective sovereignty, which was more in harmony with the democratic spirit of the Arabian people. The affairs of the time were favourable to Ali, but unfortunately he was not the man to take advantage of them. During the course of his life Ali had constantly shown that, for all his courage in battle, he possessed a weak character and inferior intelligence. He was invariably put aside by others, even when he believed himself to have been the determining factor. This time also he neglected to make the best of his opportunites, wasting his time in useless occupations, and entirely losing sight of his political goal—the attainment of which he believed to be absolutely certain.

Ali the Unready

Since the choice of a caliph was intimately connected with the general condition of affairs that had arisen in Arabia on the death of the Prophet, a certain insight into these conditions is indispensable to a correct understanding of the history of the period. Although Mecca had once more come into favour, its temple being recognised as a sanctuary, and although the majority of the Arabs had at least externally adopted the new faith, it was nevertheless certain that Medina was the centre of Mohammedan power, and consequently the place where the election of a successor should be held. The class differences that had caused the people of Arabia to be divided into sects and parties on this occasion had but small influence on the decision in regard to the caliph, for the choice lay in the hands of the original and most faithful adherents of the Prophet. These "Defenders" nevertheless proved themselves to be true Arabs, inasmuch as it was not long before they gave the elements of discord that existed between the separate groups, and had been but superficially effaced by Mahomet's personal influence, an opportunity for reasserting themselves with renewed power.

Electors of the Caliphs

The eyes of the Prophet had scarcely closed when the party of Meccans who had left their native city and the inhabitants of Medina independently made up their minds each to choose a successor, in order thus to obtain political ascendency. Ali, on whom both parties might have agreed, was not present at either election. The Meccans chose Abu Bekr, the old friend of Mahomet and father of Ayesha, his favourite wife, to be their candidate; while the Medinans selected for the position their influential leader Zaid.

The prudence and foresight of Abu Bekr, who knew well how to turn the old enmity that existed between the two chief tribes of Medina to his own advantage, obviated the risk of any serious rivalry between himself and Zaid; and this in the very nick of time, for the news of the illness of the Prophet alone had been sufficient to cause rebellions to break out in various parts of the peninsula, and as soon as Mahomet's death became known, the whole of Arabia revolted, threatening utterly to destroy the life-work of the Prophet. The faithful who had been installed as commanders of troops and governors of provinces fled to Medina from all sides; and to make matters worse, there was no army at the disposal of the Moslems; for, in fulfilment of one of Mahomet's last commands, and perhaps to rid himself

Whole of Arabia in Revolt

of the presence of the discontented Medinan tribes, Abu Bekr had, immediately after his election, despatched all the available fighting men to the Syrian border.

The insurrections in Arabia were a demonstration of the profound impression which the appearance of Mahomet had made upon his countrymen. It was no longer a land of pagans that arose against the caliph. The most dangerous of the rebels were under the leadership of new prophets, who sought to imitate or to excel their prototype. Even before the death of the founder of Islam, tidings were brought to Medina that in Yemen Abhala the Black had assembled a powerful army and brought almost the entire region under his dominion. Soon afterward Musailima, another prophet, raised aloft the banner of insurrection in Yemama; and in Nejd the discontented tribes collected about a leader of their own race, called Tuleiha. In the neighbourhood of Medina such serious disturbances had taken place that an attack on the city itself was feared; for here also, although no "prophet" had made his appearance, the dissatisfaction with the new political conditions, and, above all, with the taxes that, at Mahomet's command, had been imposed on all believers, was sufficient to occasion a revolt.

Rise of New Prophets

Abu Bekr's most striking characteristic was an unshakeable belief in the future of Islam. He was a man who had never once lost faith in the Prophet; and for this very reason during these times of trouble, when even the boldest of his adherents despaired, he was the one leader most fitted for the situation. Fortune also aided him. The most dangerous of his enemies, the prophet in Yemen, was murdered by his followers, who then acknowledged the sovereignty of the caliph; and a small campaign against the revolted tribes of the neighbourhood of Medina met with decided success. The army returned from the Syrian frontier; the caliph was in a position once more to begin the subjugation of Arabia. Khalid, a man of vast energy but of doubtful character, to whom Mahomet himself had given the name "the sword of God" (Saifallah), was appointed commander-in-chief of the Moslem forces, and directed his first campaign against Tuleiha, the prophet of Nejd. After a severe struggle Khalid routed the army of his opponent, and killed the prisoners and wounded with the utmost brutality.

Wars of the First Caliph

Khalid then turned to the district of Yemama, in the southern part of Nejd, where a still greater army of rebels had collected about the standard of Musailima, after having defeated two bodies of Mohammedan troops. Their resistance was stubborn in the extreme, and the position of Khalid would indeed have been desperate had he not succeeded in separating Musailima from the main body of his troops, compelling him to retreat to a walled estate; there, after the gate had been burst open, he caused the entire garrison to be murdered in cold blood. Never before had so many Arabs fallen in battle. The Moslems also lost such a great number of men that Abu Bekr is said to have immediately resolved upon the collection of the scattered fragments of the Koran before any more of the old companions of the Prophet, who had stored up his sayings in their memories, had lost their lives.

While Khalid was engaged in subjugating the interior plateau of the peninsula, other divisions of the caliph's army succeeded in enforcing obedience from the districts bordering on the Persian Gulf, Bahrein, and Oman, and in once more establishing the supremacy of the Mohammedans in Yemen and Hadramaut. Neither the wounded nor the defenceless were spared; entire tribes were annihilated, until finally the whole of Arabia fell into a palsy of terror. The victory of Islam was complete. But no sooner had Abu Bekr the entire peninsula once more under his control than he again took up the plan that Mahomet had already sought to follow during the last years of his life—namely, the dissemination of the Mohammedan religion, and the establishment of Moslem rule over all countries bordering on the peninsula of Arabia.

Terror of Islam

During the following period of expansion forces and influences that had apparently been hidden or conciliated during the lifetime of Mahomet again asserted themselves. Mahomet had indeed temporarily succeeded in stifling the ancient feuds and disagreements between the Arabian tribes; but he had not been able entirely to destroy them. The single clans still preserved their prejudices and mutual hatred. The great chasm separating agriculturists from shepherds and Yemenites

from Mahadites, which appeared to have been bridged over by the affiliation of the fugitives from Mecca with the agricultural people of Medina, soon showed itself again with effects even more far reaching than before. Mahomet himself had with difficulty suppressed his inborn dislike for cultivators of the soil, and while still in Medina he once permitted himself to be so far overcome by his feelings on seeing a plough as to utter the words: "Never does such an implement come into a house without bringing disgrace."

To these old prejudices new ones were soon added. The ancient tribal nobles of the Arabian race were suddenly confronted with a new aristocracy set above them, which laid claim to political supremacy, and had now succeeded in overcoming all opposition. This aristocracy was composed of the faithful friends of the Prophet, the "Defenders" and the "Emigrants," the flower of the devout, who we may be sure were not wanting in intellectual pride and ambition, though by no means united among themselves.

Naturally, the warlike devotees were looked upon with but little favour by the freedom-loving Bedouins. But the inhabitants of Mecca, the Qurais, who, as guardians of the Kaaba, exercised an immense influence over the whole of Arabia, soon showed themselves to be the most dangerous enemies of the new régime as soon as they had begun to recover from the effects of the humiliation that had been inflicted upon them by Mahomet. Ever since they had ceased to oppose Islam they had been endeavouring to place themselves once more at the head of the religious movement. The importance of the sacred city and the old influence of the Meccan nobles, now under the leadership of the Omayyad family, proved irresistible, however much the first Caliph strove to suppress their aspirations and to exclude them from participation in the government of the empire. It was not long before men who during Mahomet's lifetime had overwhelmed the Prophet with hatred and scorn stood at the head of Moslem armies and provinces. The nobles of Mecca, who were not too scrupulous as to the fulfilment of the precepts of their religion, and who ever held aloft the ideals of old Arabian life, were far more sympathetic to the common people than were the gloomy fanatics of Medina; and all the while that the faithful were stretching forth their hands toward world dominion a storm was gathering over their heads, and the blessings of the Prophet proved to them finally a curse. But, at the outset, an endless vista of victory and plunder opened itself to the comrades of Mahomet. The armies of Abu Bekr departed from Arabia—

Danger from Mecca

War Against the West

finally subdued after unspeakable horrors had taken place—in order to throw themselves upon the rich possessions of the Persians and Byzantines. The exhaustion of the Eastern Romans and the Persians did not of itself occasion the triumph of the disciples of Mahomet. Had it rested, indeed, only with tribes of Arabia proper, small in numbers and recently weakened by the losses sustained in the conflicts following the death of the Prophet, to achieve the aggressive expansion of the new faith, the victory of Islam would have been a matter of great doubt. But the area occupied by Arabs had long ceased to be limited to the peninsula of Arabia.

Although the Bedouin tribes had never combined into a united people, they had extended their habitat from Sinai to the Tigris; had fought, as pleased their fancy, for Rome or for Parthia; had occasionally established a kingdom such as that of the Nabatæans or of Palmyra; and had learned the practices of organised warfare. It was on this expanded Arabia that Islam was to rest its power. The moment the champions of Islam succeeded in awakening enthusiasm for the new religion among their compatriots in Syria, Irak (ancient Babylonia), and Mesopotamia, they had at their disposal a numerous and in part well-trained and armed body of fighting men, whose onset the inhabitants of the towns and cultivated districts were totally unable to withstand. Mahomet himself had been well aware of all this, as was

Mahomet's Last Project

shown by the remarkable persistency with which he sent army after army into the Dead Sea region, the central province of the Nabatæan kingdom, even planning a new expedition during the very last days of his life.

After Abu Bekr had quelled the disturbances in Arabia, he immediately made preparations for continuing Mahomet's policy of conquest. That he resolved to direct the first blow, not against Syria,

but against Persia, was natural enough. Mahomet's range of political vision had in the main been limited to Western Arabia. Syria was the only foreign country with the affairs of which he was to some degree familiar. On the other hand, Abu Bekr was at this time well acquainted with the political situation, not only in Arabia, but also in the surrounding nations. There was no possibility of his failing to recognise that the unusually dense Arabian population in Irak, who had naturally followed the course of events in Arabia with great interest, would be far more favourable subjects for the propaganda than the inhabitants of the Syrian frontier. In spite of the fact that, by reason of their inaccessible position, the Arabs of Irak had suffered much less than other peoples during the Persian-Roman wars, they had, nevertheless, long been thoroughly weary of Persian oppression. Their land, still fertile, and constantly enriched through commerce with India, had been for many years a favourite source of revenue to Persia, and the demands of the Persian rulers had become more and more exorbitant ever since the king of Hira had been superseded by a Persian satrap. Only a slight impetus was necessary in order to destroy completely the sovereignty of Persia in these regions.

Islam Against Persia

In March, 633, the Mohammedan general Khalid advanced with his army of veterans from the interior of Arabia against Persia. The Arabians, whose number soon increased to 18,000, at first encountered Hormuz, the military commander of Obollah, in Irak, who had placed himself at the head of a hastily assembled army. On receiving the command of Khalid to accept the Mohammedan faith, Hormuz forthwith replied with a challenge to a duel; and when Khalid succeeded in overcoming his opponent in sight of both armies, the Persians, true to their ancient Oriental custom, immediately dispersed in all directions. Other armies were subsequently sent out under various Persian commanders, without either order or method, only to meet with a fate similar to that of the forces of Hormuz. The fortified towns also offered but little opposition. Hira, in the neighbourhood of the Hillah of to-day, and other cities were captured, and the region west of the Euphrates cleared of Persians. Khalid had not yet ventured to cross that river, when in the next year he was recalled and transferred to the command of the Syrian army.

SEAT OF AN EARLY MOHAMMEDAN STATE NEAR ANCIENT BABYLON
Hira, on the Euphrates, now Hillah, near the site of Babylon, was one of the earliest states formed by the Arabs.

Khalid arrived in Syria at the very time he was most needed. As soon as he had been able to form a new army out of the soldiers who were returning from the various scenes of civil war in Arabia, Abu Bekr had immediately commanded an attack on the frontiers of Palestine, and by sending out several reinforcing divisions he increased the number of Syrian troops to 36,000. But the opposition everywhere encountered by the Arabs was unexpectedly great; and the spirit of discord that had arisen between the commanders, who had already divided the conquered districts among themselves, and were no longer to be moved to common action, proved a complete bar to the success of the campaign. Khalid, however,

Conquest of Palestine

succeeded in putting an end to all discord, and also in defeating a Byzantine army greatly superior in numbers after an exceptionally severe struggle on the Yarmuk, not far from the Lake of Gennesareth.

The messengers despatched from the field of battle with trophies and tidings of victory were received by a new caliph on arriving in Mecca. The old friend and most faithful disciple of the Prophet, to whom the dominion of Arabia had fallen as a result of the incapacity and dissensions of the followers of Ali and the Medinan party, had lived to fill his difficult office only for the short space of two years (632–634). During this time Abu Bekr had remained what he had always been, a simple, kindly man of exemplary piety, a model of what a true Islamite should be, according to the opinion of Mahomet, and a blind reverer of all the sayings and commands of the Prophet. His whole course of action during his short period of rule was nothing more than a continuation of what Mahomet had begun. Through him the spirit of the Prophet still cast its shadow upon the world of the living. Much more important than any of Abu Bekr's personal deeds was the fact that through his election the adherents of Ali, who had striven for a hereditary monarchy, received a blow from which they never recovered. Under Abu's immediate successors the caliphate remained an elective monarchy, with all the merits and defects of the system.

THE MOSQUE OF OMAR AT JERUSALEM

For some years the merits preponderated. Before his death Abu Bekr succeeded in bringing about an agreement to the effect that Omar, the most energetic of the old disciples of Mahomet, a man peculiarly adapted for the leadership of a conquering people, should be his successor. Opposition was at first encountered; but as soon as Omar had laid firm hand on the government, resistance was out of the question. Even Ali, who was indeed quite conscious of his own incapacity, accepted the new sovereign with good grace as soon as his own party had ceased to goad him to further resistance.

In truth, Omar now did little more than openly assume the leadership, which he had

THE MONUMENT OF THE ARABIAN CONQUEST OF JERUSALEM

After the conquest of Persia the victorious troops of Omar broke the power of the Byzantines in Syria, all the strongholds of Palestine, including Jerusalem, where the mosque named after the caliph was erected, falling before them.

already held during the days of Mahomet and Abu Bekr. The warlike policy of the Prophet had been in the main his work, and a large number of the laws and "sayings" could be traced back to his influence. Nothing could be more characteristic than the words with which he addressed the assembled people on entering into his new duties: "By Allah, the weakest among you shall be in my sight as the strongest, until I have obtained for him his rights. But him that is strongest will I treat as the weakest, until he submits unto the law."

Omar the Great

Omar proved that his inaugural address had been spoken in earnest; for, in spite of all the authority he possessed as sole ruler, he never denied the tendency towards equality which, received by the first followers of Mahomet as a heritage from the Bedouins, had also been one of the prime secrets of Moslem success. To his love of justice Omar added great abilities in organising the military power of Arabia. A fifth part of all the spoils that fell to the share of the caliph was set aside as a nucleus for a public treasury. It was not mere fanaticism that caused Omar to order all Christians and Jews dwelling in Arabia either to become converts to Islam or leave the country. The command sprang rather from a desire to transform the peninsula of Arabia into an absolutely secure base of operations.

The next step was to reinforce as largely as possible the Arabian troops in Persia, who were now encountering stubborn opposition. Recruiting was by no means an easy task; the older provinces of Arabia neither would nor could place an unlimited number of warriors in the field. During the first year of his reign, for three days Omar had stood in the pulpit at Medina exhorting men to enroll themselves as volunteers for the Persian war, and not until the fourth day did his efforts meet with the slightest success. All considerations of orthodoxy had to be laid aside; even the faithless, the tribes that had been subdued by Abu Bekr, and all the former adherents of false prophets, whom Abu Bekr had sternly excluded, were now embodied in the army.

Omar Recruits His Army

Omar, however, took good care that, in spite of the accession of troops less firm in faith, his army should not deteriorate in religious fervour; for he added to the ranks of each command a large number of priests, whose office was to recite the sayings of the Prophet amid the tumult of battle, and thus arouse the enthusiasm of the warriors. Omar also allowed the army to retain the form of organisation which had long existed in conformity with the quotas supplied by the various tribes, each tribe having its own leader; the caliph appointed only the commanders of the larger divisions. An alteration of this earlier form of organisation, proved by experience to be thoroughly adapted to the Arabian national character, would have been neither desirable nor possible.

For a long time the war with the Persians occupied the whole of Omar's attention. After the withdrawal of Khalid, his successor, Motanna, was obliged to act solely on the defensive; for in the meanwhile the disturbances which had been taking place in the interior of Persia, to the great benefit of the invading Arabs, had come to an end; moreover, Rustum, an able field-marshal of the empire, had been placed at the head of the Persian forces. It is true that after the arrival of Abu Obaid with reinforcements the Arabs succeeded in defeating two armies of Persians. But when, intoxicated with their victory, they crossed the Euphrates and offered battle with the river at their backs, they were completely defeated, Abu Obaid together with a large portion of the army losing their lives. However, the struggle for the Persian succession in Ctesiphon prevented the Iranians from following up their victory. Motanna maintained his position on the Euphrates, annihilated a Persian army in 634, and even undertook minor campaigns in the region that lay between the two rivers. But when Yesdigerd III. ascended the throne, and with the help of Rustum assembled all the forces of his kingdom, the Arabs were compelled to retreat to the borders of the desert. Messenger after messenger appeared in Medina imploring aid; it appeared as if all the advantages won by the previous victories had now been lost.

Persian Victory over Arabia

But Omar, in the meanwhile, had exerted every effort to collect new troops of believers, and to arouse them to the highest pitch of enthusiasm. He had at first taken the supreme command himself, but finally decided to appoint Zaid, an old companion of the Prophet, commander-in-chief. This time, in 636, the struggle

took place at Kadesia, on the right bank of the Euphrates, in the neighbourhood of the Bagdad of to-day. For three days the battle continued; it was a confusion of hand-to-hand conflicts, accompanied by an incessant advancing and retreating of the engaged forces; even during the fourth night Arab and Persian troops were still here and there engaged in desultory combat. A single incident—the death of Rustum, the Persian general—decided the day in favour of the Moslems, who had also been greatly assisted by the wind, that drove stinging sand into the faces of the Persian soldiers, unused to desert warfare. This victory brought the region west of the Tigris into the hands of the Mohammedans, who immediately proceeded to build the city of Basra, on the Shatt-el-Arab, and thereby shut off the Persians from all traffic on the River Euphrates and trade with India.

The next year Yesdigerd III. evacuated Ctesiphon, which was already surrounded by Arabian cavalry, and withdrew to his second line of defence, the mountain region of Medo-Persia, not, however, without suffering severe losses during his retreat. Unfortunately, he had no army capable of defending the passes; and the Arabs at once succeeded in taking possession of the most important of the mountain roads, as well as of a portion of Chusistan. At Yesdigerd's call for aid, once more the Iranian forces assembled in Media, ready to engage in a final struggle for their ancient religion and nationality. Chusistan and Farsistan, the two southern provinces that had been cut off from the rest of Persia by the advancing Arabian army, likewise continued their opposition. Hormuz, the governor of Chusistan, threatened the new city of Basra; and not until many difficulties had been overcome did the Arabs succeed in compelling him to take refuge in Shuster, and in taking him prisoner, after a siege of six months.

The Final Iranian Struggle

The Persian army arrived too late to derive any benefit from the resistance that had been offered in Chusistan; for two months it remained encamped in the mountain country to the south of Hamadan, near Nehavend, facing the Arabian forces, until finally a strategic blunder on the part of Firuz, the Iranian commander, led to an engagement followed by a total defeat. Thus, in the year 641, the dominion of the Sassanidæ came to an end. Nevertheless, a struggle of several years' duration had yet to be fought before the single provinces were completely subjugated. Yesdigerd, "the Hapless," escaped to Khorassan, where he hoped to form a new army out of Turkish mercenaries. But fortune had deserted the cause of the Sassanidæ, and in the year 651 the last of the Persian emperors met his death at the hands of an assassin. In the meanwhile the power of the Byzantines in Syria and Mesopotamia had also been broken. After the flight of the Syrian militia, at the battle of Yarmuk, resistance was offered by the larger towns alone, and they, too, were soon forced to capitulate. The fact that immediately after his accession Omar, the Mohammedan puritan, recalled the victorious Khalid, who was, to be sure, the "sword of Islam," but at the same time an accomplished rake, had practically no influence on the course of the Syrian war. Damascus capitulated in the year 635. The withdrawal of some Arabian troops to reinforce the army in Persia gave Heraclius, who had hastened to Jerusalem, a short respite, during which, however, he only became convinced that it would be impossible to check the advance of the enemy with the means at the disposal of his exhausted

End of the Sassanidæ

RUINS OF TARAKHUN, A DESERTED CITY OF SEISTAN

Tarakhun, said to have been founded about 1000 B.C., and deserted since 1060 A.D., was the birthplace of Rustum, the Hercules of Persia, and almost the only Persian general who succeeded in combating the Arabian advance.

province; for a new Syrian army was not to be thought of. When, in the year 636, the emperor left the country, he took with him from Jerusalem the most sacred relic of the Christians, the true cross: a plain indication of the desperate straits into which his land and his creed had fallen. Still, some years passed before the resistance of the Syrian cities was finally overcome. Several of the centres of Christian Hellenism defended themselves to the uttermost, but the Aramaic inhabitants of the land looked upon the struggle with stolid indifference. The cities of the north, Emesa, Haleb, and Antioch, were the first to fall; then followed the strongholds of Palestine. The conquest of Jerusalem was no easy task for the Moslems; but the city finally opened its gates to the caliph, who had been by no means loth to arrive in time for a triumphant entry. The seaport Cæsarea was defended with still greater bravery, but it, too, finally fell in 640. In the meantime Northern Mesopotamia had been conquered, and Edessa captured. Not until the Arabian forces had penetrated as far as the mountains of Armenia and the Taurus did their victorious advance come to an end.

Syria Abandoned By Rome

To these extraordinarily rapid successes a newer and still greater conquest was added. Egypt's feeble powers of defence had already been exhibited when the country was plundered by a Persian army in 616. The native population, who had never been friendly to the customs of the Greeks, and who had also become completely estranged from their political masters owing to the formation of numerous Christian sects, had then been of no assistance whatever to the Byzantine generals in resisting the enemies of the empire. The danger of an Arabian invasion had long been appreciated, and the Egyptian governors were the only rulers who had replied to Mahomet's messages with even a semblance of courtesy. Nowhere had sectarianism, the curse of the Eastern Roman people, struck such firm root and become so intimately united with national antipathies as in the Nile valley. In vain had Heraclius endeavoured to reconcile the "monophysitical" Egyptians with the "monotheletic" Greeks through the introduction of a conciliatory formula of belief: the burning national hatred, which merely hid itself beneath a cloak of religion, rendered all his well-meant efforts abortive.

Sectarian Curse in Egypt

The kings of Persia had already intentionally shown favour to both Monophysites and Nestorians, and during their wars with the Byzantines had obtained great benefit from this policy; Omar adopted the same course, and brought the conquest of Egypt to a successful issue, even before the last battle had been fought in Persia and Syria. Amr ibn As, the caliph's field-marshal, invaded the valley of the Nile with a force of but 4,000 men. After several engagements had been fought the Arabs obtained possession of the right bank of the river, and the arrival of reinforcements made it possible for them to cross the stream; still, the Christians in reality lost but little ground until their army was weakened by the wholesale desertion of the native Monophysites. The result was a brilliant victory for Amr and for the policy of Arabia.

All the troops that the Greek generals were able to collect from the various Egyptian fortresses were placed in the field against the Arabs; but the Byzantines soon found themselves driven to take shelter behind the walls of Alexandria, the centre of Hellenic influence. The dying Heraclius had done all that he could to strengthen the last bulwark of Byzantine power from the sea, and at first it seemed as if the Arabian army would bleed to death before the walls of the strongly fortified city. In the meanwhile, however, a wretched dynastic quarrel broke out on the death of Heraclius. The imperial court of Byzantium was filled with confusion; and the longed-for ships bearing provisions and reinforcements to Alexandria did not arrive until the siege had lasted fourteen months, and the defenders were completely exhausted. The wealthiest of the inhabitants left the unfortunate city by sea; the remainder of the population surrendered to the Arabian general in December, 641.

Arabian Conquest of Egypt

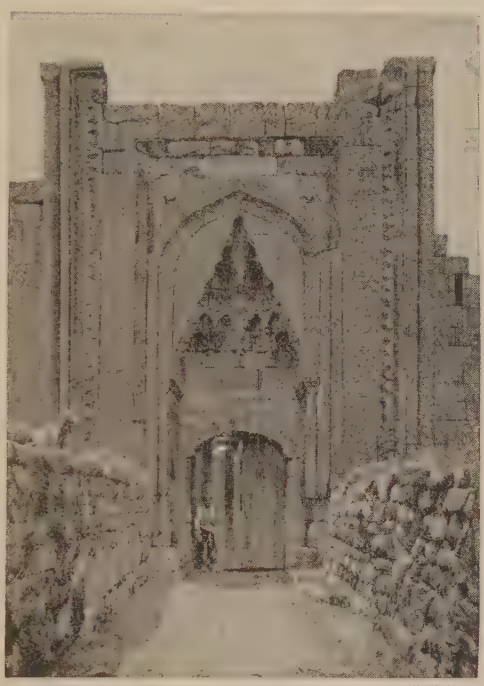
As usual, the conquered were treated with comparative leniency; it is true there were scenes of disorder, but the alleged systematic crusade of the Arabs against the treasures of science and art has been proved to have been purely mythical. Alexandria was not chosen to be the capital of the country by the Arabs as it had been by the Greeks; but a new city,

Fostat, the Cairo of later times, was built on the right bank of the Nile, not far from the Delta, in the neighbourhood of ancient Memphis. From this it became quite evident that the new rulers of Egypt intended to make use of the land in an entirely different manner from that of either the Greeks or the Romans, who had looked upon the country merely as a source of wealth.

The conquest of the Nile valley was not enough for the Arabs, who, as true children of the desert, were but little impeded in their advance by the sterile regions of North Africa. Amr swiftly marched upon and captured the Pentapolis, and even Tripolis was surrendered by its surprised garrison.

During these many wars Omar had remained at home in Medina. Such an energetic man as he must have chafed greatly under his self-imposed restraint; but he could have adopted no policy better suited to the state of affairs of the time. Its results were of the greatest value to the future of Islam, for during the storm and stress period of Mohammedanism nothing was more necessary to the success of the Arabian cause than a secure and powerful base of operations. Instead of going into the field himself, Omar was content to take upon his shoulders the more modest task of making preparations for war, collecting reinforcements, and replenishing the national treasury with money that had been captured in battle, and with the tribute of the conquered lands. Furthermore, he organised the newly acquired dependencies, especially Irak, where he commanded the city of Kufa to be built on the borders of the desert in the neighbourhood of the right bank of the Euphrates, as a centre for the Arabian population, while the already semi-Arabian Damascus was made the capital of Syria. Omar did not favour the settlement of the conquered territories by Arabian troops; for he looked upon a ceaseless continuation of the religious war until both Pagans and Christians were completely overthrown as the labour of his life, and held the camp to be the true home of his companions in faith.

During the last years of his life Omar adopted extraordinary measures for the benefit of the State treasury, as we have learned from his remarkable correspondence with Amr, whose consignments of money from Egypt did not come up to the caliph's expectations. Omar was neither just nor courteous to his general, who deserved all praise; and in his treatment of the conquered his avarice showed itself in a most unpleasant light. In fact, this smallness in his nature was the indirect cause of his death by the hand of an assassin. A Christian artisan of Kufa, who had journeyed in vain to Medina in order to beg that his relatively inordinate taxes might be decreased, struck down the caliph in the mosque in November, 644, just as the latter was about to begin his morning prayer. Omar still possessed strength enough to name a successor; but as Abd ur-Rahman, whom he had chosen, absolutely declined to accept the difficult office, he called upon the six oldest companions of Mahomet to choose a new caliph from among themselves—a method of escaping the difficulty which led to evil results.



MOHAMMEDAN MOSQUE AT CÆSAREA

Cæsarea, the Roman capital of Judæa, was one of the last strongholds to fall in the extraordinarily rapid conquest of Palestine by the victorious Mohammedans.

Once more Ali, who, together with Othman, Abd ur-Rahman, Zubeir, Talkha, and Zaid ibn Wakaz, had been called upon by Omar to elect a new caliph, stood at the head of the list of candidates, and again he experienced a bitter disappointment.

Zubeir, Talkha, and Ali contested the position; the other aspirants stepped into the background. Mutual jealousy prevented all reasonable agreement, and the upshot of the affair was that the choice finally fell on Othman, who of all the candidates was least fitted for the position. He was a good-natured old man of seventy years, and had been one of the very earliest companions of the Prophet; but personally he was a complete nonentity. On his first attempt to address the assembled people after his election, he made a pitiable exhibition of himself, since, after a painful pause he could only murmur the words, "The beginning of all things is difficult," and then descend from the pulpit with a sigh. Othman was not the man to curb the violent efforts which the various parties were making in order to increase their power; the strong hand of Omar had long held them in check, but now they burst forth again, threatening to bring confusion to the entire Mohammedan world. He was also totally unable to effect a reconciliation between the quarrelling and deeply embittered tribal groups of the Arabian people. During his reign the personal influence of a sovereign was replaced by the ineradicable antagonisms of tribes and provinces, which were only increased by new enmities and rivalries that had developed during the period of conquest; and all Mohammedan leaders who lived in the time of Othman were compelled either to make allowance for these elements of disturbance, or—often without being conscious of it themselves—to be moved and guided by them.

A Caliph of Seventy

The old comrades of Mahomet still remained the most powerful of the political parties. Generals and governors of provinces were selected from their ranks, and a large amount of the treasure that had been won in war found its way into their strong-boxes. They knew well that they were not popular; but so long as they were able successfully to claim the election of the caliph as their right, it was a difficult matter to thrust them down from their position of supremacy. Now, however, the lack of unity in their leaders, which had enabled the feeble Othman to come to the head of the state, had opened up the way to their destruction.

The Old Comrades of Mahomet

Othman was, indeed, one of the companions of the Prophet, an "emigrant" from Mecca; but he had been far too weak and good-natured to break completely with the past, and to join himself without reserve to the new community of fanatical believers that had formed itself about Mahomet. He was much too favourably inclined toward his old Meccan relatives; already during the Prophet's lifetime he had come forward in their defence, and at the capture of Mecca several of the most deeply compromised of Mahomet's enemies owed their lives to his intercession. Now that he had become caliph, he was soon surrounded by the neglected aristocracy of Mecca as by a swarm of hungry locusts; first one and then another managed to persuade him to hand over a post as governor, a position as commander, or this or that well-paid office. With increasing anger the earlier believers beheld the success of these intruders, whose fathers had not only fought against the Prophet with weapons in their hands, but had also wounded him with the poisoned darts of satire—these Meccans whose religious faith and manner of life were more than suspicious. Their angry looks were soon directed even against the caliph; they clung all the closer to Ali, whose time seemed at last to have come. But even now he was unable to bring the members of his party into harmony with one another.

The Meccans' Opportunity

The rivalry between Medinans and Meccans was not the only rift that extended across the Arabian world. The ancient enmity between nomads and agriculturists, Mahadites and Yemenites, still smouldered beneath the ashes, only again to burst forth into flame in later times; but at the present moment the antagonisms that had been called forth by differences of geographical situation—a result of Omar's conquests—were of greater importance. To Omar Arabia had still been the heart of the Mohammedan empire; all his measures had for their object the strengthening of the peninsula and the development of the Arabian military forces. But as soon as the great neighbouring lands of Syria and Irak had been subdued by Islam this policy could not be continued. The new territories were far more populous than desert Arabia, and the greater culture of their inhabitants gained for them, slowly

but surely, a preponderance of power. In fact, it may be remarked in anticipation that Arabia had already fallen from its supreme position at an early period in the history of Islam, and had now become little more than an insignificant appendage of Western Asia.

Hence, Irak and Syria, the two chief centres of Mohammedanism, soon entered the lists in hostile competition for the leadership. Their inhabitants were not on friendly terms with one another. The serious, determined Bedouins of Syria looked upon the effeminate, restless inhabitants of Irak with hatred and contempt. They particularly despised the people of Kufa, in whom all the evil characteristics of an over-refined race seemed to have been united—true dwellers of great cities were they, lions at home, lambs in the field. Whoever gained the friendship of one of these rivals made sure of the hostility of the other. Owing to the fact that the Omayyads looked to the Syrians for aid during the civil wars, they won the victory over Ali and his companions, who turned to the fickle inhabitants of Irak for support.

In the meanwhile, however, under Othman's government the new Mohammedan empire became more powerful and increased in area. An attempt of the Greeks, who had managed to recapture Alexandria, to extend their power once more over Egypt failed completely; Alexandria was severely punished, and in like manner various insurrections were crushed in Persia. It was also during Othman's reign that a Mohammedan fleet of warships was constructed with astonishing rapidity on the Phœnician coast with the object of conquering Cyprus; this same fleet also became a serious menace to the safety of Byzantium. The wars were successfully continued in Northern Africa, the Greeks losing Carthage; in the east, the Omayyad Muaviya, to whom Othman had entrusted the command of an army, spread desolation in Asia Minor.

Extension of the Empire

Carthage Lost to Islam

Thus, so far as the Arabian policy of conquest was concerned, Othman was a by no means unworthy successor of the victorious Omar. As a matter of course, these successes in arms were insufficient to reconcile the angry early adherents of the Prophet, who beheld with increasing bitterness Muaviya, whose mother had been a deadly enemy of Mahomet, winning victory after victory and rich spoils in Asia Minor. To his great misfortune, Othman finally placed just such a weapon in the hands of the "companions" as was required by those models of piety; he undertook a revision of the Koran on his own authority and endeavoured to enforce its acceptance by the old believers. But, instead of calling forth a melancholy wail of lost influence from the "emigrants and defenders," he was assailed on all sides by the enraged cries of men who insisted that he had falsified the words of the Prophet. Ali resolved this time to act in earnest, and despatched his emissaries into the various provinces. The gold pieces which the nephew of the Prophet had managed to heap up in abundance as a consoling indemnity for his political failures were scattered in all directions; and everywhere, as a result of the extraordinary expenditure, Ali was extolled as the single true champion of the traditions of Islam. But, in spite of all, the idol of the hated devotionalist party was not popular, and the revolts that broke out here and there did not lead to the wished-for results.

TOMBS OF THE CALIPHS AT CAIRO, THE ARABIAN CAPITAL OF EGYPT

To extraordinary successes in Syria the armies of the great caliph Omar added the conquest of Egypt, a new city, Fostat, which afterwards became Cairo, being built on the Nile in the neighbourhood of the ancient Memphis.

Then bands of suspicious characters appeared in the narrow streets of Medina, Bedouins, whose services were to be had for a trifling payment; these assembled about the house of Othman, and with savage threats demanded his retirement. This time the feeble old man offered a determined resistance, but they finally stormed his house and assassinated him in the year 656. The Meccan nobility, who had endeavoured to defend Othman, fled from the city; and the Medinans, not one of whom had lifted his hand in the defence of the caliph, readily accepted Ali as his successor. Thus at last Ali was able to throw the imperial mantle about his shoulders; but the garment was soiled and blood-stained. A spirit of revolt and abhorrence spread over the entire Mohammedan world. There was an immediate clearage among the conspirators at whose instigation the murder of Othman had been accomplished; for Zubeir and Talkha soon came forward with their claims, assisted by the powerful support of Ayesha, the favourite wife of the Prophet, an ambitious and intriguing woman, who had long been one of Ali's most deadly enemies.

Ali Gains the Caliphate

It soon became obvious that an appeal to the sword alone could decide between these two hostile groups of old believers. At first neither party could look to the provinces for assistance; Syria especially was hostile to both. Nothing was left to Ali but to fall back once more upon the assistance of the people of Irak, whom he won over to his cause. The rebels, who had no more to hope for from Syria than had Ali, turned to Irak and occupied Basra. Later, when Ali advanced on them from Kufa with a superior force, they entered into negotiations with him; but, owing to a misunderstanding, a battle was fought that ended with the deaths of Zubeir and Talkha and the capture of Ayesha. Ali was now master of all Irak. Arabia was also on his side, and he was at least formally recognised in Egypt; but the "Battle of the Camels" had cost him the lives of many of his ablest adherents. In Syria, Muaviya, the Meccan, who now openly laid claim to the caliphate, made preparations for a final conflict.

The Battle of the Camels

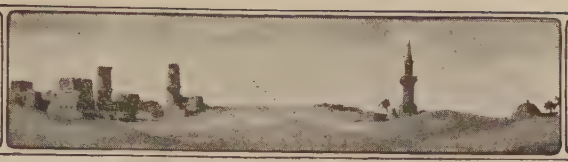
Muaviya was the typical champion of the nobility of Mecca, courteous, of knightly bravery, and a born leader of the people, whom he guided with both courage and wisdom; he was also ambitious, and inspired with an undying hatred for the bigoted followers of the Prophet, who returned his hatred in full measure.

Ali was now assured of the aid of the people of Irak also, since his quarrel was with the Syrians. For many years only a pretext had been wanting to bring the two races into open conflict with one another. But, in spite of all this, the morale of the army that Muaviya raised in Syria was vastly superior to that of the regiments of effeminate Irakans; and Ali was not a man likely to fill his adherents with any great amount of enthusiasm. Accustomed always to be led by others, and almost completely lacking in self-dependence, Ali became the chosen victim of various ambitious spirits who had resolved to sell their services to him as dearly as possible, and were already prepared eagerly to stretch out their hands for the gold of Muaviya.

Thus the battle that after long negotiations and many skirmishes finally took place at Siffin, in 657 A.D., on the right bank of the Euphrates, had an end rather amusing than tragic. While his cavalry were in the very act of pursuing the retreating Syrians with loud shouts of victory, open rebellion broke out in Ali's tent. The party which was in secret understanding with Muaviya compelled the hapless caliph first to recall his troops, and then to appear before a court of arbiters, the members of which were obviously enough entirely opposed to his claims. The nucleus of his forces, the old believers, renounced their allegiance and elected a new caliph: and on January 21st, 661, Ali met his death from a dagger-thrust by one of these same fanatics.

The End of Ali

On the death of Ali, the cause of the old believers broke down completely. Since Ali had been one of the champions of the hereditary caliphate, his claims naturally descended to his son Hassan. But Hassan, a cowardly voluptuary, was unable to accomplish anything with the army that had been placed at his disposal; and, in order to rid himself of all responsibility, he finally sent his most ardent adherents, under the leadership of Kais, against the Syrians. On their return after a severe defeat he made peace with Muaviya.



THE RULE OF THE MECCA CALIPHS

THE power and influence of the old adherents of the Prophet had completely come to an end when the proudest of the noble families of Mecca, the Omayyads, took possession of the caliphate as a hereditary dignity. At the time that the new dynasty made its appearance the Syrians also were rejoicing in their victories. The hated Irakans had been completely defeated, and, to the great chagrin of the ambitious inhabitants of Kufa, Damascus had now become the capital of the Mohammedan world-empire.

But still the empire continued in a state of war and rebellion. While the old antagonisms had been temporarily forced into the background by the decisive victory of the one party, a new political sect arose. Its adherents were filled with the wildest spirit of fanaticism, and had already displayed their activity in the assassination of Ali, as well as in a contemporaneous attack on Muaviya. The party was one that in view of the general state of affairs of the time arose almost of necessity; in it was incorporated the democracy of Islam, which, under the cloak of religious zeal, came forward to oppose the aristocracy.

Democratic Party of Islam

The true Bedouin of the desert in reality recognised neither the government of nobles nor the rule of a sovereign. He was indeed a slave to his own tribal traditions, but he was not accustomed to bow before any individual who laid claim to unconditional obedience. The recent developments of the Mohammedan movement had been a mockery of the Bedouin spirit of liberty. With arbitrary despotism the oligarchy of Medina had chosen a caliph from their midst, without even going through the form of submitting their choice to the approval of the great mass of believers; and when, on the appearance of Muaviya, the unpopular government of the old believers fell, it was only that a new nobility might come forward in its place. From the standpoint of religion, too, the more democratic of the Moslems had grounds for complaint when they compared the increasing luxury and love of splendour of their present leaders with the simple manner of life and definite precepts of the Prophet.

Thus the sect that was formed during the struggle between Ali and Muaviya, which elected a new caliph in opposition to Ali, and was, at least, the indirect cause of the attacks on both Ali and Muaviya may be called the democratic-puritanical party; and the most serious demand which it made upon those in power was that every Arab should not only have a voice in the election of the caliph but should also himself be eligible as a candidate. Basra was the headquarters of this new puritan party; and its most powerful members were the Bedouin veterans—perhaps the most correct and virtuous of all Moslems. These fanatics, ever eager for self-sacrifice, were yet to be a source of great trouble to the Omayyad caliphs.

Demands of the Democrats

But Muaviya had also to keep a sharp look-out in another direction. Ali, who had always been too late during his life, proved after death a dangerous enemy. As long as he had stood at the head of the party of old believers, his obstinate and weak character had only led his followers to their ruin; now, however, that he lived only in their remembrance, his name became the war-cry of the older party as well as of the people of Irak, and his tragic end an unlimited source of fanaticism. The Arabian habit of enveloping their heroes in a cloud of legend soon caused the honest but mentally inferior Ali to appear as a most illustrious personage, upon whose purity, uprightness, and nobility of character no doubts were to be cast. And although the hero himself was dead, a son who appeared to be a worthy successor was still living. This was Husain, brother of the cowardly Hassan; to him, as their last hope, the old believers and

Ali Becomes A Hero

the Irakans turned. In the meanwhile Muaviya had found a lieutenant in the person of his half-brother, Ziyad, who was capable of putting an end to all trouble with Irak and with the inhabitants of Kufa. Ziyad had not long occupied the position of governor of the dissatisfied province before the boldest of his enemies scarcely ventured even to grumble, and all ironies and satires against the dominion of the Omayyads were stifled on their very first appearance. And after the death of Ziyad, whom Muaviya had apparently chosen as his successor, the Irakans were still in such a state of terror that the appearance of Husain failed to awaken any genuine enthusiasm among them. Nevertheless the hereditary caliphate of the Omayyads was as yet by no means on a secure footing. Muaviya experienced extraordinary difficulty in obtaining recognition for his son Yezid as his legitimate successor; and the easily led, thoughtless character of the latter was a cause of many complications and misgivings. It was only owing to the fact that the Syrians had the utmost enthusiasm for him that Yezid was enabled to retain his position.

Irak Chastened and Subdued

In spite of all domestic disturbances, the religious war of conquests, although now possessed of less significance than formerly, was carried on vigorously during the reign of Muaviya. Great progress was made in the east, where the Arabian forces crossed the Oxus, advanced into the valley of the Indus, and for the first time came into contact with the Turkish races that were in later times to play such an important part in the history of Islam. In Africa, also, the policy of conquest was continued, and the city of Kairuan was founded on the site of ancient Carthage as a centre of Mohammedan influence. After the death of Ali the Byzantines were assailed both by sea and by land; a portion of Asia Minor was devastated, and Arabian war vessels sailed as far as Constantinople, without, however, engaging in any decisive combat. Still, these struggles were of great advantage to the Omayyads, since they increased the popularity of Yezid, who had taken part in them at the desire of his father.

The Religious War

When Muaviya died in 680, the Omayyads were in a position easily to crush opposition. The chief rebellious spirits were the old comrades of Mahomet, now for the most part of great age, but surrounded by numerous ambitious descendants who held fast to the claim that a new caliph must be chosen from their ranks. The old believers could not look upon Yezid, who was not of a particularly serious disposition and troubled himself little about the precepts of the Koran, as other than an impudent pretender. In Mecca, another band of dissatisfied Arabs, rich in distinguished names but poor in followings, assembled about the banner of Husain. The latter joyfully received a long petition from the people of Kufa, in which they invited him to their city and offered him the dignity of caliph.

Once more, then, the old alliance between the companions of the Prophet and Irak threatened to become dangerous to the Omayyads; but before Husain arrived in Kufa, Yezid had already sent out a new governor, Obaidallah, a son of the terror-inspiring Ziyad, who, with his father's example before him, well understood how to deal with the rebellious Kufites. As a result, when Husain approached the gates of the city, not a hand was raised in his favour. The troops of Obaidallah advanced to meet him, and since he was unwilling to submit without a struggle, a battle followed, in which his weak forces were routed and he himself, together with most of his companions, put to death on October 10th, 680 A.D.

Fall of a Pretender

The fall of Husain revealed that ancient Arabia, although externally faithful to Islam, was in arms against the orthodox. The sacred cities alone appeared to offer a secure place of refuge to the faithful. Before their gates the storm of opposition abated, and it was thought that the original religious empire might perhaps once more be established from them as centres. In Mecca, Abdallah, eldest son of Zubeir, formerly candidate for the caliphate, laid claim to the supreme office and defied the ambassador of Yezid from behind the sacred walls of the Kaaba, at Mecca; on the return from Yezid's court of envoys who had beheld with horror the frivolity of the caliph and his comrades, and reported with passionate emphasis what they had seen, a terrific uproar arose in the city. But the Medinans refused to admit the claims of Abdallah ibn Zubeir, and established a

DAMASCUS, ONCE THE CAPITAL OF THE MOHAMMEDAN WORLD-EMPIRE
When the Omayyad dynasty of Mecca succeeded the companions of the Prophet in the caliphate, the Mohammedan capital was removed from Kufa to Damascus, and Syria became the heart of the empire in place of Arabia.

provisional government in order to avoid an immediate outbreak of dissension. Further progress was to follow as time passed; but that Yezid would take hostile measures against the old comrades of the Prophet and advance against the sacred cities no one would believe, in spite of the general abhorrence that had been called forth by his godlessness. Nevertheless, the old believers were doomed to disappointment. A Syrian army marched into Western Arabia under the command of a man who could not have been better chosen as avenger of the various sanguinary campaigns by means of which the Prophet and his followers had compelled the sons of the desert to accept the new faith. Moslim, Yezid's general, was a superstitious pagan, uneducated, rude, furiously energetic, a true Bedouin of the old school, without a glimmer of reverence for the sacred memories of the Prophet. As a relative of the murdered Caliph Othman, he was fully bent on vengeance. What was to be expected from the barbarous Syrian nomads under his command, who had accepted the Mohammedan faith superficially only, who were in the eyes of the pious Medinans little better than heathens, and who returned the contempt of the old believers with a most cordial hatred?

The Old Believers Attacked

The comrades of the Prophet anticipated the fate that was in store for them when the Syrian army appeared before the walls of their city. Scarcely ever before in the history of Arabia had a battle been fought in which such blind, fanatical fury was displayed as at this time before the gates of Medina, and is known as "the day of Harra." The standard bearer of the Syrians had already fallen, and the army began to waver, when, on August 26th, 683, a troop of Syrians were admitted to the city by traitors, and thus enabled to fall upon the unprotected rear of the old believers. The fate of the defeated was terrible; all men capable of bearing arms were ruthlessly slaughtered, the women were violated, the city plundered. The blood of the comrades of Mahomet flowed down the steps of the mosque from which the Prophet had so often addressed his followers, and its sacred courts served the barbaric Syrians as a stable for their horses.

Holy City Sacked

From Medina, where Moslim died of a severe illness, the Syrian army turned toward Mecca. Catapults were already engaged in hurling great masses of stone

into the city, and firebrands had already been thrown upon the roof of the Kaaba, setting the sacred edifice in flames, when, for the time being, the defenders of the city were rescued, owing to the confusion that broke out in Syria on the death of Yezid. But, for Medina, the temporary change in affairs had come too late. The survivors sought refuge in Africa, the greater part of them joining the army that conquered Spain under the command of Musa; and in later times Spain became the last asylum of the companions of the Prophet and their descendants, for whom there was no longer a home in their native land.

Prophet's Companions in Spain

Matters had come to a serious pass for the Mohammedan religion. Even yet it was not firmly rooted in the hearts of the Arabians; the bulk of the Bedouins so far understood little more than the rudiments of Mahomet's doctrines, and it must already have appeared problematical whether or not the work of the Prophet would disappear amid the conflicts of parties and sects. The venerable men who had once assembled about the Prophet were now either dead or wanderers without a home; the sacred Kaaba, and the mosque at Medina, were shattered and polluted; the people were split up into hostile groups. And finally there was a caliph at the head of affairs who did not even preserve the appearance of obeying the laws of Mahomet, but seemed rather to pride himself on his profligacy. Everywhere it seemed that Islamism was falling into decay. But never in the history of the world has the power of spirit and of thought shown itself to be more irresistible than during the first century of the Mohammedan religion. Like a moonbeam upon the sea a ray of idealism and religious sentiment rested upon the dark waves of war and politics. However meagre in comparison with the greater religions of the world, Islam yet represented an idea, and therewith a power that no earthly weapon could destroy. The sudden death of Yezid, in November, 683, rescued Mecca and Abdallah; but at the same time it plunged the empire into the utmost confusion. Muaviya, son of Yezid, died a few months later, and cannot be said to have in reality succeeded to the supreme office; but at his death the Omayyad party was for the moment without a leader. This was sufficient to cause the old tribal antagonisms to come to the surface once more among the Syrian Arabs. They had been suppressed during the period of conquest, and Muaviya I. had understood how to render them harmless, even to cause them to be of service to the empire. Now, however, Yemenites and Mahadites stood face to face, armed to the teeth; and candidates for the caliphate must have known that the office was to be procured only through the assistance of one or the other party. Instead of seeking to take advantage of the quarrel of the rival parties in Syria, the people of Irak were content to limit their activities to their own province.

The Secret of Islam's Power

In Irak, the place of tribal feuds was taken by the dissensions of sects, among which the puritan democrats, or Kharijites, were no less distinguished than the followers of Ali. Owing to the influence of Iranian elements the various parties gradually became less and less Arabian in character. Nowhere, however, were there any signs of unity. Still, a powerful movement arose in all districts against the Syrian governors and officials, who, like the companions of the Prophet of earlier days, conducted themselves as high and mighty lords and masters, arousing a spirit of hostility wherever they appeared.

Abdallah the Pretender

The inhabitants of Irak finally chose for their leader Abdallah ibn Zubeir, the pretender of Mecca and last representative of the party of old believers, who, although he had shown himself to be both a hypocrite and babbler, must at least have been more acceptable to the members of the various quarrelling parties than a man selected from among their inveterate enemies, the Syrians. Had Abdallah been an able man and of strong will and character, it is probable that this time he would have succeeded in making good his claims to the caliphate. The tidings of the death of Yezid had scarcely reached the camp of the Syrian army before Mecca, when Husain, the Syrian commander, sought to make peace with Abdallah. The Mahadite tribes of Syria in their hatred of the Yemenites also placed themselves on his side. Egypt declared for him; and he was certain of the support of a powerful party in Irak. But his very first political action proved

that he was incapable of taking advantage of the favourable situation, inasmuch as he refused to grant Husain and his army amnesty for the destruction of Medina. Thus, to ingratiate himself with the feeble party of the old believers, he threw away the opportunity of advancing into Syria at the head of a powerful force and of winning an important victory.

Husain thereupon returned to Syria without Abdallah, and found there an Omayyad chieftain, Mervan, who was ready to defend the seriously endangered rights of his family with decision and courage, and also to assume the position of caliph. Since the Mahadites, or Kaisites, as they were generally called after their most important Syrian branch, had first decided in favour of Abdallah, and had afterward chosen Dhakhak, the governor of Damascus, to be their leader, Mervan was obliged to turn to the Yemenites, or Kelbites, who after long hesitation decided to give him their support, provided he would promise to fulfil the various conditions which they imposed. Mervan and his Kelbite allies defeated the Kaisites on the meadow Rahit near Damascus in 684. Dhakhak fled to Abdallah, whom he now recognised as caliph; and the Kaisites retreated to the north-east of Syria. One of the conditions imposed upon Mervan by the Kelbites was that he should marry the mother of Khalid, another Omayyad who had first been chosen by them to be their candidate for the caliphate, and should name her son as his successor; but he broke his word after the battle, and appointed his own son Abdelmelik to be his heir, with the result that he met his death at the hand of the revengeful woman in April, 685.

Kaisites Against Kelbites

The murder of Mervan was followed by sporadic revolts, of which the most serious was that of the democratic Kharijites. Goaded on by persecution, they rose during the period of confusion that followed the death of Muaviya; and their former torturers soon learned that they, too, understood how to wage war and to devastate no less than they had formerly known how to die. In their extremity the orthodox inhabitants of Irak declared for the cause of Abdallah; but the governor whom he sent out was soon killed in a battle with the infuriated sectarians. The terror inspired by the Kharijites was so great that at one time two thousand Irakans took to flight before a troop of forty of these redoubtable sectaries; in fact, it seemed as if the ardent enthusiasm and contempt of death that Mahomet had once infused into his comrades had revived in these dauntless zealots. The struggle was chiefly confined to the city of Basra, which was constantly threatened by the revolutionaries and preserved from destruction only by the heroic defence of Mohallab, the Irakan general. At the same time that the Basrans were trembling before the Kharijites, the Kufans were in a state of no less terror because of the adherents of Ali—the Shiites or sectarians, from the Arabic *shi'a*, a sectary. The appearance of this sect was remarkable in many ways; here the reviving spirit of the Iranian people made its appearance for the first time. The Persians had at first shown their inclination to shake off the Arabian yoke, together with the new religion that had been imposed upon them, only through occasional minor revolts. Now, however, as adherents of Ali and of Husain, and as champions of a schismatic tendency in Islam, they sought to adapt the new doctrines to their national character and to establish an Iranian form of the Mohammedan faith.

Forty Fanatics Rout Two Thousand

True to their old preferences, the Shiites, in contrast to the Kharijites, with whom they have often been confused, were partisans of unlimited despotism. And just as they had once set the highest value on the descent of their Arsacid and Sassanid sovereigns from a mythical, deified paternal ancestor, demanding pure blood in a sovereign as a condition of their loyalty, so at this time they claimed that the hereditary caliph should be a descendant of Mahomet, declaring that Ali, the nephew and son-in-law of the Prophet, had been the first legitimate caliph, and that the Omayyads, together with the Meccan caliphs were nothing more or less than usurpers. But these religious and political claims were merely a cloak to the true national spirit of the Shiitic movement, which found its most ardent adherents in Persian freedmen and slaves, and struck deep root in the land of Iran.

Persian Form of Islam

Under the leadership of a crafty and ambitious Arab, Mokhtar, the Shiites took possession of Kufa, and began a rule of

terror. Owing to their desperate resistance and to the treachery of the imperial auxiliaries, Abdelmelik's first attempt to recapture Kufa was a failure. However, Mozab, brother of the caliph Abdallah, succeeded in putting the leader of the Shiites to death and in occupying Kufa in the name of Abdallah in 687. But in truth Mozab had only opened up the way for the Syrian caliph. Abdelmelik, who in the meanwhile had made peace with the Kaisites, led a new army into the province, and in a surprisingly short time defeated the Irakans in spite of constant treachery on the part of the Kaisite leaders. Mozab fell in the battle ; and Kufa opened its gates without resistance, as did also Basra, where Mohallab, the Irakan general, in spite of his great courage, demonstrated that he was as inconstant as the rest of his countrymen. Thus the most important province of the empire was lost by the Meccan caliph, who on his part was scoundrel enough secretly to rejoice at the death of his heroic brother, and, instead of taking decisive measures for the recovery of Irak, contented himself with delivering a well-turned funeral oration over the fallen in battle.

Contest of the Caliphs

Although the importance of Arabia had greatly decreased, so far as the temporal power of the caliphate was concerned, the moral influence which Abdallah as master of the sacred cities was still able to exert upon the numerous pilgrims who journeyed thither must not be underrated. For this reason alone Abdelmelik resolved to destroy his rival. Hadjaj, the general whom he sent out against Mecca, was a worthy successor to the dreaded Moslim, whose troops had sacked Medina. In November, 691, Hadjaj arrived before the city, and began a bambardment with his catapults. The Meccans held out for months, but finally fled, seeing that there was no help to be expected from without. The caliph Abdallah ended his life in a nobler manner than he had lived, for with his most faithful companions he made a sortie upon the besiegers, meeting death bravely at the head of his troops.

Siege of Mecca

The death of the last caliph of the old believers was an event of but small importance to the Mohammedan world. In the furthest north-east only, in Khorassan, was resistance offered by one of the governors who had been appointed by Abdallah. In the year 693 the entire empire of the caliphs was subject to the Omayyad dynasty ; nevertheless, as yet there were no signs of peace and quiet. Unrest boiled and bubbled as in a geyser tube throughout Irak and Persia, and furious outbursts of the hidden resentment that flamed in the hearts of the people were visible from time to time. Even the rule of brute force instituted by Hadjaj, to whom the caliph had entrusted the governorship of the eternally restless province of Irak, failed to put an end to the rebellions that broke out again and again amid the confusion of races in that country of an old and fallen civilisation. Kelbites and Kaisites troubled Syria with their feuds and petty wars.

At the death of Abdelmelik, in October, 705, the influence of the Kaisites preponderated, and Velid, the new caliph, found in them his firmest support. Although Abdelmelik had been occupied almost constantly with domestic affairs, and had even been obliged to conclude a humiliating treaty with the Byzantines during the early part of his reign, Velid was now able to reassume the policy of conquest, which was far more in harmony with the original nature of the caliphate. There was no lack of soldiers, especially in Irak and Persia, and from these provinces men flocked to the banner of the caliph that they might win fame and plunder in the foreign wars.

A Period of Magnificence

For these reasons the reign of Velid was more brilliant than that of any other Omayyad caliph. Under his rule the Mohammedan empire attained to its greatest extent and magnificence. Kuteiba commanded the Arabian forces in the war fought on the north-eastern frontier of Persia, which had for its object the conquest of Transoxania and the subjection of its Iranian and Turkish races. After a severe struggle the city of Bokhara was captured in 709. Three years later Samarkand was taken, but in the year 715 the Mohammedan army was suddenly recalled while on the road to Kashgar, owing to the death of Velid. Contemporaneously with the Transoxanian campaign an attack was made on India. Under the command of Mohammed ibn Kasim, a Syrian army advanced into the valley of the Indus, and took possession of the city of Multan, after a long siege. However,

the Moslems were unable to follow up their success. The Arabian general was even compelled to admit to the Hindus that their religion, like those of the Christians and the Jews, was entitled to be looked upon with tolerance by Mohammedans.

All the while that victories were being won in the east, the Byzantines were hard pushed by the armies of the caliph. A quarrel about the succession had again broken out in Constantinople, paralysing the powers of the state, which was already in an exhausted condition owing to the wars with the Bulgarians. Thus it is not surprising that Arabian troops marched unopposed through Asia Minor, and finally appeared before Constantinople, while at the same time the fleets of the caliph sailed into the Sea of Marmora. But if for this reason Velid was led to believe that the end of the Eastern Roman Empire was at hand, he deceived himself as to the tenacity of the Byzantines, who even in later days proved themselves to be possessed of an almost inexhaustible vital power. Decisive victories were won in Northern Africa,

An Exciting Chapter of History

where Musa was engaged in a hard struggle with the Berber tribes, who had at first supported the Arabians in their war with the Byzantines, but were now fighting for their own freedom. Musa occupied the whole of the northern coast of the Atlantic Ocean, and from the African side of the Straits of Gibraltar cast longing looks toward the peninsula of Spain. How Tarik defeated the king of the Goths, how Musa himself followed on with fresh troops, and how in a surprisingly short time all Spain was made subject to the caliphs, the Arabian forces crossing the Pyrenees and penetrating far into France, is one of history's most exciting chapters. At that time all Europe trembled before the apparently irresistible advance of the enemies of Christendom, who were knocking at the gates of Constantinople and watering their horses in the Loire at the same moment that their fleets were threatening the islands of the Mediterranean. But it was also apparent that the Moslem bow had been bent to the point of breaking. The movement of expansion soon came to a halt, and the fall of the gigantic empire became only a question of time.

The character of Velid was such as is rarely to be found in a despotic ruler. The caliph distinguished himself rather through a wise employment of talented subordinates than through his own personal abilities. He also possessed the capacity of securing the respect as well as the loyalty of all men with whom he came into touch. His son and successor, Suleiman (715–717), a weak, mistrustful crea-

Suleiman the Ungrateful

ture, did not possess this gift, and however pitiable a spectacle he made of himself in his gross ingratitude to the great soldiers and statesmen of his father's reign, it must at least be admitted in his favour that he could not do otherwise than cast aside tools which he was incapable of using. Hadjaj, the ablest of Velid's councillors, had long forseeen what the future would bring to pass, and it had been his one desire to die before his master. That he was granted this piece of good fortune saved him from an ignominious end. The generals, some of whom were still at the head of their armies on the death of Velid, found a still more evil fate awaiting them. Musa was accused of misappropriating public money, compelled to pay an exorbitant fine by way of restitution, and ended his life as a pauper. Mohammed, the conqueror of the Punjab, was dragged to Damascus in chains, and tortured to death in prison. Kuteisa, who was well aware that a similar lot awaited him, sought in vain to arouse his troops to rebellion, and was soon put to death by the adherents of the new caliph, who sent his head to Damascus.

In spite of the wretchedness of his character, the deeds of horror perpetrated by Suleiman would scarcely be comprehensible were it not that at the time of his accession a complete change had taken place in the relations of the Arabian tribal groups. The Kaisites, who had enjoyed a golden age during the days of Velid, ruined themselves through an unsuccessful attempt to place a prince

A War of Revenge

of their own choice upon the throne. Since Suleiman was in consequence compelled to look to the Kelbites or Yemenites for support, he was likewise obliged to yield to their desire for revenge upon their old rivals. Yezid, a son of the Irakan general Mohallab, the deadly enemy ot Hadjaj, stood at the head of the Yemenite party; he attained almost unlimited power, and waged a successful war against the last defenders of Iranian independence,

who dwelt in the mountainous south-eastern coast of the Caspian Sea, but had brought themselves into disrepute owing to their excessive ostentation and greed.

The foreign undertakings of Suleiman were attended by no great success. The Byzantines, who had provided themselves with a most effective means of defence in the shape of their celebrated Greek fire, were now, in 717, under a very capable leader, Emperor Leo the Isaurian. An Arabian army which laid siege to Constantinople met with total defeat. The caliph's fleet of some four hundred vessels was also destroyed, and for a time Asia Minor remained in the possession of the Byzantines. Suleiman did not survive these reverses. But his successor, Omar II., a simple, upright Arab of the old school, was in turn unable to retrieve the fortunes of the empire; he reigned for too short a time—717–720—to be able to accomplish anything of importance, or even to put his favourite scheme of increasing the number of Mohammedans, through a systematic conversion of the inhabitants of the various lands subject to the caliphate, into execution. It was greatly to the credit of Omar II. that he espoused the cause neither of Kaisites nor of Kelbites, but endeavoured to keep away from all factions and parties.

Defeated by the Byzantines

During the reign of his successor, Yezid II., who belonged body and soul to the Kelbites, the domestic feuds once more came into prominence. A namesake of Yezid, the son of Mohallab, entrenched himself in Basra, and called upon the Irakans, who had not forgotten their old hatred for the Syrians, in spite of the various tribal feuds, to revolt against the caliph. He was, however, defeated. At the same time a rebellion broke out in Africa, and it also became evident that the Moors intended to establish an independent kingdom in Spain. The short reign of Yezid II. — 720 to 724 — was marked by a decided falling off in the imperial power and supremacy of the caliphate. Nor did this retrograde movement cease completely during the reign of the next caliph, Hisham, although he was an abler ruler, and thoroughly aware of the course events were taking. Hisham displayed great wisdom in assuming a position of neutrality between Kelbites and Kaisites. Since Kaisite and Yemenite leaders and statesmen alternately obtained the leadership, a certain amount of political sagacity developed, so that men soon were able to foretell with a reasonable degree of correctness the principles according to which the one or the other party would administer its offices. The Kaisites were of the school of Hadjaj, the conqueror of Irak; a tight hold on the reins of government, an overwhelming burden of taxation, exclusive favour shown to Arabs, and disregard for the newly converted of other races, were the fundamental principles of their policy. It became almost proverbial that no man could equal a Kaisite governor in obtaining vast sums in taxes from a province. In contrast to the Kaisites, the Kelbites, or Yemenites, were of more liberal opinions, placing more value in diplomatic methods and in a policy of leniency towards the conquered. Moreover, they did not endeavour, as did the Kaisites, to extort the poll-tax exclusively from the newly converted; in short, their policy was one of conciliation, in contrast to the Kaisite policy of brute force. The two political systems were not yet founded on firm and consistent principles; it was usually quite sufficient for a true Kelbite to see a Kaisite perform an action, in order himself immediately to endeavour to effect the contrary.

Decline of the Caliphate

Politics in the Caliphate

Hisham, who was filled with an insatiable greed for wealth, soon discovered that the Kaisites were the party best adapted for executing his wishes; therefore the Kelbite governors, who had at first been in favour, were now everywhere replaced by the tyrannical Kaisites. The Spanish Arabs, who were almost exclusively composed of Yemenites, were now for the first time placed under the rule of a Kaisite; and in Africa, Obeida, and after him Obeidallah, extorted tremendous sums in taxes from the province.

The result was a vast upheaval of the population of Northern Africa, in whom the Kharijite missionaries of the period had at last found a people after their own hearts; so that here also those who arose in revolt against the insufferable burden of taxation became imbued with religious-democratic ideas and displayed the highest degree of fanaticism. The Berbers have never accomplished much under leaders of their own race; but under the

THE DEFEAT OF THE MOHAMMEDAN FLEET BLOCKADING CONSTANTINOPLE
In the glorious reign of Caliph Velid an Arabian army appeared before Constantinople, the fleets of the Caliph sailed into the Sea of Marmora, and all Europe trembled before the Mohammedan advance; but the tenacity of the Byzantines, and their Greek fire, saved the city, and in the next reign the Caliph's army and fleet were destroyed

intellectual guidance of alien spirits they have exhibited a remarkable eagerness for self-sacrifice and great courage. In the year 740 the district of Tangier revolted. Khalid, the general sent out by Obeid-allah, was killed, and with an exceedingly large number of Arab chieftains. The caliph was now obliged to throw his beloved treasure chests wide open, and to form an army of picked Syrian warriors for service in Africa. The troops were sent out under the command of Koltum and Baldsh, and were joined in Egypt by a levy of Arabs. Nevertheless, the battle with the Berbers ended in another defeat for the caliph; his infantry was for the most part annihilated, and Koltum fell. Baldsh managed to escape with the cavalry to Tangier; and thence, after many adventures, he arrived in Spain, where he was still to play a great rôle in history, recorded in another part of this work. Hisham did not live to see the end of the rebellion in Africa.

Successful Revolt in Tangier

In Irak also, after many months of peace under a Yemenite governor, an insurrection broke out on the appointment of a Kaisite to the office. The government was in a still worse plight in Khorassan, where Kelbites and Kaisites openly declared war on one another, as well as in the neighbouring province of Transoxania, where the native population was decidedly unwilling to accept the usual fate of the conquered. Since the Kaisite rulers were in the habit of beginning their terms of office with the imprisonment and exploitation of their Yemenite predecessor, the arrival of a Kaisite governor in Khorassan was sufficient to drive the Kelbites into open revolt and to cause them to form an alliance with the Turks; and it was not until a Kelbite governor arrived and general amnesty was granted that quiet was again restored in this important frontier province. Khorassan included at that time the whole of North-eastern Iran as well as Transoxania, and was of great importance from a military point of view as a barrier against the nomadic tribes of Central Asia. In like manner the mountain countries to the south of the Caucasus, which commanded the entrance to the passes, became military provinces in which incessant fighting took place with Armenians, Scythians, and Iberians, and sometimes with the Tartar hordes that strove to make their way into the plain of Mesopotamia.

Fighting in the Caucasus

The war with the Byzantines was continued with varying success. The Arabians still hoped to win a final victory by striking

a blow at the heart of the empire; Asia Minor was repeatedly laid waste, until a brilliant victory of the emperor Leo finally set a limit to the incursions of the Moslem forces.

Hisham died in 743, leaving to his nephew and successor, Velid II., an empire that, in spite of the unsuppressed revolt in Northern Africa, was still possessed of abundant vital power, thanks to the frugal financial policy of the caliph and to his skilful management of the two great political groups. Nevertheless, the antagonisms of sects and parties were by no means reconciled. There were, indeed, men who looked upon loyalty to the caliph alone as their chief virtue, and who thus formed the nucleus of a purely dynastic party. The tribe Rabia, which for many years had assumed a position of neutrality in the quarrels between Mahadites and Yemenites, and of which the members had for that reason frequently been chosen to fill difficult diplomatic offices, served as a point of departure for further development. But the jealousy between the Arabs of Syria and the Irakans, who were under the influence of Persia, was too deeply rooted to disappear easily. Indeed, the more influence the Persians obtained, the more decided was the tendency of the Irakans to turn away from the Syrians. Finally, it became evident that the Mohammedan Iranians would eventually gain the upper hand by force of numbers alone.

Persians Come to the Front

In this lay the greatest danger to which the Omayyad dynasty was exposed. Lifted to the throne by the Syrians, the Omayyads prospered, and finally fell with their most faithful adherents. As soon as the centre of the empire was removed to Irak, the days of the Damascus caliphate came to an end. The position of the Omayyads was undermined by the natural course of events; the stagnation of Syria, the Arabian inhabitants of which had fought the battles of the caliph, and had therefore fallen off rather than increased in numbers, and the growing multitude and wealth of the Irakans, were the chief causes of the decline of the Omayyad dynasty. Already during the reign of Hisham, the continuation of Omayyad rule had become dependent on whether or not his family could win the favour of the Irakans and the other inhabitants of the eastern provinces. It is hardly necessary to say that in this case also movements which were national were a cloak of religion. However much men continued to disagree as to whether the first of the caliphs had been justly entitled to the dignity, whether Abu Bekr or Ali had been the legitimate successor of the Prophet, one thing at least was certain—all the sectarians were united in the belief that the Omayyads were usurpers. But the question who should succeed them was not to be decided so easily. The descendants of Ali, who turned up from time to time and always found supporters in Irak, seemed without exception to have inherited the incapacity and misfortunes of their paternal ancestor; the few who remained of the old comrades of the Prophet had retired to the farthest west, to Africa, and Spain. Thus it came about that a noble family of Mecca, the Abbassides, who had long been known as the hereditary custodians of the spring Zemzem, and who were more nearly related to the Prophet than the Omayyads, succeeded in becoming the leaders of the dissatisfied sects. Already during the reign of Hisham their secret designs had assumed a serious aspect; under his feeble successors they arose in open revolt. Velid II. did his best to scatter the treasures of his predecessor, leading a life of careless debauchery; but in spite of his lavishness he succeeded in winning few true friends, and aroused the hostility of the other Omayyad princes by appointing his younger son to be his successor. In the year after his accession he was dethroned and put to death by Yezid III., the champion of the Yemenite party. Disturbances immediately followed in Irak and Khorassan. Mervan, the Omayyad governor of Armenia and Azerbijan, advanced on Damascus, defeated the Yemenites, and compelled the Syrian Arabs to accept him as regent during the minority of the son of Velid II. But the power of the Omayyads was rapidly declining, and Mervan, although a man of great ability, was unable to ward off the impending destruction. Embittered by their losses, the Yemenites had become his enemies, and thus the Syrian Arabs were once more divided at the very moment when unity was most needed. Already the descendants of Ali had raised the banner of rebellion in Persia; and in Irak the Kharijites were once more in revolt. No

Beginning of the End

Rise of the Abbassides

help was to be expected from the western provinces. In Africa the Berber troubles were not yet ended; and in Spain a civil war was raging between Kaisites and Kelbites, who even in this distant land had not been able to forget their ancient tribal hatred.

The first blow was dealt in Khorassan. Here, in the year 747, Abu Muslim unfurled the black flag of the Abbassides, and drove out Nasir, the Omayyad governor. Nasir vainly endeavoured to make a stand in Western Persia, and this province also was lost by the Omayyads. In the summer of 750, on the Abbassid troops appearing before Kufa, the gates were immediately opened to the revolutionists. It had been of no advantage to Mervan that he had seized and put to death Ibrahim, the intriguing head of the Abbassid family, for the place of the latter was taken by his sons; and the movement itself, which was not in reality founded on the ambition of the Abbassides, but on the excessive hatred of Irakans and Iranians for the Syrians, pursued its course without interruption.

Last of the Omayyads

Mervan assembled a powerful army on the southern frontier of his old province, not far from Mossul; and here on the Great Zab the Abbassides encountered the superior forces of the caliph, on January 25th, 750. Even at this decisive moment the tribal hatred of the Bedouins did not lessen in intensity; just as the battle had practically been won by the Syrians, Mervan's entire Yemenite following deserted him. The result was a complete rout. After vainly seeking refuge in Damascus, the caliph escaped to Egypt, where he lost his life in a fruitless attempt to organise resistance. The banner of the Abbassides now waved triumphantly over the walls of Damascus; and thus the people of Irak finally gained the victory over their hated Syrian neighbours, the East over the West.

With the victory of the Abbassides a period of short splendour, followed by gradual decay, began for the empire of the caliphs. Many changes which had for years been developing in comparative seclusion now made their way to the light; and many features that had formerly been all-important to the welfare of the Omayyad dynasty were lost. Thus the moment has come for us to cast a backward glance over the domestic affairs of the Mohammedan empire, which arose out of nothing with such marvellous rapidity, and finally extended from the Pyrenees and the shores of the Atlantic Ocean to the Indus and the Jaxartes.

The Bedouins, who marched forth from the interior of Arabia, brought to the peoples of Western Asia a simplicity of life and a homely greatness of spirit and deed hitherto unknown to those more refined and effeminate races. In the Bedouins, the luxurious Syrians and Persians once more beheld men who looked upon mere sensual enjoyments with contempt, and were capable of fighting to the death for a principle. For the first time for many years a manly, often a heroic, spirit was infused into the history of Western Asia. The love of freedom of the Bedouins dissipated for the time being the suffocating atmosphere of gloomy, indolent despotism that arose like a poisonous mist from the rich plains of Mesopotamia and Persia. It was no lasting inheritance that Arabia presented to its neighbour countries. Never in history has a victorious race been able permanently to alter the character of the conquered territories and the spirit of their inhabitants; the conquerors themselves must finally succumb to this same character and spirit. None the less, the infusion of foreign blood is often sufficient to arouse the exhausted soil to new fruitfulness, to awaken a fresh development of national life.

Greatness of the Bedouin

Still, it would be incorrect to look upon the Arabians of the time of the Prophet as merely rude, uncultured Bedouins, however large a proportion of the population was composed of that class; the industrious agriculturists of Medina and the far-travelled merchants of Mecca stood upon a vastly higher plane of civilisation than the simple tribes of the desert. In Yemen remains were still preserved of a former period of flourishing commerce and advanced moral development; and the Arabs who led a semi-stationary existence on the frontiers of the Roman and Persian empires had not remained uninfluenced by the civilisation of their neighbours. From these various elements were recruited the populations of the towns that shortly became the centres of Mohammedan civilisation in the various provinces. The true Bedouin took but a small part in the intellectual life of these central groups; his passionate love for

Arabs of the Towns

an unfettered life on the steppes was unconquerable. No one has expressed this sentiment more convincingly than the mother of Yezid I., who prevailed upon her husband to allow her to return to her tribe in the desert: "A tent swayed by the wind is dearer to me than a lofty castle. . . . A piece of bread in the corner of my desert home tastes better than the daintiest sweetmeat. I long for my home; no palace may take its place." It is obvious that the immediate effect of the wars of conquest waged by the caliphs could not have been favourable to civilisation; but the destruction and loss of life inflicted in the countries that were first attacked and quickly subdued were comparatively insignificant, despite the fact that these were religious wars, which, as experience has shown, are the most merciless of all struggles. Mahomet's humane treatment of both Christians and Jews, the ease with which conversion to Islam could take place—through the mere repetition of a formula—as well as regard to the finances of the state, were the chief preventives of general massacres.

Love of the Desert

Commerce very soon became one of the chief sources of the power and splendour of the Mohammedan empire. The most important trade routes from east to west fell at one blow into the hands of the followers of the Prophet; not a grain of Indian spice could reach the western world without first passing the customs depôts of the Arabians; and the amounts of the tolls assessed lay entirely at the discretion of the caliph. In earlier times trade had favoured sometimes one, sometimes another route, according to circumstances; an exorbitant duty in Egypt driving commerce from the Red Sea, the route through the Persian Gulf and the valley of the Euphrates to Syria became popular. The merchant was enabled to avoid the risk of transportation of goods by sea by sending his caravans overland through Persia and Mesopotamia. It was not long before wares from the Farthest East, Chinese silk in particular, were sent through Iran, sometimes through Transoxania and across the Caspian Sea to South Russia, often by ship from China to Ceylon, there to connect with the trade routes from India to the West. The gates of commerce were in the hands of a single people; and the profits of all the customs depôts, from Basra and Alexandria to Bokhara and Multan, flowed into the imperial treasury.

Arabian Control of Commerce

With the growth of material prosperity there was a corresponding increase of intellectual activity, which, however, did not reach its zenith until the times of the Abbassides. So long as the Syrian Arabs governed the empire, the ancient Arabian spirit reigned triumphant; and, as a result, poetry and romance were more popular than science.

The army organisation had remained under the Omayyads just what it had been during the first days of the caliphate. There was practically no standing army; and the caliph's bodyguard was of no special importance until the Abbassid dynasty came into power. The conquered countries were rendered secure by means of military colonies; for, as a rule, the armies that won provinces for Islam immediately settled down in the new territories and continued in the service of the governor. The natural result of this wholesale emigration was a surprisingly rapid increase in the political significance of Arabia during the days of the first caliphs. The military organisation, however well adapted to the simple conditions of life of the Arabs, was incapable of development, and the Abbassides were compelled to form their bodyguards and standing armies out of foreign mercenaries, who finally became the rulers of the empire.

The Army Organisation

The celebrity of the Arabians as breeders of horses might easily lead to the incorrect idea that the troops of the first caliphs consisted exclusively of cavalry; in truth, however, the number of serviceable horses in Arabia was never very large, and the Arabian armies were chiefly made up of infantry, and camel riders who usually fought dismounted. The backbone of the army was indeed composed of horsemen, well armed with steel helmet and chain mail, bearing lance and sabre; but the bulk of the soldiers were, at least during the early days of the caliphate, very badly off for arms,

The surprisingly rapid development of Mohammedan sea-power—the navy was constructed with the assistance of impressed inhabitants of the Syrian coast—has already been mentioned. It was fortunate for the Christian Occident that the dreaded "Greek fire" was discovered in time. It perhaps saved Constantinople from a premature fall.

THE GREAT DAYS OF BAGDAD

IT was not love for a brave general or for the followers of the Prophet, whose claims to the caliphate were much more valid than those of the rulers in Damascus, but hatred that caused Irakans and Persians to unite against the Syrians. There was no lack of candidates for the empty throne; once more the numerous descendants of Ali stood in the front rank. They had never ceased to labour for the downfall of the Omayyad dynasty, and in all probability the bulk of the soldiers who fought for Irak and defeated Mervan at the Great Zab believed that they were also fighting for the house of Ali. But the curse that seemed to accompany this family of pretenders continued with undiminished power: into the place of the descendants of Ali, the diplomatic, crafty grandchildren of Abbas thrust themselves, and as soon as they dared to lay aside the mask, held fast with iron grasp to the longed-for office. Abbas was an uncle of the Prophet, a distinguished man, but of doubtful character, who had opposed his nephew until finally the scales turned in favour of the latter. He then enthusiastically welcomed Mahomet as the messenger of God. Through this ancestor—whose spirit had descended upon his children—the Abbassides based their claims to the caliphate, not without foundation according to Arabian law, for among the Omayyads also, not the son but the brother of a prince was looked upon as the legitimate successor. Besides, Mahomet had left behind him no male descendants, but only a daughter, the maternal ancestor of the Ali branch. The success of the one family or the other depended entirely upon the personalities of their leaders, and so far as this was concerned the Abbassides were greatly superior to the descendants of Ali, who never yet had succeeded in pursuing a definite policy.

Usurpers of the Caliphate

Abdallah Abul-Abbas, with the honourable nickname of Al-Saffah (the man of blood), perhaps invented by himself, was of all the family the man most capable of assisting the cause of the Abbassides to victory both by trickery and force. By him the new period of Mohammedan history was ushered in in a manner characteristic of the whole age. When the Hashimids, the name given to the opponents of the Omayyads and supporters of the true descendants of Mahomet, had taken possession of Kufa, Abdallah was at hand immediately and succeeded in winning over their general to his cause. The commander of the Khorassan rebels, Abu Muslim, had always been inclined to favour the Abbassides, and others, whose loyalty seemed doubtful, were put out of the way either by open force or secret assassination. Arriving in Syria, Abdallah hastened to massacre all members of the Omayyad family upon whom he could lay hands, and caused the graves of the Omayyad caliphs to be opened and their bodies mutilated. It was in vain that the followers of Ali rebelled in Irak, and the adherents of the Omayyads in Syria. When, after a reign of four years, the "man of blood" died, the entire empire, with the exception of Spain, which then broke off for all time from the rulers of the East, was in the hands of the Abbassides.

Reign of the "Man of Blood"

The true founder of the Abbassid dynasty was Abu Muslim, who had first caused Khorassan to revolt, and now governed this important province with its military colonies and warlike inhabitants—a man who, owing to the intolerance and bigotry in which he had been educated, had become a bloodthirsty fanatic. Not until shortly before his death did he appreciate and regret the evil results of his blind religious zeal, as is shown in a remarkable letter written by his hand. It was inevitable that such a powerful, independent personage as he should have awakened the suspicions of the caliph, who made several attempts to cause him to be assassinated. When, after the death of Abdallah, a struggle for the succession broke out between his brothers, Abu Muslim hastened up, and with the aid of his army decided the victory

A Fanatic Who Repented

in favour of Abu Jafar Mansur. But it was fated that Muslim should never return to his province. As soon as he felt his position to be secure enough, the new caliph lost no time in putting into practice the political tendencies which he had inherited from his father. Abu Muslim was enticed to court, and there cut down before the caliph's eyes. After his death a rebellion in favour of the descendants of Ali broke out in Khorassan, and at the same time the contemporary head of the family, Mohammed, incited the Medinans to revolt; but Arabia was no longer the land from which a new dynasty could arise. Mohammed fell in battle, and the rebellion in Khorassan was easily crushed.

Founder of the Abbassides Murdered

During Mansur's reign the effects of the fall of the Omayyads and the termination of Syrian supremacy came fully into the light. Abdallah had already chosen Irak for his residence. Mansur, however, did not choose the frontier town of Kufa to be the capital of his great empire, but built the city of Bagdad in the heart of Persia, on the banks of the Tigris, at a point where it is separated from the Euphrates by less than thirty miles. At first it had not been his intention to establish the capital here. He had desired to found a military town, or, more correctly, a fortified camp as a headquarters for the mercenaries, with whose aid he expected to hold the restless Irakans in subjection. But Mansur could not shake himself free from the latter, among whom he enjoyed great popularity. Kufa, fallen into disfavour, was deserted; and after a few years had passed the walls of Bagdad became too narrow for the inhabitants who came streaming in from all directions. On the left bank of the Tigris a new and splendid quarter of the town sprang up; in short, whether he would or not, the caliph beheld a metropolis arising about his residence, a city which seemed to be a reflection of the Nineveh and Babylon of ancient days. The attempt to found a military camp in the land which was now elevated by the Abbassid caliphs into the centre of the Mohammedan empire, was of itself sufficient to prove that a change had begun to take place in the relations between the rulers and their subjects. The Omayyads had dwelt in Damascus, in the midst of a population of pure-blooded Arabs, who were loyal to the dynasty and dangerous to the caliph only when they became divided among themselves on account of tribal prejudice and hatred. Equal loyalty was not to be expected from the inhabitants of Irak, a mixed population of which the various elements were constantly in a state of war with one another; and the Arabs of Irak were no longer to be depended upon, for they had long before become enfeebled and degenerate.

Bagdad Grew by Chance

Thus it became necessary for Mansur to substitute for the small bodyguard that had proved sufficient for the Omayyads a larger force, of which the nucleus was composed neither of Syrians nor of Irakans but of border troops from Khorassan, and Turkish mercenaries. For the first time in the history of Western Asia the barbarous sons of the north-east strutted about the streets of Bagdad in the brilliant uniform of the life-guard, and cast longing looks on the vast treasures of the "capital of the world." Tidings of the fabulous splendour of Bagdad soon reached the Turkestan steppes; and the warlike nomads, seated about their camp-fires, eagerly listened to stories of the luxury of the metropolis and the cowardice and lack of unity of its inhabitants told by their returned companions. There was no longer any need for the caliph to impress or to entice Turkish mercenaries into his service; already more than enough had volunteered.

Turks Covet Bagdad

The removal of the centre of the empire to the east was a result chiefly of the growing power of the Persians, who were now completely reconciled to the Mohammedan religion. During the days of the Omayyads it had been almost impossible for a Persian to attain a position of influence in the state; but under the Abbassides the number of Iranians occupying high offices constantly increased. With them a new spirit, foreign and hostile to the old Arabian character, became supreme at the caliph's court. The mixture of aristocracy and democracy, peculiar to the Arabs as a natural result of their nomadic manner of life, with clans and chiefs was entirely unknown to the Persians, who had always shown that a despotic form of government was better adapted to their national character. The Arabs of the old school

GRASS BOATS USED AT BAGDAD

A MOSQUE IN OLD BAGDAD

GENERAL VIEW OF THE CITY OF ORIENTAL ROMANCE AND SPLENDOUR

ANOTHER SCENE IN THE CITY ON THE BANKS OF THE TIGRIS

ON THE TIGRIS, SHOWING THE BRIDGE OF BOATS IN THE DISTANCE

BAGDAD, THE GREATEST CAPITAL OF THE MOHAMMEDAN EMPIRE

Photos Underwood & Underwood, London

had not the least comprehension for that blind idolisation of a ruler which the Persians had exhibited from the earliest times. Far from endeavouring to oppose this tendency, the Abbassides became less and less accessible to the people, and entirely gave up the immediate, almost comrade-like relation of ruler to subject in which the Omayyads had stood to their faithful Syrians.

Creation of the Vizirate

It soon became necessary for Mansur to create a new official, a vizir, who occupied the position of intermediary between the more or less deified caliph and the common people. It is obvious that the vizirate cannot well be compared with the chancellorship of a European state, inasmuch as the vizir was not the adviser of the caliph, but his agent in matters pertaining to external affairs. His duty was merely to execute the commands of his master, whose profound wisdom and infallible judgment decided upon all questions of administration, but who was far too august to take a personal share in the actual details of administration. Thus the vizirate was one of those positions of which the significance depended entirely upon the character of the incumbent, or of the prince whom he served. Some vizirs were mere lay figures ; others were friends and advisers of the sovereign ; in some cases, indeed, they were the true rulers of the nation, and in their hands the caliphs were little more than puppets.

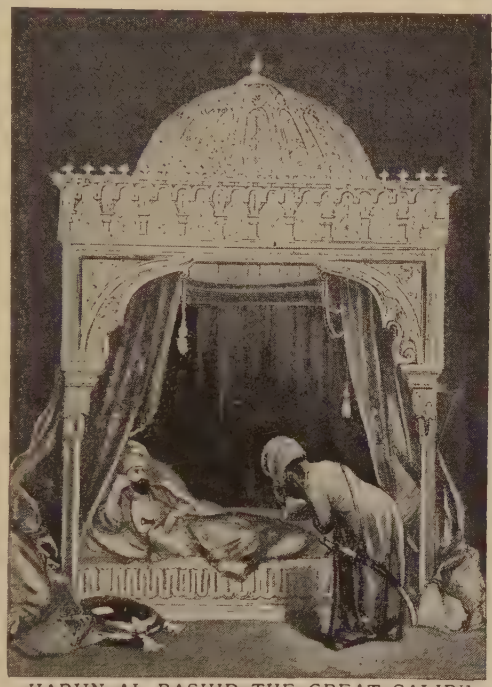
Although the Abbassides were willing to accede to the demands of the Iranian spirit in the matter of the vizirate, it was necessary for them to exercise the utmost caution in regard to another trait of Persian character somewhat similar to that which has already been described. The movement which enabled the Abbassides to place themselves at the head of the Mohammedan empire was in the main a result of Persian activity, and had for its immediate object nothing further than the destruction of the Omayyad dynasty in order that the true heirs and descendants of Mahomet might occupy the throne. It is obvious, however, that the Abbassides attained their position of supremacy owing rather to their superior diplomacy and cunning than to a general recognition of their rights. Inflamed with anger, but not in the least discouraged, the descendants of Ali still awaited an opportunity for putting forth their claims. The Abbassides themselves knew only too well that the grandchildren of the deified son-in-law and nephew of the Prophet possessed in reality far more adherents among the inhabitants of the empire than did the house of Abbas ; and even had they not realised it, the revolts that were constantly breaking out in favour of the Ali branch would soon have taught them the obvious truth. However much the Abbassides were indebted to the various sectarians who assisted them to the caliphate, and however enthusiastic they may have been as Shiites during the years preceding their elevation to the throne, upon attaining the position of supremacy they were obliged to renounce their sect and to ingratiate themselves with the orthodox party, to which the bulk of the Arabian population belonged. The first step taken in this direction by the caliph Mansur may not have been easy ; in fact, its immediate effect was to endanger his throne. But the permanent result of an understanding between the despotic monarchy and the State Church could not have been otherwise than beneficial to the future of the dynasty. Their position in regard to the orthodox party was of the highest importance to the Abbassides. As caliphs they were not only the rulers of a vast empire, but also the spiritual guides of all Mohammedans, defenders of the faith as well as of the realm. During the time of the Omayyads the two offices had united into one ; in all regions through which the new doctrines were disseminated the temporal supremacy of the caliph was also recognised. Although the Abbassides soon perceived that they would not be able to retain their double position in all parts of their exceptionally extensive empire, they recognised at the same time that the religious influence which they possessed was also a means for preserving the state from dissolution, and that at least their spiritual authority could be maintained in regions where the power of their arms was no longer feared. On the other hand, dissenters had the choice either of entirely severing their connection with Bagdad through the election of a new caliph, or of taking a middle course by refusing to recognise the temporal supremacy of the caliphate while subjecting themselves to its spiritual authority. Thus, under these conditions, it must have been

Policy of Ali's Descendants

Caliphs Heads of the Church

a matter of great importance for the Abbassides to win the friendship of the orthodox party as well as of the Arabian tribes, which, notwithstanding all removals of the centre of power, still retained the political leadership of the Mohammedan world.

Nevertheless, in spite of Mansur's wise policy, the unity of the empire was not preserved entire during his reign. At the same time that the centre of the empire was transferred to the east, Spain, the farthest western province, was lost to the caliphs; not only the temporal but the spiritual bonds of connection were completely severed. It was in vain that Abdallah, "the man of blood," had endeavoured to annihilate the Omayyad family. A member of the fallen house, Abd ur Rahman, escaped to Africa after manifold adventures, and finally reached Spain, where after long struggles between Kaisites and Kelbites, the Kaisite leader, Yusuf, had obtained control of the government and driven out the Abbassid emissaries. Shortly after his landing, Abd ur Rahman succeeded in deposing Yusuf with the assistance of the Kelbites. He then established an independent government, and, as a descendant of the unjustly deposed Omayyad dynasty, took upon himself the title of caliph, in 756.



HARUN AL RASHID THE GREAT CALIPH
Harun al Rashid, "the Just," came to the throne in 786 A.D. in the golden days of the Mohammedan civilisation, and before the decay of Bagdad and the caliphate.

All Mansur's attempts to destroy his rival were without effect. In general, his reign was so disturbed at home by revolts of the followers of Ali and other parties that foreign undertakings were out of the question. The caliph was forced to content himself with maintaining the frontiers of the empire, here and there perhaps succeeding in advancing them a trifle. At all events, Mansur was successful in rendering secure the throne of the Abbassides. It may have been that a cold, calculating, faithless character such as his was needed at this time with the assistance of the Irakans to maintain the supremacy of the Abbassides.

The golden age of the Abbasside dynasty did not begin until after the death of Mansur, in 775, when his son Mahdi succeeded to the caliphate—much against the will of his uncle, who, as brother of the late caliph, had first claim to the throne according to Arabian custom. But the constantly recurring inclination of reigning caliphs to abrogate the usual form of succession in favour of their own descendants in this case led to no serious conflict. Mahdi was the very opposite of his father both in character and disposition, but none the less just such a ruler as the Irakans most valued. Under his government Bagdad began to develop into the city with which we have become acquainted through legend and tale as the most brilliant and joyful capital of the world, and at the same time the centre of Eastern literature and science.

That in spite of Mahdi's mild rule there was no peace in Irak, and that the old struggles of sects and parties broke out anew, now here, now there, is self-evident from the character of the people. In like manner the warlike inhabitants of Khorassan, although they had assisted the Abbassides to the throne, nevertheless looked upon the departure of the latter from the Shiite doctrines with great displeasure. The tremendous revolt headed by the prophet Al Mukanna (the Veiled One) in Transoxania was not completely quelled until the year 780. Just as if there were not enough sects and parties already in existence, Arabian revolutionaries arose in Irak and preached a republican form of Mohammedanism.

Their principles may perhaps be considered to be the sharpest protest put forth by the Arabian national spirit against the Iranian despotism of the Abbassides. Among the Persians the old communism of the followers of Mazdak, who had embittered the life of the last of the Sassanidæ, appeared once more in a Mohammedan garb. The Iranian adherents of Ali finally arrived at the summit of absurdity in the deification of their idol. They had ever been ready to recognise the Abbassid caliphs also as divine beings on account of their connection with the Prophet, until the departure of the Abbassides from the orthodox faith transformed this overwhelming veneration into hatred. There is no doubt that the majority of the sects emanated from the Persians, and that they were, in a way, the outward evidences of the severe spiritual conflict occasioned by the conversion of the Iranians to Mohammedanism and the blending of the Persian and Arabian conceptions of life. Acquaintance with the religions of India, especially with the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, which found many converts in Khorassan, contributed not a little to the general confusion.

TOMB OF HARUN'S QUEEN
A striking monument on the plains, near Bagdad, to Zobiede, queen of Harun al Rashid.

In spite of the domestic disturbances, Mahdi was able to undertake several successful expeditions against the Byzantines, without, however, firmly establishing his position in Asia Minor. An army to invade Spain was annihilated by the Omayyad caliph. The latter had already formed a plan of attacking Syria in order to arouse the old followers of his house to battle with the Abbassides, when, fortunately for Mahdi, Charlemagne began his wars against the Moors in Spain.

Rule of the Caliph's Wife

During the last years of his life the policy of Mahdi was guided almost entirely by his ambitious wife Khizuran, who had also managed to cause her sons Musa and Harun to be named his successors. But when, in the year 785, Musa ascended the throne, taking the title of Hadi, her ambition encountered a sudden check, since he advised her with great emphasis to busy herself with the duties of a woman, and to spend more of her time reading the Koran. However, Hadi's attempt to exclude her favourite Harun from the succession in favour of his own children led to his assassination in the next year.

Harun al Rashid, the Just

Harun al Rashid came to the throne without opposition, reigning from 786–809. He had always enjoyed great popularity, his generosity and kindliness contributing no less to the affection in which he was held by his subjects than the warlike deeds he had performed during his father's lifetime against the Byzantines. Still, he had inherited the evil characteristics of his Abbassid ancestors in full measure, showing himself on more than one occasion to be both treacherous and cruel. The high praise which tradition has accorded to his celebrated justness, perpetuated in his surname Al Rashid, "the Upright," must be accepted with restrictions. However, he has now become a favourite hero of legend; and Bagdad, his residence, which attained its greatest prosperity during his days, now stands for that epitome of fabulous splendour which the traveller in the Orient often seeks but never finds. Harun's name is connected the more closely with Bagdad for the reason that its decay set in almost immediately after his death, and with the magnificence of the city the glory of the caliphate itself became less and less, until finally it too vanished. On the whole, however, it may be said that the period of Harun's reign was one of domestic prosperity and of successful foreign wars. The ruinous effects of the Abbassid system of government were not felt to any great extent during his lifetime. But complete domestic tranquillity was not to be thought of. It was impossble for the Irakan and Persian sects to renounce their favourite pastime of quarrelling; again and again they sought to take up arms, and in Syria, Kelbites and Kaisites fell upon one another with undiminished fury. The ever-restless inhabitants of Khorassan were no less inclined to revolt now than they had

always been. In Africa things came to such a pass that the authority of the caliph was no longer recognised in the western provinces; and a dynasty of the house of Ali arose, refusing to be subject either to the temporal or to the spiritual influence of the Abbassides.

Destruction of the Barmecides

The campaigns of Harun against the Byzantines, although temporarily successful, were attended by no permanent results. Constantinople was harassed to the uttermost by the Bulgarians, and repulsed the armies of the caliph with the greatest difficulty; more than once the city was compelled to pay tribute to Harun. The expeditions often led by Harun himself into Asia Minor were little more than predatory raids, for the empire of the caliph was already too decayed and tattered to permit of the permanent acquisition and Mohammedanising of new provinces; in fact, soon after Harun's death the Byzantines themselves took the offensive. The most noteworthy event of Harun's life was the destruction of the Barmecides. Had it been only the murder of over-ambitious generals or governors, or merely one of the scenes of carnage that occur in endless succession throughout the history of Oriental empires, the incident would scarcely be worthy of notice. But in reality the deed itself, together with the events that led up to it, may be taken as a characteristic prelude to later conditions; through it the authority of the office of mayor of the palace, which was in later times called into existence by the weakening despotism as an executive and support, was for the time being abolished. Already, under the predecessors of Harun, the Barmecide family had attained to great authority; and its influence became almost unlimited when one of its members, Yahya, by timely interference succeeded in securing the throne for Harun on the death of Hadi. And when Jafar, a son of Yahya, obtained as a result of his wisdom and charm of personality the highest favour of the caliph, and held the office of vizir with almost boundless power it seemed indeed as if a new ruling house had arisen with the Abbassides. Already the whims of Jafar were looked upon as of greater importance than those of the caliph; already measureless wealth had fallen to the share of the favoured family; when, in 803, a sudden catastrophe destroyed its hopes of further distinction and influence, and at the same time led to the annihilation of the all-powerful favourite. Had it been insight into the threatening danger that led Harun to take extreme measures much might be said in his defence; but it was in reality nothing more than an ordinary harem affair through which Jafar and his family came to their ruin. The affair was certainly not greatly to the credit of the caliph, and the deed awakened extreme dissatisfaction among the people of Bagdad. Grumbling and embittered, the ageing Harun left the city, and resided during the last years of his life in Rakka in Mesopotamia, assiduously but vainly engaged in an attempt to obviate later quarrels as to the succession.

Underwood & Underwood

HARUN AL RASHID'S PALACE

All that remains of the splendid palace of the Great and Just Caliph at his ancient capital of Bagdad.

During the reign of Harun the Abbassid empire reached the zenith of its external power and domestic culture. The foundations of prosperity were, on the whole, the same as they had been during the Omayyad period, but internal conditions had changed. The removal of the centre of the empire from Damascus to Bagdad exerted a tremendous influence on the life and morals of the Mohammedan races. Transported from the dry, strong desert air of Damascus and placed in the hot, damp plain of Irak, the civilisation of the caliphate developed more rapidly, but also more artificially, under the new conditions.

Inasmuch as the residence of the caliph was removed to the richest and most

densely-populated province of the empire, it followed that the caliphate itself gained new lustre, and at the same time became further estranged from its old Arabian simplicity. In order that the caliph might maintain the splendour and dignity of his supreme position among the countless rich merchants of Bagdad, in the midst of a population given over to pretension and display, it became necessary for him to arrange his court in a manner entirely different from that which had previously been the custom under the majority of the Omayyad rulers. Magnificent palaces, bridges, mosques, artistically laid out gardens, water conduits, and public fountains aroused the wonder of his subjects no less than did the splendour of the arms and uniforms displayed by caliph and court on holidays, or the plenitude of treasures accumulated in the palace of the ruler, and the lavish way in which money was freely distributed to beggars and the unemployed. A luxurious spirit of good cheer pervaded the entire city; and, as once in the Rome of the emperors, not only the gold of the provinces, but also the native products of the various quarters of the globe were brought by commerce to the markets of Bagdad, where the silks of China and the furs of Siberia were heaped together with the spices of India and Arabia and the coloured leather wares of Cordova. At that time Bagdad was the centre of the world's commercial routes, which led from China to the West, from India to Byzantium and to Western Europe.

Splendour of Bagdad's Court

Although there were still dangers and difficulties to be overcome, it was a golden age of commerce; the majority of the roads were in excellent condition, provided with milestones and caravanseries, and protected by garrisons in the less-frequented regions. The great annual pilgrimages to Mecca, which united devotion and trade in a most profitable manner, contributed not a little to the increase of traffic, although the Arab merchant, as a rule, was quick enough to follow in the track of the warlike Mohammedan propaganda, sometimes indeed preceding it and appearing in the rôle both of missionary and trader. The onset of the religious wars had thrown down all the barriers which had previously encircled the lands of Western Asia like Chinese walls; the Mohammedan merchant now found in all regions countrymen and tribal relatives who were ready to give him shelter and protection and all the assistance in their power.

The Golden Age of Commerce

Nor was the sea closed to him. Commerce on the Indian Ocean had long been in the hands of the Arabians, who penetrated as far as the Southern Chinese ports, and through their superior industry had practically ruined the once flourishing shipping trade of China. In the Eastern Mediterranean the warships of the caliph had forced back the Byzantines; in the year 826 the conquest of Crete provided Mohammedan commerce and piracy with a base that for more than a hundred years defied every attack of the Eastern Roman emperors.

The desert was as little an obstacle as the sea to the Mohammedan merchant, who was well acquainted with its dangers, and knew by what means they could be overcome. Northern Africa had scarcely been conquered before commerce with the Sudan, hitherto merely a small, unprofitable trade, began to flourish; vast caravans traversed the desert of Sahara and brought the products of Arabian, Persian, and Egyptian industry to the blacks, returning home with gold-dust, ostrich feathers, and negro slaves. In all regions into which the Arab merchant penetrated arose those small settlements and colonies which even to-day exist on the Eastern African coast as precursors of Arabian civilisation and Mohammedanism.

Trade in the Desert

The intellectual movement that was brought about through the extension of trade, and the consequent furtherance of the unity of the empire, were of still greater importance, still more wide-reaching in their results. Already under the Omayyads this process had begun, but not until the caliphate had been removed to Irak, where there was so great an intermingling of races, did it attain to its full extent.

Even before the invasion of the Arabs the population of Irak had been a remarkable mixture. The ancient Babylonian race still formed the nucleus of the stationary inhabitants and the peasant class; in the cities there was a large amount of Greek blood, and finally Semites had immigrated in such numbers that during the period of the Sassanidæ bands of Jews had succeeded in keeping the land in a state of terror for months at a time. The long-

A MOHAMMEDAN TRADING CARAVAN AND PILGRIMAGE FROM CAIRO TO MECCA
The desert was as little an obstacle as the sea to the Mohammedan merchant, and vast caravans traversed the deserts, while the great annual pilgrimages to Mecca united devotion and trade in a most profitable manner.

continued supremacy of the Parthians and the Sassanidæ had very naturally led to an extensive immigration of Iranians, who had now—also in an ethnographic sense—become the leading race, as was abundantly proved by the close connection in which Irakans and Persians appeared in later times, especially in the various revolts and rebellions.

It has already been described how the Arabians, who had dwelt in the steppe regions since the earliest times, destroyed the Iranian power at the beginning of the Mohammedan movement, increased in numbers, and founded a new state. With the establishment of the Islamite world-empire the way was opened for an unlimited blending of races; and when Bagdad became the centre of the empire as well as of commerce there was not a race-element of the Arabian empire and its bordering lands unrepresented, no civilisation that had not exerted its influence on the medley of peoples in the world-city. Here, on a soil that had known culture from the earliest ages, arts and sciences could not fail to flourish; and for a time Bagdad was the centre of learning of the world of its day. Scholars and poets needed but the invitation of such a sovereign as Harun to flock to his court from all quarters of the empire.

In view of the present condition of Islam and the intellectual paralysis into which its followers have fallen, it is difficult to believe that such a broad and free scientific and literary life really existed during the first period of the Abbassides. But convention had not yet imposed the practically exclusive and consequently sterilising study of the Koran on all scholars. During the age of the Abbassides the Koran had not yet become the absolute guide of life; its laws were not yet so infallible, its believers not yet so fanatically credulous as they are to-day. Without scruple the caliph and his confidants gave themselves over to the full enjoyment of wine, that was so hateful to the Prophet, scarcely even troubling

to veil their scandalous conduct from the public eye. With the same freedom Harun patronised scholars and philosophers whose views would have made the hair of every orthodox Moslem stand on end. Nor could he very well have done otherwise. Irak had ever been the classic ground of sects. The caliph would have been compelled to annihilate at least two-thirds of his most intellectual subjects had he desired the orthodox belief to obtain full play. Moreover, the fact that the Abbassides had originally been adherents of the Shiite heresy, and were always suspected of a relapse, was as well known in Bagdad as elsewhere. It would not have been advisable to provoke the sectarians too much; for, as it was, they were constantly on the verge of revolt.

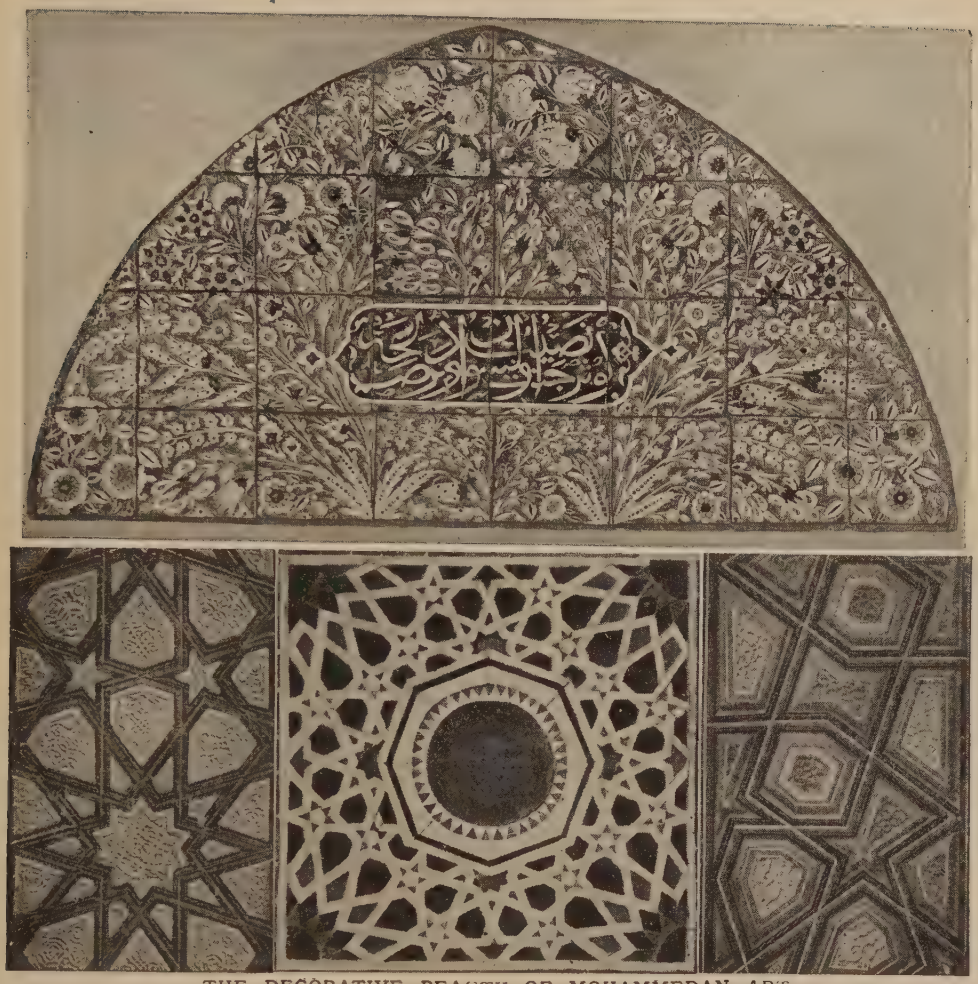
Only against the communists—the Zendikists—were laws enacted, and a formal court of inquisition established for the destruction of these stragglers of the old Mazdakite persuasion. Through this the caliph ensured himself the applause of the wealthy classes, who at this time, as always, were far more apprehensive of the evil effects of a raid on their purses than of any number of heretical attacks on the sacred paragraphs of the Koran.

However much economic development was impeded by the constant tumult and rebellions caused by the various sects, their existence was nevertheless of the greatest advantage to intellectual progress, owing to the large degree of tolerance which the caliph was obliged to exhibit on their account. Every new idea, however daring it might be, could hope to find approbation and adherents, not only among the well-educated higher classes of Bagdad, but even among the people and at court. Doubters and sceptics were permitted publicly to expound their views by the side of the unyielding orthodox; and the numerous Christians and Jews took an active part in the labour of civilisation—according to their own methods.

THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE ARABS
A beautiful Arabian fountain in Jerusalem.

In most cases, however, the various sects and religions were nothing more than the intellectual expression of the differences of race, which indeed were the true foundation of the rapid development of Irakan civilisation. The characteristics of the different peoples who came together in Bagdad supplemented each other in a marvellous way: the sharp, somewhat matter-of-fact intellect of the Arabs became united at a most favourable moment with the unbridled creative imagination of the Iranian, and conceptions of the harmony of early Greek life, as well as of the mystic depths of Hindu thought, were awakened by the representatives of these two opposite poles of Aryan culture.

Hellenism, represented by the immortal works of its greatest age, was the basis of all scientific activity; and the writings of Aristotle, at a time when they were forgotten in Western Europe, became the oracle of the Mohammedan world. Nevertheless the products of Greek intellectual life did not achieve popularity as rapidly as one might have expected. Direct translations of Greek texts were not made until the reign of the caliph Mamun (813–833); until this time Persian translations as old as the



THE DECORATIVE BEAUTY OF MOHAMMEDAN ART

The preference for a superfluity of detailed ornament shown in Mohammedan art, of which some fine examples are given here, is a result of Mahomet's injunction against pictures and images, which forced the artists to express themselves in decoration. The panel of tiles at the top is from a Damascus mosque. Below, in the middle, is shown an Arabian marble mosaic, while on each side is a carved arabesque from a Cairo pulpit door.

days of the Sassanidæ had been found sufficient for all purposes. Thus, in this respect, at least, the period of Harun al Rashid was not the highest point of development.

The chief branches of learning patronised by the caliph were naturally such as were especially congenial to the Arabian spirit—that is to say, those requiring intellectual penetration rather than powers of invention; for example, philology and grammar, logic and rhetoric, religious dogmatics and jurisprudence. It is scarcely necessary to mention that mathematics also were extremely popular among the Arabs. Another peculiarity of the Arabs, their delight in tribal traditions and in endless genealogies of families, required only the influence of Greek models in order to become transformed into history; knowledge of geography also developed as a result of historical investigation as well as of the great commercial activity of the period. It is characteristic that of these two branches of science the latter developed more freely and in greater tranquillity; history was never able to emancipate itself from the bonds of partiality for particular princes and sects. Chemistry was rarely pursued independently for its own sake, being looked upon for the most part as a means for the artificial production of gold; nevertheless, some of the best work of the period was done by the Arabians in this branch of natural science. Finally, medicine,

furthered by the translation of Greek handbooks, attained perhaps not to a completely free development, but at least to a very advanced state of progress.

Height of Arabian Culture

The idea that attention should not be devoted exclusively to a single branch of knowledge, but that men should endeavour to obtain a more general education through the study of several sciences, was not unknown to the Mohammedan world of the eighth and ninth centuries. Already during the reign of Mansur a school had been established in Bagdad in which the Arabian language, the art of poetry and astronomy were taught. The effort to attain distinction in science on the foundation of an all-round intellectual training was not confined to Bagdad alone. Focuses of learning arose at the courts of governors and in the prosperous commercial centres; the activity of trade in material goods aided the exchange of intellectual products. A large number of the scholars and writers of the day were in the habit of wandering from city to city, from court to court; the world was open to them, and they were always certain of being received everywhere with enthusiasm. Not until last century did the Western world, as a result of vastly improved methods of communication, acquire a unity analogous to that of the Arabian empire under the Abbassides; nevertheless, the possession of a universally understood written and spoken language rendered the culture of the Abbassid state in many ways superior to that of modern Europe.

Sculpture and Painting Forbidden

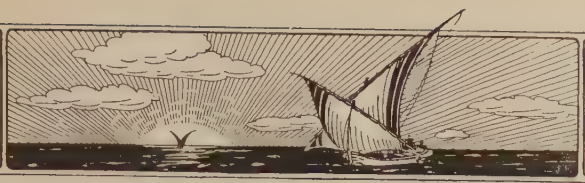
Among the arts music was zealously cultivated, although none of the great Mohammedan races have attained to more than mediocrity in a province that seems to be the peculiar property of the Western Aryans. Whatever talent existed for the plastic arts was restricted, in view of the mandate of Mahomet forbidding pictures and images, to architecture and to the various handicrafts; and perhaps the latter were pursued only the more industriously since the way was closed to the highest endeavours of sculptor or painter. The preference for a superfluity of detailed ornament is one of the results of this command of the Prophet—an injunction that could have been uttered only by a typical representative of the matter-of-fact, logical, unimaginative Arabian race.

Literature alone was permitted to develop in complete freedom in the empire of the caliphs, and even that was unhampered only in so far as the airy creations of poetic genius could not easily be gagged and checked; satire still continued to be one of the most dreaded weapons employed in the struggle of parties and sects. But the old unconstrained spirit of Arabian poetry had ceased to exist at the time of Harun, although during his reign verse-writing had become a mania and the poet an indispensable court functionary.

Bagdad a Reflection of Babylon

In spite of many weaknesses, the civilisation of the Mohammedans during the caliphate—at a period when Europe was first beginning to recover from the general destruction that followed the Teutonic migrations—cannot be looked upon as other than the guardian of the traditions of better days. It was due to Moslem culture alone that the progress of civilisation was not wholly interrupted at a time when the energy of the Southern European nations had slackened and the northern barbarians awkwardly and with difficulty, although with fresh powers, were beginning to restore the institutions which they themselves had destroyed but a few years before. The prosperity of Bagdad was a fleeting but by no means unworthy reflection of those earlier days, when for centuries the only civilisation of the world was that which flourished on the banks of the Euphrates and the Tigris.

The culture of the Arabians was not without its influence on Europe; the young nations of the Middle Ages did not remain long unacquainted with the splendour and polish of the caliph's empire. It was the conquest of the Pyrenean Peninsula that led to a close relationship between the most powerful rulers of the West, the Frankish kings, and the Abbassides. Inasmuch as the Omayyad caliphs in Spain were the rivals of the Abbassid princes in Bagdad, it was natural that the Christian states of Europe should become the allies of the latter. Embassies were exchanged as early as the time of Pepin. The negotiations of Charlemagne with Harun al Rashid made an especially deep impression on the Occidental world, although followed by no practical results.



THE PASSING OF BAGDAD
AND PERSIA IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES

HARUN may have foreseen that the loss of Spain was a sure sign of approaching decay; and it was perhaps with a conscious intention of making the best of an unavoidable situation that shortly before his death, in 809 A.D. he resolved to divide the temporal power of the empire among his three sons, Emin, Mamun, and Kasim, placing the ecclesiastical sovereignty, however, in the hands of the eldest alone, thus to gird the whole with an indivisible spiritual bond. In accordance with this plan, Emin was promised the caliphate, together with the provinces of Irak, Southern Syria, Arabia, and Africa; Mamun, the entire east; and Kasim, Mesopotamia and Northern Syria. But almost immediately after Harun's death, at Tus during an expedition to Khorassan, his plans regarding Emin were rendered abortive, for the latter hastened back to Bagdad at the head of the army and laid claim to absolute dominion over the whole empire.

Struggle of the Brothers

His brother Mamun, at first in secrecy, later openly, renounced allegiance to him, and took up a strong position in Khorassan. In truth, behind this apparently dynastic struggle were concealed the racial antipathies which sooner or later were to destroy the unity of the Mohammedan empire. Emin's vizir, who represented the power behind the throne, was a champion of the orthodox Arabian party; Mamun's vizir was a Persian, and a believer in the mystical doctrines of the Shiites.

The result of the struggle was apparent from the very beginning. As an Abbasside, Emin could look for no assistance from the Syrians; the latter indeed, revolted on their own account. Thus he found support only in the untrustworthy Irakans and in the state troops, unfortunately chiefly composed of mercenary Khorassanians and Turks, who already, by reason of their increasing consciousness of independence, were more of a danger to him than to his enemies. Defeated by Tahir, Mamun's general, they returned to Bagdad full of resentment, and it was only by an increase in pay that they could be induced to remain faithful to the cause of Emin; but in the long run these undisciplined guards proved as little able as the cowardly Irakans to withstand the advance of the warlike inhabitants of Khorassan. After a war that lasted four years Emin was finally besieged in his capital and reduced to the utmost straits by Mamun's Persian generals, Tahir and Hortuma. He finally surrendered to the latter, but before he could be brought to a place of safety was attacked and killed by the command of Tahir in 813.

Unreliability of the Mercenaries

In the meantime Mamun had remained quietly in Merv, and even now showed no intention of marching to Bagdad, however much his presence was needed there. Indeed, the general state of confusion seemed to have increased rather than diminished on the death of Emin. The Arabian party still continued to offer a stubborn resistance to the Khorassanians, and the followers of Ali once more endeavoured to make good their claims by taking possession of Kufa and Mecca. Finally, the inhabitants of Bagdad revolted, embittered because of the losses sustained by trade owing to the absence of the court.

At length, on the advice of Fazl, Mamun made a tardy attempt to restore order through an alliance of the Abbassides with the descendants of Ali, and married his daughter to one of the latter, whom he named as his successor. But their mutual hatred remained deeply rooted in both parties; the Abbassid family, greatly offended at the elevation of one of their most deadly enemies, chose another of their race to be caliph in place of Mamun. The latter finally hastened to Bagdad and experienced little difficulty in conquering the rebels, but was compelled to give up

Revolt and Rebellion

his attempt to reconcile the two families; the green banner of the Ali family, which had already waved triumphantly at the head of his army, was once more replaced by the black flag of the Abbassides. Thus Mamun freed himself from his Persian advisers, and at the same time won back the confidence of the Irakans, only again to give free rein to his preference for the Persians. But the national differences and antagonisms had already become too acute to be smothered by any double-dealing on the part of the caliph. The inhabitants of Khorassan were loyal to Mamun so long as he remained in their midst and adhered to the principles of the Shiites; but after his return to Bagdad they lost all interest in him. Tahir, to whom was given the control of Khorassan, his native province, succeeded without difficulty in establishing an almost independent government. During the same period an insurrection led by Babek, the sectarian, broke out in Northern Persia; it was fundamentally a reaction of the Iranians against the Arabians and the orthodox, and doubly dangerous for the reason that Babek succeeded in forming an alliance with Byzantium.

Caliph's Double-dealing

All the while that the eastern provinces were breaking away from the empire, the state of affairs in the west had gone from bad to worse. Harun al Rashid himself had been able to retain only a nominal supremacy over the northern coast of Africa, and had been powerless to prevent the governor of Tunis, Ibrahim ibn al Aglab, from becoming practically independent and establishing the hereditary monarchy of the Aglabites in 800. Even earlier, in the year 790, a dynasty of the descendants of Ali, the Edrisites, had arisen in Morocco. A revolt now followed in Egypt; and it was with the utmost difficulty that Mamun succeeded, by personal interference, in temporarily restoring order. The incipient decay of the empire of the caliphs had no immediate ill effects on the diffusion of Mohammedanism, for the Aglabites conquered Sicily during the reign of Mamun, and at about the same time Crete fell into the hands of Andalusian corsairs. After the separation from the caliphate, Spain may be said to have arrived at the summit of her prosperity under the Omayyads.

Revolts in Africa and Egypt

The reign of Mamun was, on the whole, favourable to the development of Mohammedan civilisation. An admirer of the progressive doctrines of the Shiites, he was also interested in the serious discussion of scientific questions; and owing to his influence a large number of Greek works were translated into Arabic. He seems especially to have valued the earlier literature of Persia.

Although Mamun was not lacking in the evil traits of character peculiar to his family, he was nevertheless beyond doubt intellectually the ablest of the Abbassides, and in religion as well as in science the champion of a movement that sought to open up the road to free development. His endeavours were frustrated, owing to the opposition of the old believers, whose views could not be brought into harmony with the Persian-Shiite conception of life, as well as to the profound antagonism that ever exists between despotism and independent investigation. From the time of Mamun the spiritual power as well as the temporal power of the caliphate steadily decreased.

Decay of the Empire

After Mamun's death, in 833, Mutassim, his successor, made a despairing attempt to keep his unruly subjects in check by means of an army of mercenaries of foreign extraction, in spite of the fact that on his accession he had only with the greatest difficulty succeeded in crushing a military revolt. The number of mercenaries was gradually increased to 70,000. The caliph soon felt his position in Bagdad to be no longer secure, and removed his residence to Samarra, a few hours north of Bagdad; the foundations of the empire became weaker and weaker.

The further history of the decline of the Mohammedan empire was little more than a barren, monotonous succession of sectarian revolts, military rebellions, and ecclesiastical quarrels, interspersed with vain attempts to restore order on the part of the caliphs.

The latter became more and more the creatures of their vizirs; province after province awakened to independent life, and one governor after another founded a new hereditary dynasty; though an occasional caliph succeeded in turning the tide of temporal and spiritual power in his own favour, winning back something that had been lost, or in temporarily checking the course of decay.

In regard to this struggle of the caliphs against fate it was significant that Mutavakkil (847-861) forsook the doctrines of the Shiites, turned from the followers of Ali, and joined forces with the orthodox party, the Sunnites, as they were then called. The Sunna, or supplement to the Koran, composed of authentic traditions, was compiled during the first half of the ninth century, and soon became the palladium of the orthodox believers; it was entirely discredited by the Shiites, whose allegorical mystic interpretation of the sacred book was naturally not to be brought into harmony with the belief of the orthodox. In favouring the orthodox party, Mutavakkil returned to the original policy of the Abassides; indeed, he went further, inasmuch as he revived the severe measures of Omar against the Jews and Christians. With this change of religious front was naturally combined an attempt once more to reign with the assistance of the Arabs and to dispense with the services of the mercenaries.

THE CALIPH MUTAVAKKIL
Who ruled during the last years of Bagdad, forsook the intellectual party and became orthodox, attempting to reign without the assistance of the Turks.

But the unfortunate division of the Arabian people into two parties again led to disastrous results; the Yemenites preferred to join forces with the Persians, and the Kaisites with the Turks, rather than work together for the re-establishment of the lost influence of their race. Thus the power of the mercenaries constantly increased; and the Turks became only the more dangerous as the empire diminished in area and in wealth.

Nevertheless, a few years of prosperity were still left to the empire. During the reign of Mutamid (870-892), whose office was in reality administered by his more capable brother Muvaffak, the caliphate once more returned to power and regained several of the lost provinces. This advance in general welfare continued until the death of the caliph Muktafi, in 908, when a new period of confusion set in. Already at that time events of greater importance took place in the various independent or semi-independent provinces than in the capital of the empire. It finally became apparent that the strength of the central government could be increased only through an alliance with, or, indeed, through subjection to, a foreign power. The desire for independence developed earliest in Persia. Gradually the east became wholly independent, or, at the most, nominally recognised the spiritual supremacy of the caliph. In the year 876 affairs had already come to such a pass that the Saffaride Yakub ibn Laith made war on the caliph and advanced to within a few miles of Bagdad. The bravery, however, of the more loyal of the Samanides ensured, at least for the time being, the safety of the capital.

Last Years of the Empire

The East Becomes Independent

At the same time that the Saffarides were menacing Bagdad the whole of Egypt was in uproar. Here the governor Ahmed ibn Tulun had declared his independence; and to all appearance it seemed that the dynasty of the Tulunides would become a permanent institution. Tulun, whom we must credit with a thorough knowledge of the political situation, took possession of Syria and the line of the Euphrates; in fact, he even made an attempt to extend his influence over the caliph himself, in order to procure for his followers the most important positions at court, and thus indirectly to become the head of the empire. But his plans were defeated by the interference of Muvaffak. After Ahmed's death Syria was regained, and in the year 904 the Abbassides managed once more to take possession of Egypt, which they retained until the appearance of the Fatemides.

The authority of the caliph was badly shaken, even in the provinces which were situated in the immediate neighbourhood of the capital. The democratic-religious party of the Kharijites, who displayed an almost indestructible vitality, established an independent state in Northern Mesopotamia, where the Arabian element preponderated, and where the Abbassides had never been popular, with Mossul as its centre. When, in the year 894, the caliph succeeded in becoming to a certain degree master of these rebels, it was only

to be confronted by a new danger: the family of the Hamdanides were given the governorship of Mesopotamia, and managed not only to secure the dignity as a hereditary right, but took possession of a portion of Northern Syria in addition. It was fortunate for the caliphs that the Hamdanides did not immediately strive for absolute independence, but sought to avoid a complete break with the central power, to which in time of necessity they were obliged to turn for assistance, inasmuch as their province was situated on the frontier, and constantly exposed to the attacks of the Byzantines. In spite of all, however, hostilities twice—in 913 and again in 935—arose between the Hamdanides and the caliphs.

Hamdanide Dynasty in Mossul

The Hamdanides arrived at their period of greatest prosperity during the second half of the tenth century, when Saif ed-Dauleh (Sword of the Empire) occupied Haleb and made war on the Byzantines, while his brother Hasan, or Nasir ed-Dauleh, resided in Mossul. Saif was an ideal Arab—or Saracen, as the Christians now began to call the Moslems—a man of great courage and munificence, possessed of considerable poetic gifts, an enthusiastic patron of the arts and sciences, but also inspired by the ardent desire for power, and capable of ruthless barbarity. The Arabians of Syria, who looked upon the Irakans and their caliph with the utmost contempt, found in him a new champion and guide. But the Hamdanides were unable permanently to maintain their precarious position between Byzantines, Irakans, and the Fatemides, who were now steadily advancing from the south.

The Fatemide conquest of Egypt, which took place during the course of the tenth century, was only a part, although perhaps the most important part, of a great religious-political sectarian movement that spread rapidly during these times of confusion, in opposition to the caliphs, who had once more joined the orthodox party. The Ismailians, a sect named after a great-grandson of Ali, were in reality nothing more than a branch of the Shiitic group, and, like the Shiites, arose among the Persian Mohammedans. The Ismailians consciously endeavoured, through the blending of Islamite, Zoroastrian, and Christian doctrines to create a new world-religion, and in a certain measure strove to revive the great work of Manes; thus they were ensured a prominent position and countless adherents during a time when the orthodox form of Mohammedanism seemed to have lost all its powers of obtaining new converts, as well as to have forfeited the confidence of the masses, owing to its alliance with the unpopular Abbassid caliphs. The allegorical interpretation of the Koran, already received with great enthusiasm by the Shiites, the promotion of mystic arts, and the assertion that the true spiritual head of the faithful dwelt concealed from the eyes of men and communicated with the people only through his messengers, led the most varied elements of the Mohammedan population to embrace new doctrines of which the political tendency was naturally directed against the Abbassides. The great danger to which the caliphate was exposed by this movement lay in the fact that owing to the wide diffusion of its doctrines the dissatisfied of all sects and parties assembled under the Ismailian banner; nor was its propaganda confined to the Iranians alone, as was that of the true Shiites. Serious rebellions of the Ismailians occurred first in Irak and in Arabia, where the rebels were usually called Karmates, after their earliest leader. Several times the sacred cities of Arabia were in their possession; Bahrein and Yemama were conquered, and from the last-named province emissaries were sent to Africa in order to spread the new doctrines among the Berbers. In the year 906 the Karmatic disturbances were at least temporarily quelled; but the spark of insurrection had blown over to Africa, and, although it appeared at first to have been extinguished, it soon enkindled there the flame of destruction. In the year 900 the Aglabites had found it necessary to oppose the Ismailians by force of arms, for after many failures the sectarians had finally succeeded in gaining over enthusiastic adherents among the Berbers, led by the Karmatic emissary Abu Abdallah. Not long afterwards the rule of the Aglabites, weakened by internal dissensions, came to an end, and in the year 908 the capital, Kairuan, surrendered.

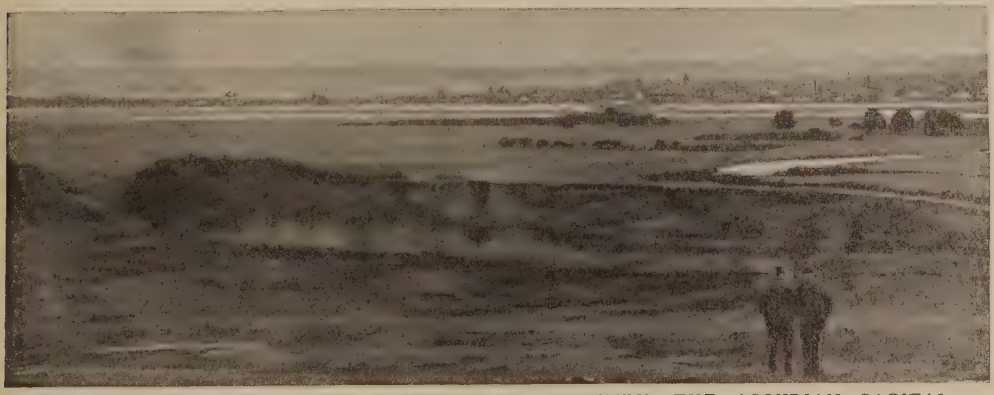
A New World Religion

Growth of the Ismailians

Obeid Allah, a descendant of Ali, now arose as prophet or Mahdi, and was placed at the head of the newly established empire. Abu Abdallah may have hoped that the spiritual and temporal ruler

THE MOUND OF ANCIENT NINEVEH AS SEEN FROM THE MODERN CITY OF MOSSUL

appointed by him would be contented with the rôle of puppet; but in this he was disappointed. Obeid Allah seized the reins of government with powerful hand, defeated all who opposed him, and enlarged his kingdom by the conquest of Morocco. On his death, in the year 934, the new dynasty of the Fatemides was firmly established. His successor took possession of Egypt in 968, where already, in 933, the family of the Ikshidites had become almost entirely independent of the caliph. Subsequently a prince of the orthodox party, who recognised neither the Abbassides in Bagdad nor the Omayyads in Cordova, resided as spiritual head at Cairo, or Fostat. In the meanwhile new rebellions had been aroused by the Karmates in Arabia, Irak, and Syria, through which the caliphate became greatly weakened; and although the rebels were constantly defeated, they held themselves —at least in Bahrein and Yemama—in constant readiness to take up arms again. Not one of the various provinces of the Mohammedan empire was now in the immediate possession of the caliph; the loyalty even of the portions of Irak adjacent to the capital was questionable; and the former executive and administrative powers of the supreme ruler were now in the hands of the vizirs and Turkish generals. Thus it came about that the Abbassides were finally compelled to throw themselves upon the protection of a newly-established Persian dynasty, being thereby enabled to prolong their existence, although at the cost of the remainder of their independence. This dynasty was that of the Buides, who originally came from Tabaristan, and claimed descent from the Sassanid emperors. The Buides had taken advantage of the confusion in Persia, and had occupied Farsistan,



MOSSUL, THE MOHAMMEDAN CITY, FROM NINEVEH, THE ASSYRIAN CAPITAL

During the days of Bagdad's decline the Kharijites, a democratic-puritanical sect, who had always been a menace to the caliphate, established an independent state in Mesopotamia with Mossul, where Nineveh stood, as its centre.

the centre of ancient Iran; soon afterward, in 934, they took possession of Chusistan, thus approaching dangerously near to Bagdad. However, during the years immediately following, Bagdad was left to its own troubles; the chief question seemed to be, whether the leaders of the mercenaries, the Hamdanides, or the Ikshidites, should finally succeed in becoming the "protectors" of the caliph, and thereby obtain for themselves the position of supreme authority over the empire. The Buides, then under the command of Mo'izz ed-Daulat, made the most of their opportunities for conquest; for while the Ikshidites and Hamdanides were quarrelling with one another, and Bagdad was the scene of insurrections which even the Turkish guards were unable to overcome, a Buidian army advanced on the capital. The vizir of the caliph Mustakfi fled, and Mo'izz installed himself as temporal ruler at the side of the caliph, to whom only his spiritual supremacy now remained.

Persians Rule in Bagdad

The most prosperous period of Buidian rule was the reign of 'Adhud ed-Daulat, who took possession of the greater part of Persia and the lands of the Hamdanides in Mesopotamia and Syria. But on his death, in 982, decay set in and was hastened by family disputes. The unfortunate custom of dividing the property of the reigning house led to constant struggles for the throne. It thus came about that Mahmud of Ghazni (998–1050) managed to rob the Buides of their possessions in Iran, that the Fatemides occupied Syria, that independent rulers arose in Northern Mesopotamia, even in the midst of Irak, and that finally Buides and Abbassides descended together to the same low estate into which the caliphate had already fallen when first assailed by Mo'izz ed-Daulat. In Bagdad the Shiitic adherents of the Buides and the Sunnitic-Turkish mercenaries fought with one another continually in the streets, causing the utmost confusion and tumult. Finally the Seljuks destroyed the last remains of Buidian authority, and took into their own hands the government of the empire. Here we must turn to the developments which had been taking place beyond the Tigris, since Persia was never fully assimilated by the Arab conquerors. It had been a severe blow to the Persian people when their state, and at the same time their ancient religion, fell before the lances of the Arabians and the doctrines of a visionary Bedouin. The blow was only the more severe because entirely unexpected, inflicted by a race that had before scarcely been deemed worthy of consideration—that had even been despised because of its lack of political unity and its poverty. "We have always looked upon you as of no account," said the unlucky Yesdigerd III. to the ambassadors of Omar; "until to-day Arabs were known in Persia only as merchants and beggars." Soon afterward these merchants and beggars were the masters of Iran; the bulk of the Persian people were forced to accept the new religion; and a small minority, who for many years still continued here and there to offer a desperate resistance, succeeded only in causing many regions to become almost desolate, and in still further reducing the vitality of the Iranian race. Farsistan, the ancient land of the Achæmenidæ and Sassanidæ, suffered most during the struggle; nor did the Mohammedans succeed in establishing their religion there. The most stubborn opposition, however, was that of the rude mountain folk who dwelt along the southern coast of the Caspian Sea in the districts known as Deilem and Tabaristan. One of the most difficult tasks of the Persians had been that of guarding the mountain passes which led into Central Asia, in order to dam back the flood of nomads that constantly threatened to inundate the plains of the south-west. The empire of the caliphs had now to take this labour upon its own shoulders; and, in truth, the Arabian rulers were conscious of their duty from the very first. They found the frontier country of Khorassan already in a highly developed state of military organisation, and sought, by substituting military service for tribute among the dwellers of the borders, to render the frontier troops still more efficient. In addition, entire Arabian tribes were transplanted to Khorassan, where they have in part maintained themselves to the present time, free from all admixture of foreign blood. Moreover, there was always the possibility of forming new divisions of troops out of nomadic mercenaries, with the help of whom other nomadic races could be kept in check and even pursued into their desert strongholds. The military

Persia in the Later Middle Ages

Guarding the Asian Frontier

BEDOUIN SHEPHERDS OF PALMYRA

BEDOUIN SHEIKHS OF JUDÆA

CROSSING THE ARABIAN DESERT

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ARAB'S HOME ON THE CAMEL

BEDOUIN ON HIS DROMEDARY

A BEDOUIN HORSEMAN

THE DESERT RANGERS OF ARABIA

forces at the disposal of the governor of Khorassan corresponded to the area of his province, which, although it did not always remain the same, included the greater part of Eastern Iran, together with Transoxania. In no other province of the empire were so many attempts made by ambitious governors to establish an independent dynasty as in Khorassan. It was due chiefly to the influence of the Arabian military colonies that for a long time the many movements which began here were not, as a rule, directed against the caliphate and the Arabian nation. But this influence became less and less the more the Iranian national spirit arose, and the Iranian people prospered under the beneficent effects of Arabian legislation and domestic policy. Although the Iranians were defeated in the political field, and for a long time rendered powerless as foes in arms, they nevertheless engaged in a spiritual conflict with the Mohammedan doctrines which had been forced upon them; no longer openly, it is true, but by adjusting Islam to their own requirements they sought to transform it into a new belief, corresponding more nearly to the Persian national character. The abstinence and simplicity taught by Islam and its Prophet found no more favour among the imaginative Persians, who had long been acquainted with the philosophies of Greece and India, as well as with the lofty thoughts of Manes and Mazdak, than it had previously gained among the true Arabs, to whose semi-democratic tribal form of society and independent spirit it was little adapted. Nevertheless, we find that at a very early period the Persians were the adherents of all parties that sought to place the true descendants of the Prophet on the throne, at first as enthusiastic followers of Ali, later as the true victors in the struggle that ended in the supremacy of the Abbassides.

Struggle of the Iranian Spirit

The Koran a Book of Mysteries

At the same time, however, the religious differences became more and more apparent. While the Arabs were engaged in compiling the Sunna, the Koran itself became, in the hands of the Persian theologians, more and more a book of mysteries, of which the elucidation was possible only to especially favoured persons, and in the secret depths of which evidence was sought for the strangest of doctrines. Complete harmony between the various Iranian sects that thus arose was naturally out of the question; and many of them developed a remarkable power for winning converts. The Ismailians, the far-reaching effects of whose doctrines were felt even in Egypt, where a dynasty was placed on the throne through their influence, shook the caliphate at Bagdad to its very foundations, and their last branch developed into the terrible Assassins (1100-1256), whose name was derived from *hashishin*, "eater of hashish."

The rise of religious differences was followed by an increase of political disunion—not a sudden rupture, but a gradual modification of existing conditions—leading in time to a complete change of tendency. When, after the death of Harun al Rashid, Mamun dethroned his brother Emin with the help of Khorassanian and Persian generals, and after long hesitation decided to remove his residence from Merv to Bagdad, it was well known that only the presence of the caliph could preserve Khorassan to the empire, and that chiefly for this reason he had remained for so long a time on the eastern frontier. By handing over the province, together with Pushang, the capital, to his most deserving general, Tahir, and by permitting the latter to establish a semi-independent dynasty, Mamun chose the best way open to him for escape from a difficult position; the Tahirides continued to acknowledge at least the spiritual supremacy of the caliph, and for a long time prevented the rise of disloyal houses.

How Khorassan Was Lost

Division of possessions and family quarrels gradually undermined the power of the Tahirides; finally, when Yakub ben Laith arose in Seistan, first as a robber chieftain, later as a ruler of the province, and at last as a conqueror, the descendants of Tahir were compelled to submit to their fate, and were succeeded by this upstart son of a tinman, who had raised himself to the position of an independent sovereign, founding the Saffarid dynasty in 872. The new ruler was a serious menace to the caliphate, and apparently resolved to put an end to the Abbassid government. The caliph Mutamid endeavoured in vain to avert the threatening danger. That he freely offered Yakub the governorship of Khorassan was of as little avail as was the solemn cursing of the rebels from all the pulpits of the empire, which made no impression upon them at all; and when the

army entrusted with the defence of Bagdad met with a complete defeat, it seemed that the fate of Mutamid was sealed. However, the Abbassid ruler was saved by the sudden death of Yakub in 878. Yakub's successor, Amru, acknowledged the supremacy of the caliph and led his army back into Khorassan, thereby missing an opportunity most favourable to the fortunes of his family.

In the meantime the Samanides, a new ruling house of Turkish descent, arose in Transoxania; and it was necessary for Mutamid only to ally himself with them in order to bring about the fall of the Saffarides in Khorassan. In the year 900 Amru lost a battle and at the same time his province to the Samanide leader Ismail, who succeeded him as governor, without coming into conflict with the caliphate. On the death of Ismail, in 907, the caliph acknowledged his son Ahmed II. as legitimate successor to the governorship. Ahmed managed to drive the rest of the Saffarides out of Seistan, as well as to take possession of the lands of a dynasty of the house of Ali, which had settled down in Tabaristan.

The Buide Regents of the Caliph

At about this time the already mentioned house of the Buides, or Dailemites, arose to power. Samanides and Dailemites together ruled the greater part of Persia for the space of a century, although there was obviously no lack of minor independent states in the neighbourhood. The loyalty at first shown to the caliph by the Samanides did not prevent them from making war upon him subsequently; the Buides, however, remained faithful, and finally succeeded in insinuating themselves into the court at Bagdad as temporal regents at the side of the caliph. The fall of the house of the Samanides soon gave them control of Khorassan also.

The whole of Eastern Iran did not fall immediately into the hands of the Buides. During the days of the Samanide dynasty a small state arose at Ghazni in Afghanistan under the rule of a Turkish house which at once made preparations for enforcing its claims on the heritage of the Samanides. The warlike Sultan Mahmud, who ascended the throne at Ghazni in 998, experienced small difficulty in overthrowing the Buidian government in Khorassan and Rai, so that finally nothing remained to the Buides but Irak, Farsistan, and Kerman. Mahmud did not follow up his campaign against the west, but found it more advantageous to inaugurate a series of invasions of India, and there to extend the power of Islam at the sword's point. For this reason Mahmud of Ghazni occupies a very important position in the history of the diffusion of the Moslem faith, while his reign also marks a period of reawakening of the Iranian national spirit.

Mahmud of Ghazni in India

With his accession a new phase of Persian culture began. During the reigns of the first Abbassid emperors the Mohammedan possessions in India, none of which extended very far beyond the eastern banks of the Indus, were tolerably closely united to the empire. The influence of the caliph was supreme in both Multan and Mansurah, the two chief commercial towns, while the remainder of the region belonging to the Mohammedans was governed by princes who paid tribute to the caliphate.

Even before the days of Mahmud, his father, Nasir ed-din Sabuktegin, defeated the most powerful of the Punjab princes, who at that time also occupied the Iranian passes and the valley of Kabul, descended into the valley of the Indus, and laid waste the whole region in his march. Immediately after his accession, in 998, Mahmud began to extend these conquests. His victorious campaigns extended as far east as the Jumna and southward to Somnath and Surat, and were of the utmost importance to the later history of India, inasmuch as the sultan looked upon the conversion to Islam of all subjected provinces as his chief duty.

From another point of view, Mahmud's attitude in regard to religion and politics laid the foundations for many a later historical development. His was a great and simple nature, such as is not unfrequently found among the dwellers of the steppes. Clearly he was no friend to that fantastic, mystical, allegoric faith into which the doctrines of Mahomet had been transformed by the Iranian priesthood, and he was nothing less than a declared enemy to the remains of the ancient Zoroastrian religion, of which there were still many champions in his state. Mahmud showed himself throughout to be an enthusiastic adherent of the orthodox faith, a Sunnite of the purest water. Hence he was a friend of the caliphate, the spiritual supremacy of which he willingly acknowledged, without, however, feeling dependent upon it in

Orthodoxy of Mahmud

regard to temporal affairs. He prevented the Shiites from establishing a separate Iranian Church, brought the Eastern Iranians back to the banner of orthodoxy for all time, and laid the foundations for that division of the Persian people into two religious sects which still exists to the present day. Neither the glory accorded to Mahmud by the Mohammedan world for his zealous adherence to the orthodox faith, nor the celebrity of his sanguinary wars can be compared to the services which, in spite of his love of conflict and his Turkish-Sunnitic inclinations, he rendered to civilisation through his furtherance of the intellectual life of Iran. Under his protection the first fruits of Persian literature were harvested, and it was he who uttered the call that awakened the ancient Iranian epic from its slumber.

A Great Patron of Literature

When the power of the Arabian conquerors began to fail in the East, their language, too, fell more and more into disuse; and the speech of the subjected Persians once more made its appearance, and even won friends at the courts of governors and princes. The more the East developed in independence, the prouder the folk of Iran became of their ancient celebrity, the louder and freer resounded the Aryan tongue. Inasmuch as the rulers began to seek for popular support, and to adapt themselves to the peculiarities of the Iranian people, they soon became aware of the magnificent store of legend which had been faithfully transmitted from father to son by the simple dwellers of the mountains and steppes.

But although the poets of Iran now undertook with reawakened powers the renovation of their ancient but shapeless literature, they were compelled to admit that the school of the Arabians had not been without value to them, that the union of harmony and force which caused their work to be celebrated throughout the Eastern world resulted from the combination of Iranian imagination with Arabian clearness and insight. Mahmud of Ghazni, however, who had taken possession of the lands of his predecessors by force of arms, also inherited from them a desire to foster and protect the germs of native literature; he rewarded the poets with a generous hand, and invited the best authors and scholars of the country to his court. No sovereign has ever surpassed or even equalled him as a patron of literature. The number of poets by whom he was surrounded at Ghazni did not fall short of 400; and inasmuch as Mahmud selected one from their midst to be laureate, appointing him judge of the poems submitted in competitions for prizes, he succeeded in creating a centre of artistic life.

Poetry of Iran Revived

Many great works were produced at the court of Mahmud; but the greatest of all was certainly the reconstruction of the ancient Iranian hero epics. The Saffarides and Samanides had already laid the foundations for such a work; and by means of large rewards, as well as by dint of his own unsparing effort, Mahmud was able to add largely to the store already in existence.

Finally the thought occurred to Mahmud that it would be well to collect all the fragments of epics, the myths, and semi-historical traditions, and recast them into one huge work. The language chosen was necessarily the Persian, which had already supplanted Arabic even in the law-courts and government offices. None of the numerous attempts made at first were satisfactory to the sultan; finally, good fortune led him to an author under whose hand the fragmentary raw material developed into an imperishable memorial of the ancient heroic spirit of Iran. This was Abul Kasim Mansur, generally known as Firdusi.

Persian National Epic

Firdusi was the first as well as the most brilliant representative of the reawakened Iranian spirit; he was acquainted with the Arabian language no less thoroughly than with the Persian, and since his earliest youth had been an enthusiastic admirer of the heroic age of Iran and its traditions. After twelve years' labour Firdusi completed the "Shahnameh," the Book of Kings, in the seventy-first year of his life, 1011.

In Firdusi's works the spirit of the Iranian people, which had vanished at Cadesia, once more arose; an intellectual unity of race was again created, and therewith, as it appears, the way was prepared for political unity also. But when Mahmud died, in 1030, the prosperity of his dynasty abruptly ended. The first blow that fate directed against the throne of the Ghaznavides, as the dynasty is entitled, caused the entire Iranian division of the Mohammedan empire to crumble into dust.

WESTERN ASIA UNDER THE SELJUKS

THE EMPIRE OF THE NOMAD TURKS

FOR many years fresh swarms of Turks had been following their countrymen into Persia from the plateaus of Tartary and Turkestan; and soon it was no longer as bands of mercenaries or slaves that they crossed the borders of Khorassan, for entire tribes now joined in the movement, pushed forward by the masses in their rear, ready at a moment's notice to fight for new pasturages, either as the allies of princes or as independent units. With the greatest difficulty the powerful hand of Mahmud had temporarily succeeded in damming back the stream of immigration; but now that Persia was given over to the quarrels of his feeble successors, the flood burst through the barriers that had been erected by the labour of centuries, and the first great wave of Turks burst upon the plains of Iran. Transoxania, a land cultivated and civilised by the Iranian race after years of increasing effort, had long been the defensive wall of Khorassan; and as late as the period of the Abbassides its farmers and town-dwellers were still able to keep the Turks in check. But on the decay of the Samanide dynasty troops of nomads from Eastern Turkestan not only found a foothold in Transoxania, but practically completed its conquest; Ilek Khan of Kashgar occupied Bokhara, the capital, while Mahmud was engaged on his Indian campaigns, and a short time later several minor Turkish states arose in the neighbourhood.

The Turks' Attack on Iran

Soon afterwards the Turkish tribes dwelling to the north on the steppes surrounding the Aral Sea were set in motion. A chieftain, called Seljuk, led his clan towards the region of Bokhara, at the very time when the last of the Samanides were looking about for friends to assist them against the advancing Ilek Khan. As an ally of the Samanides, Seljuk regained a district in Bokhara, and strengthened his forces by the incorporation of other Turkish tribes.

Under the successors of Seljuk the power and number of the Turkish tribes constantly increased; the Seljuks themselves, however, hard pressed by their countrymen in Bokhara and Khiva, advanced toward the pastures of Khorassan. On the death of Mahmud the vanguard of the nomads appeared at Merv, and from this city as a centre began their conquest of the Persian frontier province. In 1030 the eldest son of Mahmud blinded and imprisoned his brother Mohammed, who had succeeded to the throne; he then marched against the Seljuks, who were already engaged in laying siege to Merv. None of his undertakings, however, were successful; and when he finally set out, in 1039, on an expedition to recapture Merv, which had fallen in the meanwhile, he met with a terrible defeat. During the retreat his troops mutinied and restored the throne to the blind Mohammed. It was fortunate for the Ghaznavides, whose power was now completely broken, that the Seljuks did not take immediate advantage of their position in Khorassan, through which the way to the east as well as to the west had been opened up to them, but, instead of invading Eastern Iran and India, turned toward the west. The dynasty, however, ceased to be an effective force, and even its Indian dominions were shortly afterwards wrested from it by the house of Ghori. After the downfall of the Ghaznavides and the conquest of Khorassan, Toghril-Beg (1037–1063) and Jaghri-Beg, who died in 1060, two brothers who ruled the Seljuks during the days of Mahmud, turned their attention to the empire of the caliphs, which, in spite of the protection of the Buides, had sunk once more into the depths of decay. First, however, the brothers protected their rear by overthrowing the Khivan princes. The Turkish troops for the time being spared Southern Iran and marched into North-western Persia, from there

Rise of the Seljuks

The Turks Attack the Caliphate

setting out on campaigns of devastation against the Christian Armenians and Iberians. The Byzantines came to the assistance of their allies, but were defeated by Toghril-Beg; and the entire Mohammedan world rejoiced at the spectacle of a Roman emperor once more being compelled to pay tribute to a champion of Islam.

Rome Pays Tribute to Islam

It was, however, with great anxiety that the quarrelling sects and parties in Bagdad beheld the rise of Seljuk influence; nor did the leaders of the nomads hesitate to make the most of their exceptionally favourable position.

After the death of the caliph Kadir, in 1031, the government fell into the hands of his son Kaim, a man of feeble character, who was unable to restore order even in the capital of the empire. At his side the Buidan sultan Jelal ed-Daulet Abu Tahir, one of whose relatives had taken possession of the Buidan provinces in Persia, led an existence scarcely less miserable than his own. In the streets of Bagdad the Sunnitic Turkish mercenaries of the caliph brawled unpunished with the Shiitic Dailemites, the bodyguard of the Buides, once, indeed, driving Jelal himself out of the city. There was comparative quiet for a few years after the death of Jelal, in 1043; but it was not long before fresh struggles arose between Sunnites and Shiites. The caliph and his Buidan sultan were mere puppets in the hands of their vizirs; the unhappy ruler of the faithful was not secure from attack even in his own palace.

It is scarcely surprising that in these circumstances the caliph should have looked to the Seljuk chieftains for aid; indeed, the orthodox caliphs had always been certain of greater loyalty from the Sunnitic Turks than from the heretical Buides. Thus, in 1055, Toghril-Beg, who went on a pilgrimage to Mecca, succeeded in occupying Bagdad almost without resistance as well as in taking prisoner the Buidan sultan Malik Rahim. It is true that on the Seljuks being called back to Persia in order to put down rebellions the Buidan vizir recaptured the city, replaced the Abbassid caliph by the contemporary Fatemid governor of Egypt, and compelled Kaim to fly for his life; but on the return of Toghril, in 1059, all opposition came to an end. From the reinstalled Abbassid caliph, Toghril received the title "King of the East and West," as well as the hand of the princess Zaidah Khatun, daughter of Kaim; but he died soon after.

The Turks Rule in Bagdad

Thus the caliphate was once more restored to artificial life; but dominion had passed to the Turks, now at one stroke under a ruler of their own race. The Persians, who had seemed to be in the act of attaining to supremacy in the Mohammedan world, and of whom the Buides may be looked upon as the pioneers, suddenly found themselves once more cast down from high estate, overpowered in their own country by the nomads of the steppes.

At first the influence of the Seljuks, who had once more taken the caliph under their protection, was followed by the best results for the conquered territories, especially for the city of Bagdad. Order—at least, as understood by the Turks—so long desired in vain, was soon restored to all the useful and active provinces of the empire. Arts and manufactures, freed from the oppressive burden of insecurity, arose once more in the towns; the caravans of merchants again made their way along the public roads, and the agriculturist returned to his neglected fields. In the streets of the capital the brawls of Sunnites and Shiites ceased; and after the expulsion of the Buides the scuffles of Turkish soldiers and Dailemites came to an end. Both literature and science flourished during the rule of the Seljuks, who espoused the cause of intellectual pursuits with an enthusiasm scarcely conceivable in the chieftains of a semi-civilised nomad folk. Whatever they may have lacked in culture was replaced by a generosity and nobility of character that, in spite of all original barbarity, caused them to stand on very much the same plane as the Arabs of the deserts and steppes. The period of the Seljuk dynasty was indeed to a certain degree a reflection of that earlier century during which the Arabs first became diffused over the lands of Western Asia.

Turks Encourage Culture

Toghril's successor as "King of the East and West" was his nephew Alp-Arslan, who reigned from 1063 to 1072, under whose government the Seljuks attained to the zenith of their power. He captured Haleb and all Syria and Palestine from the Fatemides, and was successful in a war with the Byzantines, who, after

having already lost Syria and their African provinces to the Moslems, now beheld Asia Minor, their last Asiatic dependency, gradually receding from their grasp. The emperor Romanus IV. Diogenes vainly endeavoured to retrieve his fallen fortunes by advancing into Syria in 1068; in 1071 he invaded Armenia in order to support the princes there subject to his empire, but met with a crushing defeat and was taken prisoner. Henceforth the Byzantine lands were no longer disturbed by mere incursions of robbers; entire tribes of the Seljuks now penetrated into the interior of Asia Minor, and settled down on the steppes of Iconium. It was in vain that the Eastern Roman Empire made one despairing attempt after another to dislodge the intruders.

Hitherto, despite the spread of Islam, Asia Minor had remained an integral portion of the Byzantine empire. The passes of the Taurus proved a secure line of defence, and though the Arabs occasionally forced a passage, permanent conquest had been impossible. When the power of the caliphate began to weaken, it was Byzantium that took the offensive, recovered territories beyond the Taurus, and advanced even to Tyre and Damascus. The caliphs and their Buidan protectors and masters were able to offer but small opposition to the Byzantines in Syria and Asia Minor after the decay of the powerful Hamdanide dynasty.

Byzantine Aggression in Syria

In Asia Minor the population increased and civilisation flourished. Although the ancient splendour of the Greek cities of the coasts had vanished, the interior of the country became more and more homogeneously organised and settled, and the unity of government was rendered more secure. The careful attention paid to the garrisoning of strong positions, as well as the endeavour of the wealthy families of the towns to invest their riches in extensive estates, led to the creation of a feudalised system of landed property, with its unfailing evil consequences.

The feudal nobility became a danger to the state, while the native-born peasant population sank to the position of serfs; the inhabitants who had been killed or led away captive by the Moslems were replaced by slaves, who, when fortune once more favoured the arms of the Byzantines, were obtained in especially large numbers from Mohammedan Syria and Mesopotamia.

In spite of the attempts to suppress them made by various emperors — but without support from the Church, which looked for a share in the spoils, and from officials whose interests ran counter to those of the feudatories—the power of the nobility steadily increased; and when the Seljuks finally took possession of the steppe districts of Central Asia Minor the destruction of the already undermined Byzantine empire followed with surprising rapidity.

Decay of Byzantine Empire

It is a fact of great historical significance that the Seljuk invaders did not attack the passes of the Taurus, but marched through Armenia, and that as a result of these incursions not only Christian Armenia but even portions of Iberia were laid waste. Both provinces had been, if not entirely trustworthy, at least indispensable supports of the Byzantine frontier, and at the same time favourite recruiting grounds for the imperial armies. In spite of their fallen fortunes and apparent loss of warlike virtues, the Armenians still maintained their reputation for courage and strength no less than their faithful adherence to the Christian religion. But neither in Armenia nor in Georgia was there any sign of political unity; at the end of the tenth century as many as nine different dynasties were reigning in Armenia, while Georgia was divided into five more or less independent minor states.

Thus the Seljuks succeeded in entering Asia Minor at the Armenian boundary, while the bulwarks of the empire still remained intact in the south; nevertheless the defences of the southern frontier were in a constant state of siege, and had long been in grave danger. The Armenians emigrated from their desolated homes and concentrated in Cilicia, where they energetically set about defending the land from the attacks of Seljuks and Saracens. However, on discovering that they were cut off from all assistance from the Byzantines they dissolved even their nominal connection with the Eastern Roman Empire, and established the kingdom of Lesser Armenia, of which the first ruler was Rhupen, or Reuben, who ascended the throne in 1080. With the accession of this king the last remnant of the old line of defence to the east of Cilicia was

Seljuks and Saracens in Armenia

lost to the Byzantines, despite the fact that Antioch managed to hold out for a few years longer.

Great Days of the Seljuks

The establishment of an organised government in Asia Minor by the Seljuks did not take place during the lifetime of Alp-Arslan, who met his death in 1072, stabbed to the heart by a revolutionist whom he had condemned to death. His son Melekshah assumed the role of protector of the caliph Kaim as well as of Muktadi, who succeeded the latter in 1075; and he became, in fact, the ruler of all the Seljuk dominion. Melekshah equalled his father in ability, and succeeded not only in restoring order, but also in furthering the material prosperity of his extensive dominions. Above all, he put an end to the system of local customs, duties, and tolls, the curse of minor states, which had developed to an alarming extent during the times of the Buides. The flourishing financial condition of his sultanate rendered it possible for him to be a patron of science and art; poets and scholars once more enjoyed a golden age.

Nevertheless, signs of decay began to appear. Melekshah decided no longer personally to command his troops in Asia Minor, or to employ the main army of the empire in the war of conquest, but entrusted the task to his cousin Suleiman, granting him permission to establish a semi-independent kingdom in the steppe lands of the peninsula. Thus the new Seljuk kingdom of Rum, or Iconium, that arose in the years following 1073 under Suleiman cannot be looked upon as an integral part of the Seljuk-Abbassid empire. In like manner, without troubling himself very much as to the wishes of the sultan, another Seljuk leader, Ansiz, took possession of Palestine, and pursued the retreating army of the Fatemides as far as Egypt in 1077. Not until Ansiz found himself in difficulties, and called upon Melekshah for assistance, did the sultan succeed in removing this all too independent general, by sending out his brother Tutush, who brought Syria and Palestine under the immediate control of the Seljuk government.

Division of the Land

The kingdom of Suleiman in Asia Minor was soon firmly established, chiefly through the abolition of the ownership of large estates and the division of the land among the people—after the old custom of Islamite conquerors—a large, prosperous, and consequently loyal, peasant class being thereby created, while the Seljuks themselves continued their old nomadic methods of life.

THE BEILAN PASS IN THE TAURUS: A DEFENCE AGAINST THE ADVANCE OF ISLAM

ANCIENT CIVILISATION: WITHIN THE PALACE OF AN ASSYRIAN KING

This beautiful reconstruction of an Assyrian palace was made under the direction of Sir A. H. Layard for his monumental work on Nineveh. It illustrates the entrance of the king, attended by a eunuch and his vizier, and received by musicians. Most of the details of the picture are carefully studied from existing remains.

THE TAURUS MOUNTAINS: A BYZANTINE BARRIER TO ISLAM

The Taurus Mountains were a secure line of defence to the Asia Minor portion of the Byzantine empire against the Arabs, who, though they occasionally forced a passage, found permanent conquest impossible.

But, however willing the peasants may have been to enjoy the advantages of the new régime, and notwithstanding that here and there the cultivation of the soil was pursued with great profit, none the less the presence of the Seljuks in the interior of the peninsula betokened only a new step toward the desolation of Western Asia, a fresh victory of nomadism over agriculture, of the steppe over the ploughed field. The more violent the efforts made by the Byzantines, and soon afterwards by their allies, the Crusaders, to regain possession of the lost territory, and the more wildly war raged in its fury over the elevated plains of Asia Minor, the more rapidly did the stationary population diminish, the sooner were fertile districts abandoned and transformed into the steppe pastures from which they had once been reclaimed with a vast expenditure of labour, and the more free were the nomads and their herds to expand over the desolated fields. Thus the Seljuks may be looked upon as having prepared the way for the work of devastation finally completed by the Ottomans and Mongols.

A Victory of Nomadism

The remarkable freedom granted by Melekshah to his vassals in the west was of itself a sufficient proof that the centre of the Seljuk empire lay at that time in the east. In fact, the sultan was anxious to secure as well as to widen his eastern provinces, which after the subjection of the prince of Kashgar extended as far as the Chinese frontier. But the unity of the empire was not long preserved even in Iran. Immediately after the death of Melekshah, 1092, a violent struggle for the succession broke out, which dragged along for years, and paved the way for the final dissolution of Seljuk power. Not until the year 1104 was peace restored for a short time under the victorious pretender Mohammed. But again and again, just as in former days under the early Abbassides, attacks were made upon the reigning sultan in Bagdad from Khorassan, where the Seljuks were most firmly established and could levy efficient troops of auxiliaries among the warlike native population.

During the first decades of the twelfth century one insurrection followed another, in which Dubais, the feudal lord of Hillah in Irak, especially distinguished himself as an implacable enemy of the reigning Seljuk sultan Mahmud (1118–1132). In Dubais the powers of resistance of the Irakan Arabs once more awoke to life; and he might, indeed, have succeeded in restoring the supremacy of his race had he formed an alliance

An Arab Revival

with Mustarshid, the caliph of the time, who was likewise endeavouring to free himself from the burdensome rule of the Turks. Unfortunately, however, these champions of the Arabian race hated each other bitterly in true Bedouin fashion. But from this time forth the decline of Seljuk power was continuous. A transformation was taking place in Syrian affairs: the Europeans had not only once more seized upon Palestine, but had founded a number of feudal states which were not to be overcome and finally annihilated by the champions of Islam until many a desperate battle had been fought. In this war, however, it was neither the Bagdad caliphs nor the Seljuk sultans that represented Islam; the contest was entered and the prize borne away by other Powers. Irak and Persia were torn asunder by the struggles for succession among the Seljuk princes, and consequently Egypt was given an opportunity for assuming the leadership of the Mohammedan world in its wars against the Crusaders, when the powers of the Syrians failed. A fundamental change thus took place in the conditions of the western part of the Mohammedan empire; and this necessitates a backward look over the affairs of Syria.

Decline of Seljuk Power

When, during the days of the early caliphs, the Arabs of Syria had raised the Omayyads to power the native Syrians were not concerned in the struggle, since most of them were only gradually converted to Islam, while many held fast to the Christian faith with the greatest pertinacity. The caliphs, as a rule, did not care to convert the highly taxed Christians into free Islamites, for the sake of their own incomes; moreover, conversion to Islam was attended by greater difficulties in Syria than in any other province, owing to the trade with the West, which had never been entirely suppressed, and to the constant pilgrimages of Christians to Jerusalem. With the accession of the Abbassid caliphs, the political significance of Syria still continued to diminish, inasmuch as the discordant elements of the population showed no signs of developing the idea of political unity. The heterogeneous character of the geographical formation of the country has at all times prevented it from forming a really homogeneous state.

Syria's Importance Diminishes

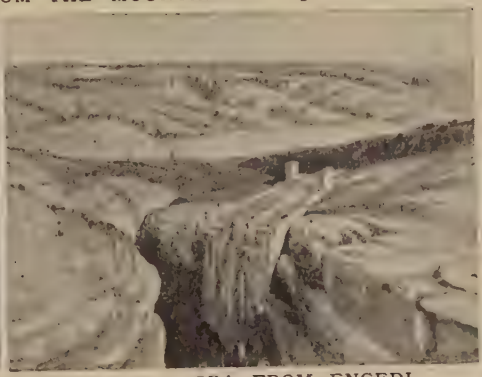
Thus so early as the ninth century the southern portion of Syria had become involved in the various Egyptian struggles. The rebellious governor Ahmed Ibn Tulun advanced as far as the Mesopotamian frontier; under the leadership of his son, Egyptian armies penetrated beyond the Euphrates. Then the Abbassides recovered their supremacy in Egypt, and by consequence in Syria; and then once more the decline of the caliphate awakened a desire for independence on the part of the Egyptian governors, as a result of which Syria also suffered. Mohammed of Ferghana founded the dynasty of the Ikshidites, seized Southern Syria, and finally, in the year 940, compelled the caliph to recognise his right to the newly conquered territory, while the northern part of the land, as has already been mentioned, after many vicissitudes fell for the greater part into the hands of the Hamdanides, the dynasty whose possessions lay chiefly in Northern Mesopotamia. However, this courageous race was unable permanently to withstand the constant attacks of Ikshidites, Byzantines, and Buides. When the struggle between the Ikshidites and Fatemides broke out for the possession of Egypt, the Hamdanides allied themselves with the former; but of this the only result was, that after the triumph of the Fatemides the Hamdanides found in their victors a still more hostile frontier neighbour.

Syria Suffers with Egypt

The ultra-Shiitic movement in Iran, and its branches—Karmates on the one side and Fatemides on the other—have already been described. Their tendency was naturally in opposition to the caliphate and its allies; and after the Fatemides had struck firm root in Egypt as a political power, they remained in close union with the Shiites of the east who belonged to the Ismailian sect. The Karmates, who owed their development to the same sources, and who succeeded in taking possession of the greater part of the Arabian peninsula, did not show the slightest inclination to humble themselves before the Fatemides; on the contrary, they disputed with the latter their supremacy in Syria. The Fatemides, however, succeeded later in organising the Persian Ismailians as well as in setting the dreaded sect of the Assassins as outposts of the Fatemid-Ismailian

THE VALLEY OF THE JORDAN FROM THE MOUNTAINS OF JERICHO

A SCENE IN MOUNT LEBANON



THE DEAD SEA FROM ENGEDI

ISOLATED VILLAGES AMONG THE FASTNESSES OF THE LEBANON MOUNTAINS

THE HETEROGENEOUS CHARACTER OF SYRIA'S GEOGRAPHY

movement in the rear of their opponents. From the year 974 onward the struggle for Syria continued; in addition to the Karmates, the Fatemides were opposed by the Byzantines, and by a Turkish general who endeavoured to found an independent state in the north. The Hamdanides also took up arms in the defence of the remainder of their possessions. The Fatemides nevertheless maintained their position in Syria, except in the extreme north. Although during the reign of the Fatemid caliph Hakim (996-1021) in Egypt there was no lack of isolated rebellions of governors, the dominion of his house over Syria remained unshaken, and his realm even included Haleb, owing to the voluntary submission of the Hamdanides. Hakim's successor, Mustanzir, tried to drive out his Abbassid colleagues; but he succeeded only in drawing on himself wars and insurrections. Syria and Palestine fell bit by bit into the hands of the Seljuks. Acre alone held out. After its governor, Bedr, had betaken himself to Egypt and had restored order with the help of his troops on the call of the caliph, the Fatemides succeeded in recapturing Palestine from the Seljuks, although the latter had already ventured on one campaign into Egypt.

Syria Falls to the Seljuks

This, then, was the condition of affairs when the first Crusade was preached in Europe, at the end of the eleventh century: Jerusalem was no longer in the possession of the Seljuks, whose unfriendly treatment of the Christian pilgrims, although not the direct cause, had nevertheless furnished a pretext for an expedition of vengeance on the part of the European nations. The defence of the Holy Land fell to the Egyptians, while the Seljuks at Damascus and Bagdad remained inactive, and beheld the developing drama with undisguised satisfaction. It was not the orthodox caliph of the Mohammedan world, but his Shiite rival, who led forth his troops against the Christian armies. The true ruler in Cairo at the time when the army of the Crusaders was marching through Asia Minor against Syria was not the Fatemide, but his vizir Alafdhal, the son of Bedr. The Seljuks of Asia Minor were the first to withstand the attack of the mail-clad Europeans, and paid for their resistance with a severe defeat, from which, however, they soon recovered, for the Christian forces immediately continued their march. The ruler of Lesser Armenia stood on very good terms with his Western co-religionists; and the Christians were also able to count upon the sympathy of the much-contested Northern Syrian boundary provinces, which had been torn from the Byzantines a few decades before, and contained a large Christian population.

Crusaders' First Attacks

Thus the principality of Edessa arose in the region of the old Roman military frontier; and on the coast Antioch, followed by Tripolis, also became the centres of small Christian kingdoms. All these were possessions of Seljuks which now fell into the hands of the Christians. But the unsettled state of political affairs in the Mohammedan empire prevented the rulers at Bagdad from coming to the rescue of the semi-independent governors in the north-west of Syria, especially after the main body of the Christians had advanced into Palestine proper, the possession of the hated Fatemides. The negotiations between the Christians and the latter were without result. While the Egyptian vizir Alafdhal was still engaged in fitting out his army, the Europeans besieged and stormed Jerusalem, at that time the chief stronghold of Palestine. Almost all the Mohammedan and Jewish inhabitants were massacred by the victors, and the city opened its gates to a new population of native Christians. When Alafdhal's army finally advanced, it received an annihilating defeat in August, 1099. The Christian kingdom of Jerusalem now arose amid the ruins of the Fatemid power in Palestine.

Christian Conquest of Jerusalem

It has already been mentioned that the Fatemides possessed a terrible weapon in their struggle against the caliphate and the nations of Christendom in the Ismailian sect of Assassins—a weapon, however, soon lost to the Egyptian rulers. We have related how the Ismailians developed out of a mixture of Mohammedanism and various other beliefs, of which perhaps the most important were the communistic doctrines of the Mazdakites; and how from the Ismailians grew the Karmates, and finally the caliphate of the Fatemides. The doctrines of the Ismailians themselves were gradually

transformed into an esoteric system of belief, which, in the hands of the most intellectual of its adherents, approached pure nihilism—the conception that all things are indifferent, and hence all actions are permissible—while the bulk of the believers lived in a state of mystic respect for their still more mystic superiors and leaders. An academy in which the Ismailian doctrines were taught was founded in Cairo, and thence emissaries were sent forth into the lands of the Abassides in order to prepare the way for the supremacy of the Fatemides over the entire Mohammedan world. At the same time the Ismailians of Persia looked to Egypt for their political and religious salvation.

Origin of the Assassins

was to be its basis and security. The first lurking-place chosen by Hassan was the mountainous region south-west of the Caspian Sea, of which the inhabitants had been looked upon by orthodox Mohammedans, even as late as the Abbassid period, as incarnations of heathen obduracy, and where the mountain fastnesses and castles had for centuries been the homes of the most desperate revolutionists. In the year 1090 the powerful fortress of Alamut, in the district Rudbar, north-west of Kaswin, fell through treachery into the hands of Hassan and his followers. With this began the political activities of the sect, who were in the

THE SYRIAN CITY OF ACRE, FAMOUS IN THE CRUSADES AND ONCE A CHRISTIAN KINGDOM

Acre, one of the most important cities of Syria, has always been a prey of war. It was stormed by the Saracens and Crusaders at least five times; became, in the twelfth century, a Christian state, and, in the sixteenth, fell to the Turks.

Thus it came to pass that an ambitious sectarian, Hassan-i Sabbah—born at Rai, in Northern Persia—after a vain attempt to acquire influence at the court of Melekshah in Bagdad, betook himself to the palace of the Fatemid ruler in Egypt, and there formed the plan of establishing an Ismailian rule of terror in the East, quite in accordance with the unscrupulousness of his party. The power of the movement was not to be derived from extensive possessions of territory or great armies, but from the unconditional devotion and fanatical contempt of death of its adherents, who had at their disposal several impregnable fortresses as places of refuge; not open war, but assassination

Planning a Rule of Terror

habit of working themselves up into a high pitch of bloodthirsty excitement by taking hashish and other narcotics, and hence became known as Hashishins, or, in the tongue of the Crusaders, Assassins.

Two years later, the first victim of importance, Nizam el Mulk, the vizir of the first Seljuk sultan, and a friend and companion of Hassan's youth, fell under the dagger-thrusts of the Assassins. He was the first of a long series of unfortunates who paid with their lives for the attempt to suppress the sect. The blind submission of the sectarians to their superiors was almost incredible. The fact that mothers were overcome by despair because their sons returned from successful forays without having lost their lives, thus failing

to die for their faith, and that Assassin sentinels cast themselves down from high towers and cliffs at a signal from their commander merely in order to prove their absolute obedience abundantly explains why the Powers of Western Asia and Egypt trembled before the daggers of the fanatics, and negotiated with the chief of the sect as with the sovereign of a mighty empire. After the capture of the fortress of Alamut, Hassan-i Sabbah remained within its walls for the rest of his days; indeed, it is said that he left his room only twice. As the "Old Man of the Mountain," he lived in mysterious retirement, directing the activities of his adherents and extending his power, ever faithful to the traditions of the Ismailians. About the year 1100 the Assassins succeeded in capturing several additional strongholds in Iran. At the same time as the Crusaders, their first emissaries arrived in Palestine, and, favoured by the Seljuk prince Ridhouan, established themselves in the mountains of Syria. Although on the death of Ridhouan they were exposed to frightful persecutions, they were no longer to be driven away. Their daggers were kept actively employed and brought terror to their opponents.

Old Man of the Mountain

The death of Hassan, in August, 1124, did not hinder the expansion of the Assassins, for Kia Buzurg-umid, his successor, proceeded with his work with equal craft and energy. Banias, in Syria, was captured in 1128, and twelve years later Maziat, which from this time forth became the centre of Assassin power in the west. The sectarians had then long been free from the influence of the Fatemides; and not only the Abbassid caliphs, Mustarshid and Rashid, but also one of the Fatemid rulers fell under their daggers. The practices of the sect made a profound impression on the Christians of the Holy Land. The Europeans in general did not look upon them as unconditional enemies; it seems indubitable that the Order of Knights Templars was not closed to the influence of the Assassins, and, in fact, that many of its characteristics were adopted in imitation of the secret Mohammedan association. Thus, curiously enough, the attacks of the Assassins became involved in a strange manner in the desperate struggle fought for the possession of the Holy Land between the Crusaders and the rulers of Egypt.

Power of the Assassins

The Seljuks took a relatively small part in the struggle between the West and the East at the time of the Crusades. At the most, only a few frontier princes interfered in the affairs of Palestine, and were hostile to the small Christian states which had been established in Northern Syria. Not until the year 1111, when disturbances arose in Bagdad itself, did the sultan Mohammed deem it necessary to despatch an army to Syria. In 1113 Baldwin I., king of Jerusalem, was defeated at Tiberias. But shortly afterward the leader of the Seljuk army was murdered by the Assassins; the result was a long series of quarrels between the Seljuk governors and princes, which effectively hindered all further action. Not until Zenki was appointed Atabeg of Syria and Mesopotamia in 1127, and was entrusted with the leadership in the war against the Christians, did fortune again follow the Seljuk banners, although Zenki had to contend not only with the Christians but with other Seljuk rulers. Until the day of his death, in 1146, he was the most formidable of all the enemies of the Crusaders. His son Nur-ed-din continued the war, and in 1153 took possession of Damascus, which Zenki had vainly endeavoured to capture from Anaz, a member of his own race. The successes of Zenki and his son aroused the entire Mohammedan world to a high pitch of enthusiasm, which was of great significance to the continuation of the struggle, and, as a result, even the most unfavourably disposed of the princes were compelled to support Nur-ed-din with both money and troops. Nevertheless, Nur-ed-din did not arrive at the height of his power until he succeeded through a lucky chance in destroying the Fatemid supremacy in Egypt, and was thus enabled to add the rich valley of the Nile to his possessions. At that time two vizirs were quarrelling in Cairo over the position of adviser to the weak caliph Aladhid. One of them, Shawer, fled to Nur-ed-din, and by making many promises contrived that an army should be placed at his disposal under the capable Seljuk general Shirku. But since after attaining his object he did not keep his promises, and called upon the king of Jerusalem to assist him against Shirku, he became involved in a war with Nur-ed-din, which, after many vicissitudes, finally ended in his being driven away; with the consent of Nur-ed-din Shirku was installed

Successes Against the Crusaders

MEETING BETWEEN SALADIN, THE CHAMPION OF ISLAM, AND RICHARD CŒUR DE LION

Saladin, or Salah ed-din, who combined in himself all the good qualities of the Turkish character, was firmly resolved to put an end to Western rule in the East. He captured Jerusalem and won a series of other brilliant victories over the Crusaders.

in Shawer's place, and after his death, in 1168, his nephew, Salah ed-din Yusuf, or Saladin, became vizir of the Fatemid caliphate.

The Seljuk Saladin (1137–1193) soon made himself supreme over all Egypt, although he permitted the Fatemid caliph to occupy the throne until 1171, probably because the existence of this lay figure guaranteed him greater independence so far as Nur-ed-din was concerned. All the good qualities of the Turkish character, bravery, generosity and decision, were united with a highly-developed mind in Saladin, who felt that he had been chosen by fate to be the champion of Islam against Christendom. Nur-ed-din soon perceived that he would find in him no pliant implement for the furtherance of his own plans, and was already engaged in making preparations for war against his insubordinate vassal when his sudden death turned the danger from Saladin, and, in fact, enabled him to wrest the Syrian provinces of this truly great ruler from his feeble successors. Disputes between Salih, the son of Nur-ed-din, and his cousin Saif ed-din of Mossul, as well as the quarrels of various court officials who laid claim to the vizirate, or, more correctly, the governance of the young Salih, caused Saladin to advance into Syria and occupy Damascus. After a long struggle with Salih, who had allied himself with Saif ed-din and various Christian princes, not despising even the help of the Assassins, Saladin succeeded in taking possession of his dominions as far east as Haleb, and in the year 1176 assumed the dignity of Sultan. After the death of Salih, in 1183, Saladin captured Haleb, and extended his empire as far as Mesopotamia and the Lesser Armenian frontier.

Thus a tremendous power encompassing the Christian possessions in Palestine was now united in the hands of a man who had firmly resolved to put an end to the rule of the Occidental nations in the East. The fate of the kingdom of

Jerusalem was soon settled. In 1187 the Christian army was defeated by Saladin at Hittin, not far from Tiberias. The king himself was made captive. A few months later all Palestine, including Jerusalem, was in the possession of the sultan; only a few Syrian coast towns still held out, together with Tripolis and Antioch. The arrival of new crusading armies, commanded by Philip the Fair and Richard Cœur de Lion, resulted in the recapture of Acre in 1191, in spite of most desperate resistance on the part of Saladin; however, he was at least able to hold Jerusalem. Shortly before his death Saladin, in 1192, concluded a treaty according to which the Christians were permitted to occupy the coast of Tyre as far as Jaffa, and some strips of territory in the interior; but he maintained possession of the interior of Palestine together with Jerusalem.

Palestine Lost to the West

However brilliant the victories won by Saladin over the Christians, and notwithstanding the inclination of Western historians to judge him in the light of these deeds alone, the fact remains that these wars comprised but a part, and, so far as the history of Western Asia is concerned, perhaps not even the chief part, of his activities. The Christian kingdoms in Palestine were and remained an artificial product, kept alive only by the constant importation of fresh settlers. They were at no time a serious menace to Islam; with the Turkish conquest of the old Christian land of Asia Minor, which thenceforth became a Mohammedan possession, and the establishment of a new and yet more powerful Mohammedan empire in the interior of Syria, the fate of the Christian kingdoms was sealed. And this was Saladin's achievement, however much his work may have been furthered by the previous conquests of Zenki and Nur-ed-din. The fall of the Shiite caliphs of Egypt is also one of the most important events in the history of Islam. Their place was taken by Saladin's descendants, the Ayubides, as they were usually called after Saladin's father, Nejm ed-din Ayub. With this the victory was won by the Sunnitic orthodoxy in the west. Saladin himself took good care that his empire should not become a menace to the caliphate; for, following the bad custom of the Seljuks, shortly before his death he divided his kingdom between his three sons, in addition presenting single towns and districts to his numerous relatives. The result was a succession of wars, which finally ended when Saladin's brother Aladil united the bulk of the possessions of the family under his rule in 1200.

Egypt Falls to Saladin

The empire soon fell to pieces again after Aladil's death, when confusion once more broke forth, in 1218, on an invasion of Egypt by the Crusaders. Alkamil, who succeeded to the thrones of Egypt and Palestine, concluded a treaty with Frederick II., under which Jerusalem was restored to the Christians in 1228. During the next ten years constant wars took place in Syria, an attempt being made in the north to form an independent state with Damascus as its capital, while the Egyptian Ayubides continued their desperate efforts, with the assistance of the Christians and all other allies whom occasion offered, to maintain their supremacy over the entire empire of Saladin. In 1250 a change of the occupancy of the throne of Egypt took place, with the result that the throne of the Ayubides fell into the hands of the leader of the mercenary bodyguards. With this began the period of Mameluke supremacy, which, in spite of various interruptions, continued until the days of Mehemet Ali in the early nineteenth century.

Beginnings of the Mamelukes

The affairs in Syria and Egypt developed during the eleventh and twelfth centuries in comparative independence of the events which had been taking place in the eastern part of the empire of the caliphs. But here too the power of the Seljuks was in process of decay. In Irak, Mesopotamia, and Iran an entire series of minor Seljukian states — Farsistan, Luristan, Azerbijan—had been formed; not to speak of the feudal provinces already in existence, which now became more independent than ever. The bulk of these states were ruled by princes called Atabegs, who—like Nur-ed-din—recognised merely as a matter of form the supremacy of the caliph and the sultan. Moreover, the throne of the sultan at Bagdad was a constant cause of violent disputes. Thus it came about that even the caliphs regained a portion of their old political influence, and here and there ventured to take up arms against their Seljuk "protectors," or the

minor princes of the neighbourhood of Bagdad. The power of the Seljuk sultans was now concentrated in Persia; but here also they were threatened by new dangers. It had indeed been an easy task to deal with the decaying Ghaznavides; and the Ghori dynasty was more interested in the affairs of India than of Iran; but the frontier provinces of the Central Asian steppes were once more in a state of the utmost tumult and confusion.

Transoxania had been lost to Turkish tribes, while at Khiva a new and powerful state had developed, whose ruler soon set out toward Persia on a campaign of conquest. Sinjar, sultan at Bagdad since 1132, had already engaged in a severe struggle with these opponents, who were threatening the same gates of his empire through which the Seljuks had broken many years before; and at his death, in 1157, a portion of Persia fell into the hands of the Khivans. A period of confusion followed: the caliphs at Bagdad endeavoured to arouse further dissensions among the Seljuks in order to free themselves from their burdensome guardianship; the Seljuks, on the other hand, fought among themselves for the sultanship, and the Khivan princes battled against each other for the rich inheritance of their house. When, finally, Caliph Nasir, the last energetic Abbasside, came to the throne in 1180, he was already in a position to extend his dominions, owing to the wars which had been carried on between Seljuks and Khivans; nevertheless in the end he was obliged to grant to the victorious Khivan, Tekesh Khan, the rôle of protector, which had so long been enjoyed by the Buides and Seljuks. After the death of Tekesh, in 1199, Nasir attempted to assume a position of independence, and opposed Tekesh's successor, Mohammed. But Mohammed, who shortly after his accession had annihilated the Ghorides in Eastern Iran and had extended his dominion as far as the Indus, resolved not only to restore Khivan influence but to do away with the Abbassides entirely, replacing them in Bagdad by a caliph chosen from the descendants of Ali. However, the early approach of winter rescued the Abbassid caliph for the time being. Before Mohammed could collect his forces for a new move, the troops of the Mongolian conqueror Genghis Khan, who had been called upon for aid by Nasir, appeared in his rear; and with this a new act began in the tragic history of Western Asia.

BALDWIN IV., KING OF JERUSALEM, DEFEATING THE SARACENS AT ASCALON IN 1177

IN THE GRIP OF THE MONGOLS

LACK of enthusiasm in Iran for the cause of the Khivan princes contributed not a little to the victory of the Mongols—perhaps more even than the original appeal of Nasir to Genghis Khan for assistance against his enemies. Upon the Khivan Mohammed, who reigned from 1199 to 1220, devolved the defence of Western Asia when the Mongol armies advanced on Transoxania; but when he assembled his troops for the rescue of Iranian culture he had not even the support of the Persians, not to speak of the other Western Asian nations. Besides this, to his great misfortune, he appeared to be ignorant of the value of his strong defensive position in Transoxania, and boldly marched out to meet the enemy on their own steppes. The result was that he received a crushing defeat in the year 1219.

Advance of the Mongols

All Transoxania was occupied by the Mongols during the next few years; the province was lost not only politically to Persia but to civilisation. Mohammed, whose native country Khiva was also invaded by the Mongols, entirely lost courage. He retreated from his second line of defence in Khorassan without a struggle, and retired to Azerbijan, from which he was soon driven by squadrons of Mongol cavalry, which advanced as far as Georgia; finally he took refuge on a small island in the Caspian Sea, where he soon died in misery and want. His son, Jelal ed-din, who had escaped into Afghanistan, was compelled to retreat to India before the victorious standards of Genghis Khan. His cause was ruined by the hatred of the Iranians for the Khivans, which was not forgotten even during this time of extremity. New Mongol forces streaming in through the open gates of Khorassan finally annihilated the last vestiges of his power in August, 1231.

Where resistance was offered to Genghis Khan he wrought fearful devastation; judicious submission was frequently rewarded by clemency. The Iranian civilisation was not overwhelmed. In fact, the rise of Persian literature was so little affected by political changes that its zenith was not attained until after the Mongol invasion. But gradually the results of the war became more and more visible, and it was soon evident that the ancient civilisation of Iran was beginning to deteriorate with the constant additions of foreign elements.

After the death of Genghis Khan, in August, 1226, Persia fell to the share of his fourth son, Tuli, who also died in a short time. Tuli was succeeded by Hulagu, after Mangu had been elected emperor of the Mongols. In 1256 Hulagu invaded Iran at the head of a vast army and re-established the authority of the conquerors; for after the death of Genghis Khan the Mongols had made but little progress in Persian territory. Hulagu could not have chosen as an object for his campaign one better calculated to win for him the sympathy of all Western Asiatics than the destruction of the Assassins. The wasp's nest of Ismailians still hung fast to the cliffs of Alamut, and the daggers of the fanatics continued to threaten all men who awakened their mistrust or anger. The Mongol ruler turned against these scourges of Western Asia; his summons to princes of Iran, bidding them assist with auxiliaries, did not meet with a single refusal. The caliph in Bagdad alone was unwilling to comply with the request, and this furnished Hulagu with a welcome pretext for making war on him soon after, and for putting an end to the sovereignty of the Abbassides. Thus, without desiring it, but in entire harmony with the spirit of their faith, the Assassins, even while in the throes of death, were indirectly responsible for the destruction of Bagdad and the murder of the last orthodox Abbassid caliph by the sabres of the Mongols.

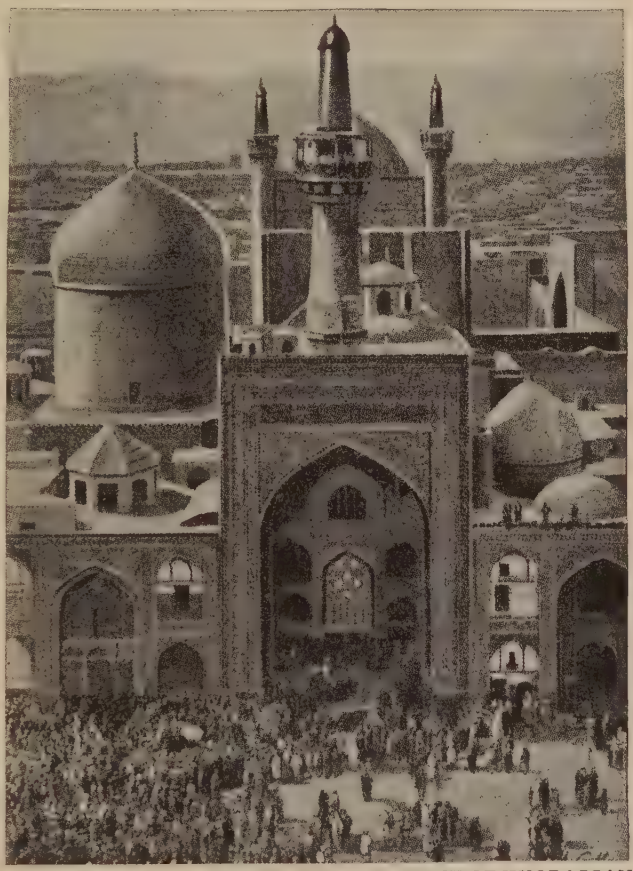
Scourges of Western Asia

The first half of the thirteenth century had not been without its effects on the Assassins also. Without altering its principles to any appreciable extent, the sect

had passed through several external changes, the Syrian branch having won for itself an almost completely independent position. The esoteric doctrines of the Assassins had been known only to the higher orders of the sect; the rest were kept in a state of blind submission by the aid of a mystic and complicated formula of belief. But such a system was no more capable of permanent existence in the case of the Assassins than in that of any other sect. The secret doctrines gradually became known to the lower orders; and the higher authorities took no pains to avoid the inevitable; in fact, were all the more willing that it should be so, inasmuch as the unscrupulousness and contempt for death of their disciples were increased rather than diminished by the general spread of nihilistic opinions.

Until their mysteries were disclosed, the representatives of the order had always been able to preserve the appearance of being upright adherents of Islam, even better Mohammedans than the orthodox caliphs. The veil of deception, however, became more and more transparent, and the answer to the now openly confessed principles of the Assassins was an outburst of wrath from the entire Mohammedan world. Now, indeed, it might be said of the Ismailians, as of their Ishmaelite namesakes, that the hand of every man was against them as their hands were against every man. It was impossible for them to offer permanent resistance—their enemies were far too numerous; a fundamental change in their principles was unavoidable. Thus the Assassins, together with their grand master Jelal ed-din, suddenly began to embrace the orthodox faith. The "Old Man of the Mountain" burnt a mass of writings, alleged to contain the godless esoteric doctrines of the Assassins, in the presence of several orthodox Mohammedans, who had been invited to Alamut as witnesses; he sent off his wife on a pilgrimage to Mecca, where she outshone even the most princely of her fellow-pilgrims through her lavish almsgiving and other good works; and finally he sought to connect the neighbouring feudal rulers of Azerbijan and Tabaristan with his house by marriage.

In fact, the Ismailian rulers were developing a dominion which required to rest on something more than systematic murder. Instead of bands of Assassins, Ismailian troops now appeared in the field, and in the year 1214 an army was despatched by Jelal ed-din to Irak in order to assist the caliph in subduing an insubordinate governor.



THE MOSQUE AT MESHED, THE HOLY CITY OF KHORASSAN

Nevertheless, when Jelal ed-din died from poison in November, 1221, and was succeeded by his nine-year-old son Ala ed-din, the sect lost no time in openly reverting to its old principles. Ala ed-din, who remained weak in intellect throughout his life, was not the man to face the dangers that soon arose as a result of this latest development. When, after his murder in 1255, his son Rokn ed-din assumed the

leadership of the order the Mongol hordes bent on the destruction of the Assassins were already approaching.

However bold and unscrupulous the Ismailians had been until this moment, their fall was mute and inglorious. Only a single one of their fortresses held out for any length of time; the others surrendered immediately. At first it appeared as if timely submission would save them from the worst; but Hulagu waited only until the last sign of resistance had disappeared. Then he gave the signal for a general massacre. Almost all the Ismailians of Iran were slaughtered in cold blood, and with them the last grand master of the order, on November 19th, 1256. The Syrian branch of the sect continued to exist for some years, until Beibar, sultan of Egypt, drove the dispirited sectaries out of their strongholds in 1271. However, the order was not completely annihilated either in Syria or in Persia. In the fourteenth century, unscrupulous princes frequently employed Ismailian murderers from Syria; and even now some harmless remains of the sect are to be found in Lebanon and in the mountainous regions south of the Caspian Sea.

The Doom of the Assassins

The destruction of the Assassins was soon followed by the fall of the Abbassides. Hulagu aimed at the subjection of all Western Asia. He was, no doubt, well pleased that the infatuated caliph had refused to supply him troops for the campaign against the Assassins, thereby furnishing the Mongols with an excuse for next turning their arms against him; and no time more favourable than the middle of the thirteenth century could have been chosen for an attack on the spiritual centre of the Islamite world. The decay of the Seljuks had deprived the caliphate of its natural protectors, the caliphs themselves contributing not a little towards bringing about this state of affairs, for they had once more begun to adopt policies of their own, extending their possessions and increasing their authority in Irak and Western Iran by the employment of mercenaries. So long as they had to do only with vassal princes and atabegs, they were more or less successful in their efforts to augment their own political importance; it would even have been possible for an energetic and clever caliph to have transformed the spiritual supremacy of the caliphate into a far-reaching temporal dominion.

Mongols Attack the Caliphate

But, unfortunately, the successors of Nasir, who had always set before himself a fixed policy and had laid the foundations for further successes in reorganising the financial system and army of the caliphate, were men of small abilities. Mustanzir scattered the money that had been saved by Nasir, by erecting splendid edifices and establishing various religious foundations. His successor, Mustazim, who came to the throne in 1242, went to the opposite extreme, and reduced his single means of defence, the mercenary army, in order to save expenses. Thus, having robbed himself of his own power, he was helpless at the time of the greatest danger, and, in the usual manner of weaklings, refused to acknowledge that his position was endangered till it was too late.

First Mustazim attacked the Mongols with insufficient forces; then he entered into feeble negotiations with them; thus he allowed the last chances of escape to slip by. The city of Bagdad still remained to him; and its excellent strategic position, on both banks of the Tigris in a district cut through by canals, rendered a siege extremely difficult. Nor did the Mohammedan rulers of the western provinces, once an integral part of the empire, leave their spiritual head entirely in the lurch; but when a Mongol army crossed the Tigris near Mossul, and threatened the western side of the city, the caliph lost all hope, and repaired to the camp of Hulagu. His life was spared long enough for him to disclose the places where he had hidden his treasures; on March 21st, 1258, he was executed.

Sack of Bagdad

The inhabitants of Bagdad were led out in crowds and massacred in cold blood; the Mongols plundered and brawled in the streets for forty days. The greater part of the city, together with the priceless library of the caliphs and many of the finest buildings, were destroyed by fire. Single quarters, indeed, were spared. The splendid situation of the city enticed new settlers thither, and to this day Bagdad has in a large measure retained its importance. The success of Hulagu, however, had a ruinous effect on Mohammedan civilisation. Bagdad was the connecting link between the western provinces of Islam and Persia; within its walls the learned men of Syria, Egypt, and Andalusia

Edwards

SULTANABAD, ONE OF THE LARGEST TOWNS IN THE PERSIAN PROVINCE OF KHORASSAN

Khorassan, in the north-east of Persia, is the largest province, and includes a large portion of the desert land of Persia. It constituted a Persian line of defence against the Mongols, and was the first district to be overrun by them. It has, from its military position, always played an important part in Persian history.

had united in common pursuits with the scholars ot Persia and Transoxania, so that the city was indeed the centre of the intellectual as well as of the ecclesiastical power of the Mohammedan people. But the murderous thrusts dealt by the Mongols struck Oriental civilisation to the very heart. Never since has it arisen to its former lustre ; it has lived during the last six hundred years only in the reflection of its former achievements. The poetry of Persia, indeed, continued to flourish for a couple of centuries, but it no longer found an echo in the west ; and finally it, too, died away in its loneliness.

After the capture of Bagdad, Hulagu continued his campaign of conquest in the west, first declaring war upon Northern Syria. He stormed Haleb in 1260, compelled Nasir ed-din, the Ayubide, to flee from Damascus, marched through Palestine, and threatened Egypt ; but on being severely defeated by Kotuz, the Mameluke regent of the empire, at Ain Jalut, not far from Shechem, he was obliged to withdraw his forces from the west. The small Ayubide dynasties in Northern Syria were soon forced to take one side or the other, and were for the most part annihilated in the repeated conflicts between Mongols and Egyptians. Just as Western Asia became more and more desolate as a result of these devastating struggles, so the political history of the land became less interesting and more cheerless as time went on.

For a long time the history of Western Asia was occupied with the antagonism of two great powers, the Mongol dynasty of the Ilkhans in Persia and Irak, and the Mameluke sultans in Egypt and Syria. The leaden cloud of hopeless stagnation soon settled over the land, though occasionally lighted up by flames of burning villages and homesteads. The work that had been begun by Katur was completed by his successor and murderer, Beibar : Syria, together with its Ayubide princes, was brought under Egyptian influence, the power of the Assassins broken, and that of the Christians shaken. The princes of Iconium and Lesser Armenia, who had allied themselves with the Mongols, defended themselves with difficulty against the attacks of the Egyptians. Since the greater part of

Arabia and Mesopotamia also recognised the supremacy of Beibar, Egypt was, in 1277, on the death of this none too scrupulous but energetic sultan, the centre of a powerful empire, which, in spite of all quarrels as to the succession and its constant state of confusion, successfully barred the west to the Mongols. The Mongol chieftains who had taken possession of Persia were soon affected by the influence of Iranian culture no less than by the religious belief of their new environment, and the intellectual life of Iran did not at first suffer to any great extent under the new political conditions; the burning of the centres of learning in Transoxania and the desolation which had been brought to Bagdad had in reality only destroyed the outworks of Iranianism, which still remained sound at the core.

Vitality of Iranian Culture

Above all, Farsistan, the heart of Iran, had scarcely been touched by the ruin and havoc of war; its ruling dynasty still remained on the throne, and in Asia Minor an offshoot of Iranian culture flourished at the court in Iconium. The great mystic poet Jelal ed-din Rumi found a secure refuge in Iconium; and his great contemporary Sa'di ended his days in peace at Shiraz in Farsistan. It was not long before the Mongol rulers became quite as distinguished as patrons of literature and science as the native dynasties had been in former times.

After Hulagu's death, in 1265, Abaka succeeded to the throne. The decay of the Mongol empire, which now set in, leading to bitter struggles between the various princes and to violent onslaughts of fresh tribes from Central Asia, hindered the expansion of the power of the Mongols towards the west. Under the followers of Abaka—who died in 1281—the Iranian-Mongol empire was torn in pieces by quarrels as to the succession as well as by other feuds, until, in the year 1295, Ghazan ascended the throne, who adopted Mohammedanism as his religion. Even more important than his conversion to Islam was Ghazan's capacity as a legislator; his code served as a model for all the later conquerors of Western Asia—above all, for the Osmans, or Ottomans—and in truth was exceedingly well adapted to the mutual requirements of a warlike nomadic people and the stationary agricultural inhabitants

End of Mongol Expansion

of the conquered territories. From a perusal of these laws, which were indeed sadly needed, we are able to gather much information as to the miserable condition into which Persia had fallen during the Mongol period. The wealthiest district of Farsistan paid in taxes at the time of Ghazan but the eighth part of the sum which it had paid with ease during the Seljuk period.

The burden of taxation had been greatly increased by the evil system of farming out the taxes—a system which Ghazan himself did not abolish—and soon became unbearable. Broad tracts of fertile ground lay bare and deserted; such of the inhabitants as had escaped the sabres of the conquerors, or of the troops of Mongol robbers who rode plundering through the province, fled before the inexorable tax officials, or were driven from their homes, hopelessly in debt to Mongol usurers. The tenth part of all produce of the land, which was set apart for the support of the Mongol warriors, was collected over and over again in a most unsystematic manner, until finally Ghazan succeeded in restoring a small degree of order by allotting certain fixed districts to certain bodies of troops. No good was expected from the increasing dissatisfaction of the Iranian people, as was shown by Ghazan's order commanding the disarmament of the native inhabitants of Farsistan. The general misery had been increased by one of Ghazan's predecessors, who had unsuccessfully endeavoured to replace specie by paper money after the Chinese method. Ghazan himself rendered an undoubted service to his subjects by reforming the currency, introducing coins worth their face value and of fixed fineness and weight.

Misery of the Taxpayers

Whether or not the new laws would have produced a fundamental change for the better in Iranian affairs, we cannot say. At any rate, the confusion that followed the death of Ghazan and continued until the end of the supremacy of the Ilkhan Mongols prevented any true recovery of the enfeebled Persian people. After the expedition of Genghis Khan into Syria during the years 1300–1303, which ended in failure, nothing more was done in the way of conquest by the Mongol princes of Iran; and in 1323 Bu Zaid, the last Ilkhan who was able

to maintain the integrity of his empire, concluded peace with Egypt. Soon afterwards the Mongol empire was divided, at first into two parts, Irak and Persia. At the same time the family of the Mozaffarides obtained for themselves greater independence in Farsistan, their first sultan being Mobariz ed-din, 1313–1358, and the Turkomans founded an independent state in Kurdistan. The increasing power of Farsistan showed that the Iranian element was once more regaining strength and preparing for a fresh attack on the Mongols, whose powers were declining rapidly. Perhaps a Persian national state would again have been founded had not a new and still more frightful storm of conquest burst over the land of Iran, destroying all Persian hopes. The victories of Timur completely re-established the waning power of the Mongols.

Timur's Storm of Conquest

At the time when Tamerlane's troops were pouring in upon Western Asia and India a complete transformation had taken place in the affairs of Asia Minor, where a new monarchy was developing in the place of the decaying Byzantine empire and the sultanate of Iconium. The Byzantines, who had so long been successful in holding Asia Minor against the Mohammedans, were no longer able to drive the Turks out of their territories; and the Crusaders also, of whom so much had been expected in Constantinople, had likewise succeeded in obtaining temporary victories only over the Seljuks in Asia Minor. It is true that the most serious dangers had been averted with the assistance of the Western Europeans; Nicæa had been recaptured, and the western half of Asia Minor cleared of the Turks. But the hordes of nomads, constantly reinforced by new bands of Turkish immigrants, were no longer to be driven from the steppe lands of the interior of the peninsula.

Had it been possible to strengthen Armenia once more, after the old Roman military frontier had been again established through the rise of the Lesser Armenian state in Cilicia and the Christian kingdoms of Edessa and Antioch, then perhaps the Byzantines might have succeeded in surrounding, and finally in assimilating, the masses of foreigners within their boundaries. But Armenia as well as Georgia was utterly helpless, and formed only the open door through which the hordes of Turkomans streamed in from the East. The Seljuk empire of Iconium, or Rum, which was only once united under the rule of a capable monarch, Izz ed-din Kilij Arslan (1152–1190), who died in 1192, suffered in general under those evil conditions of disintegration and quarrels between brothers as to the succession which were the usual characteristic of Seljuk states. Nevertheless, the people of Asia Minor were to all appearances better off under the government of the Seljuks than under the Byzantine bureaucracy, for the smaller the Eastern Roman Empire grew the heavier became the taxes. It was a source of great anxiety to the Byzantines that from certain of the imperial provinces of Asia Minor the inhabitants emigrated en masse into the Seljuk principalities.

Armenia the Gateway of the Mongols

When, in the year 1204, the Byzantine empire was overthrown by the Latins, and feudalism regained the upper hand, the stationary population of Asia Minor had no longer any reason for hoping that they would derive the slightest advantage by offering resistance to the increasing power of the Turks. On the other hand, the Seljuks, who had continued their old manner of life, wandering about with their flocks and herds, and at the same time always prepared for war, patronised the agriculturists, who had become indispensable to them, and whose interests in no wise conflicted with their own.

The growing power of the Turks was still more increased when Persian-Arabian civilisation began to awaken in the towns, for at the beginning of the Mongol wars scholars from Persia and Arabia sought and found refuge in Asia Minor, where they were gladly received by the Seljuk princes. Thus Ala ed-din Kai Kobad (1219–1236) did all that lay in his power to further the intellectual development of his people. But the Turks of Asia Minor did not entirely escape the Mongol storm; they were now compelled to atone for having left the iron gates of Armenia and Georgia open behind them. Genghis Khan took the same route along which so many Turks had already passed, marching from Azerbijan to the peninsula; and only the timely submission of the Seljuks whom he encountered saved them from a far greater evil. For a long time the

The Turks Give Place to Mongols

Seljuks of Asia Minor were the most faithful vassals of the Mongols, and, as such, the natural enemies of the Egyptians, whose sultan, Beibar, wrought havoc in the Turkish kingdom of Iconium, advancing far into the interior of the peninsula in 1277. The discipline of the Egyptians was fairly good; but the Mongols who came later under Abagha could not deny themselves the satisfaction of either massacring or enslaving the inhabitants of Iconium. Thus it seems that it stood written in the book of destiny that in Asia Minor also the Mongols should destroy all that the Turks had spared.

End of the Seljuk Dominion

The destruction of the Seljuk dominion in Asia Minor was the natural result of the Mongol invasions; but the Turks were already too firmly rooted in the peninsula for the Greek empire, temporarily restored in 1261, to derive any benefit from the fall of the Seljuks. Another Turkish race immediately came forward in place of the latter. During the Mongol wars a horde of Turkomans from Transoxania had marched toward the west under the leadership of Suleiman. A portion of this horde, of which the command was taken over after Suleiman's death by his son, Ertogrul, emigrated to Asia Minor. The Seljuk prince Kai Kobad allotted pasturages in the neighbourhood of Angora to the new arrivals, and was not displeased to see that they soon began to increase their lands at the expense of the Byzantines. Ertogrul's successor, Osman, or Othman, who came to the throne in 1288, continued the conquests, strengthening his forces by the addition of other Turkish tribes, and finally freed himself entirely from the suzerainty of the Seljuk rulers. In honour of Osman, their first independent sovereign, his subjects, consisting of many different tribes, took the name of Osmanli, or Ottomans. Shortly before Osman's death, in 1326, Brussa was captured, and a few years later was selected to be the capital of the new empire by his successor, Orchan. This new state, in which the entire military and destructive power of the nomadic Turks once more found a firm support, and which had succeeded to the civilised kingdom of the Seljuks, was naturally a serious menace to the culture of Asia Minor. It was only with the assistance of Persian civilisation that the Seljuks had been tamed, but at this time whatever culture there may have been left succumbed completely to the blows dealt by the Ottomans. With this the victory of nomadism was assured for centuries. During the reigns of Orchan and his successors a number of the small Turkish principalities in Asia Minor were overthrown, and the European possessions of the Byzantines were also attacked. Murad I. captured Adrianople in Europe, as well as Angora, Kutahiah, and various other towns in Asia Minor. His successor, Bajazet I., conquered the whole of Asia Minor with the exception of the principality of Kastamuni and the imperial state Trebizond, and was on the point of continuing his victorious campaign to Constantinople when the invasion of Timur began, hindering for the time being the rise of the Ottoman empire.

Beginnings of the Ottomans

A great change, too, had taken place in the balance of power in Western Asia, which for the last century had been determined by the mutual antagonism of the Mongol empire in Persia and the kingdom of the Mamelukes in Egypt. The empire of the Mongols had fallen; in North-western Iran only was a portion of its old power retained, and after the downfall of the Seljuk states and the victorious invasion of the Ottomans, the influence of the Mongols had naturally come to an end in Asia Minor also.

Fall of the Mongol Empire

It was not long before things came to such a pass in Egypt and Western Asia that all development of power was confined exclusively to the newly arrived hordes of barbarians, while the original native populations, the old representatives of civilisation and industry, sank to a position of feebleness and decay. Again a wave of semi-barbarous nomads swept over the unfortunate land; and, to make matters worse, the appearance of the new conqueror was preceded by the plague, or black death, which spread over Western Asia and Europe, and raged longest in the hot valley of the Nile.

The invasions of Timur were nowhere so destructive as in Western Asia, in the provinces that were just beginning to recover from the effects of the first Mongol storm. In the year 1380 Timur appeared at the head of his army in Khorassan, after he had conquered Transoxania and Khiva. He marched along the old Mongol and Turkish

routes south of the Elburz Mountains to Azerbijan, Armenia, and Georgia. Farsistan—still ruled by the Mozaffarides—was conquered, Ispahan stormed, and a pyramid of 70,000 skulls erected, an example of what Timur's conquests meant for Western Asia. After the national dynasty of Farsistan had ended on the death of Shah Mansur, in 1392, the Ilkhan, Ahmed ibn Owais, who had maintained his position in Irak after the loss of Azerbijan, was driven out of Bagdad.

The defence of the threatened provinces of the west fell to the Ottomans and the Egyptians, who were unfortunately unable to agree with one another or to engage in common undertakings. The Ottoman sultan Bajazet II. was, however, at least able to support the Armenians and Georgians, and assist the Ilkhan in Bagdad. On the other hand, Berkuk, sultan of Egypt, who had more reason to tremble before his own Mamelukes than before the Mongols, evacuated Syria after much boasting and little fighting, and left his Syrian subjects to be the helpless victims of Mongol fury in 1400. In the year 1401 Timur invaded Asia Minor and totally defeated Bajazet, taking him captive. Asia Minor had already suffered greatly from the Ottomans; now it was once more plundered and its inhabitants massacred. Even the last of the wealthy seaports, Smyrna, which had not yet fallen into the hands of the Turks, was completely destroyed. The Ottoman empire became a Mongol province, and Egypt itself was saved from the sword of Timur only by the immediate submission of its ruler.

Timur Devastates Asia Minor

The death of the dreaded conqueror, in 1405, was not only followed by a halt in the advance of the Mongols, but was the signal for the dissolution of Timur's empire. In Irak, the Ilkhan, Ahmed, who died in 1410, returned to the seat of government; in Kurdistan, Kara Yusuf, the ruler of the Turkomans of the Black Ram, captured Bagdad and put an end to the old Mongol dynasty, which dated back to Genghis Khan; the Egyptians reasserted their influence in Syria, and the Ottomans were restored to their independence in Asia Minor.

Timur's Empire Breaks up

Persia alone remained to Shah Roch, the successor of Timur, who carried on successful wars with the hordes of Turkomans of the Black and the White Ram in Kurdistan. His efforts to restore his devastated country to prosperity, and to assemble about his throne the few remaining scholars and poets of Iran, were a pleasing contrast to the rule of blood of Timur. But the intellectual no less than the economic power of the country was in a hopeless state of decline. The barren spirit of the Turkish people finally became supreme, the literature of Iran being replaced by bombast, while mechanical verses in the form of epistles supplanted the true poetry of former times.

BRUSSA, THE CAPITAL OF THE TURKISH EMPIRE IN ASIA MINOR

A DRUSE

A SHEIKH OF LEBANON

ARMENIAN WOMAN

ARMENIANS ARMED FOR DEFENCE AGAINST THE TURKS AND KURDS

DRUSE WOMEN OF LEBANON

NESTORIAN TEACHERS OF ARMENIA

TYPES OF THE VARIED PEOPLES OF TURKEY IN ASIA

THE TURKS IN WESTERN ASIA

FOUR CENTURIES OF OTTOMAN SUPREMACY

ALTHOUGH some small signs of progress were still visible in Persia and in Asia Minor, Syria and Mesopotamia had reached the lowest ebb of wretchedness—the one suffering under the miserable government of the Egyptian Mameluke emirs, and the other filled with hordes of nomads, who, after their old custom, looked upon a civilised country as existing only for plunder. These Turkoman nomads were divided into two main clans: the Kara Koinlo, or the Black Ram, and the Ak Koinlo, or the White Ram, so called after their war standards. They had gradually succeeded in taking possession of a large part of Armenia, Kurdistan, Mesopotamia, Azerbijan, and Eastern Asia Minor. All the lawless and unsettled hordes of Western Asia assembled under the banner of the Turkoman chieftains, united only in the hope of obtaining spoils; and when Kara Yusuf, the leader of the Kara Koinlo, prepared for war against Shah Roch, he was joined by innumerable bands of predatory nomads, all eager for an opportunity of advancing into the rich land of Persia.

The Lost Leader of the Nomads

Kara Yusuf died suddenly while on the march, and on the same day his vast army dispersed in all directions. The corpse of the leader, naked and despoiled, the ears cut off for the sake of their golden pendants, lay unburied on the trodden soil of the deserted camp. It was fortunate for Western Asia that the black horde soon became the deadly enemies of the Ak Koinlo, and that the two clans began to destroy one another; but before the desired end was attained the circle of devastation had increased to an alarming extent. The Kara Koinlo conquered Mesopotamia, and even took possession of Bagdad, but were finally defeated by the Ak Koinlo under Uzun Hassan, who temporarily ruled over the greater part of Persia, and destroyed the last remains of Timur's empire in 1467. Persia remained in the hands of Uzun Hassan and his successors for about twenty years, until at last, after a long period of servitude, the Iranian people began once more to develop a national spirit, and a domestic dynasty arose to power.

Since Egypt was able to maintain itself through the exploitation of merchants, in spite of its abominable government by the Mamelukes, and since the feeble empire of Trebizond in northern Asia Minor managed to cling tenaciously to life—only for the reason that a small portion of Asiatic trade found its way to the Black Sea through Northern Persia and Armenia—it was at least to be hoped that, after order had been somewhat restored in Western Asia, the celebrated ancient commercial route from the Persian Gulf through Basra and Bagdad to Syria would again come into use; that, as a result of this, agriculture and manufactures would also begin to reawaken in Irak; and, finally, that new life would be infused from the natural centre and heart of Western Asia into the other provinces. But Bagdad's former splendour did not return. The city still remained the greatest in the region of marshes that to-day, as before the beginning of ancient Babylonian civilisation, extends between the Euphrates and the Tigris. It still harboured many merchants and contained numerous bazaars, but richly laden caravans no longer made their way thither from India; no ships brought the wares of the Farthest East to the former emporium of Western Asia, and no long trains of merchants journeyed from Bagdad to the west, distributing their wares among the peoples of Europe. The caravans of Persian pilgrims that each year crossed the Tigris near Bagdad were the only sources of mercantile life remaining to the city. The final blow to the sinking prosperity of Western Asia was dealt by the nations of Europe, whose early navigators had discovered the new ocean route to India, thus leaving the overland roads through Persia in hopeless desolation.

Twilight of Bagdad's Splendour

Europe Deals the Final Blow

During the time when the sultans of Egypt were filling their treasuries with tolls extorted from merchants of all nations, and endeavouring to satisfy the constant demands of their Mamelukes with gold obtained from new monopolies and taxes,

Discovery of the Route to India

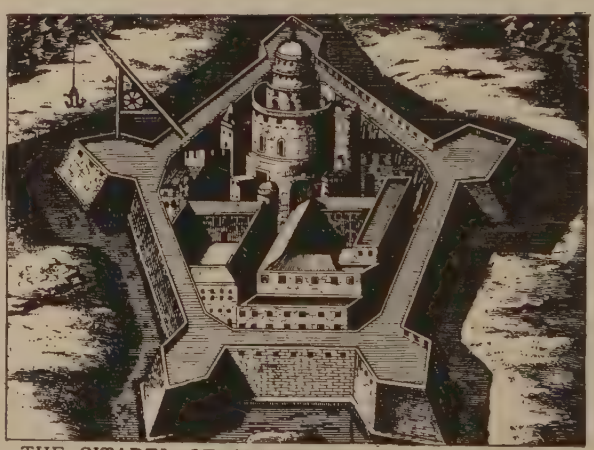
the pioneers of Portuguese maritime trade were cautiously feeling their way along the coast of Africa, until finally the Cape of Good Hope was discovered, and the ships of Vasco da Gama sailed into the ports of India. The warlike merchants of Portugal took good care that their discovery should be rewarded by a monopoly of the Eastern trade. Their men-of-war blocked up the commercial route through the Red Sea in the year 1507; and soon afterwards Ormuz, the most important intermediate trading station on the Persian Gulf, fell into the hands of the Portuguese Albuquerque. Ten years later the Mamelukes of Egypt, deprived of their artificial means of support, succumbed to the attacks of the Ottomans.

That warlike people did not immediately recover from the crushing defeat inflicted on them by Timur near Angora; moreover, the empire was torn asunder by struggles as to the succession. The attention of the Ottoman rulers was chiefly directed to European affairs, and thus for the time being the Turkish principalities, still existing in Asia Minor, were enabled to retain almost complete independence. Not until the year 1424, during the reign of the sultan Murad, did the Ottomans reassert their influence throughout the peninsula. At this time the military organisation of the Ottomans had reached a very high state of perfection; the Turkish cavalry was supplemented, after the Egyptian example, by enslaved or impressed Christians, who received a thorough military training and were incorporated into the standing army of infantry, the Janissary guard. In later years this army became as great a menace to the safety of the sultan as the Mamelukes had been to the ruler of Egypt; but for the time with which we are dealing they answered every purpose. A new era began for the Ottomans when the last remains of the Byzantine empire disappeared with the capture of Constantinople in 1453; and the Turks succeeded to the inheritance of this vast empire as well as to the claim to supremacy secured to them by the possession of the gigantic city on the Bosphorus.

That the Ottoman sultans invaded even Apulia because it had once formed a part of the Byzantine empire, and was therefore looked upon by them as theirs by right of conquest, was a certain proof that it would not be long before their covetous eyes would be turned toward the kingdom of the Mamelukes in Egypt. The two nations had been hostile to one another as early as the time when the hordes

Ottoman Advance in Asia Minor

of Timur were threatening without discrimination the whole of Western Asia; and as years passed the feeling of enmity increased rather than diminished. The Egyptian sultans clearly recognised that the small Turkish states in Asia Minor, which had hitherto withstood the Ottomans, formed their best wall of defence against the danger that was threatening them from the north. Especially important was the kingdom of Karaman, in the southern part of the peninsula, for which Ottomans, Egyptians, and Turkomans of the White Ram had long struggled, sometimes resorting to diplomatic deceit, sometimes to the sword. When the Ottoman sultan Mohammed finally succeeded in driving Uzun Hassan, the Turkoman ruler of Persia, out of Asia Minor, in 1473, Karaman fell to the share of the Turks, no attempt being made by Egypt to dispute the possession of the land with them; in



THE CITADEL OF ORMUZ IN THE 16TH CENTURY
After the discovery of the ocean route to India, the Portuguese gained, in 1507, Ormuz, the most important trading station on the Persian Gulf.

MOUNT ARARAT, THE MOST FAMOUS OF ARMENIA'S MANY MOUNTAINS

fact, Kait Bey, then sultan of Egypt, instead of taking an active part in the struggle, did nothing, and was content to imagine that the power of the Ottomans was being weakened by their wars with the Turkomans.

In later times also the Egyptians were unable to support the small states of Asia Minor. In the meanwhile the Ottomans had engaged in a successful struggle with the newly-awakened kingdom of Persia, in order to render secure their eastern frontier. The final contest with Egypt now became only a question of time, inasmuch as there was no lack of excuses for a war in view of the troubles over the boundary question in south-eastern Asia Minor. The wretched financial condition of Egypt had not only prevented the sultan Kansuveh Alguri, who ascended the throne in 1501, from entering into an alliance with Persia, but had put a stop to all proper preparations for meeting the threatening danger. When Kansuveh finally succeeded in concentrating his forces in the North of Syria, the Ottoman sultan, Selim I., had already assembled a superior army on the frontier; deceiving the Egyptians by pretending to enter into serious negotiations with them, he crossed the Cilician passes unhindered in 1516. The decisive battle was fought on the plain of Dabik to the north of Haleb, and, in spite of the bravery of the Mamelukes, the Egyptians were utterly defeated. Kansuveh fell, and the remnants of his troops retreated to Egypt. Syria fell into the hands of the Ottomans almost without a struggle; indeed, Selim was welcomed with joy in many provinces as a liberator from the Mameluke yoke.

The Final Contest with Egypt

During the following years Egypt also was conquered, an end soon being put to the courageous but hopeless resistance of Tuman Bey, the newly-chosen Mameluke sultan; Syria and Egypt henceforth became provinces of the Ottoman empire.

Ottoman Supremacy Achieved

Selim also carried the Abbassid caliph off with him to Constantinople. The latter was the last representative of a long line of spiritual governors, who, although possessed of only the shadow of temporal power, had led a very comfortable life of contemplation and ease in the valley of the Nile. The Ottoman sultans kept up the farce of having an Abbassid caliph for some years, until they finally did away with this unnecessary arrangement and took the dignity upon themselves. They

had all the more right to do this, because, together with Egypt, the sacred cities of Arabia had also fallen into their power. The sceptre of the caliphs regained its old authority in the hands of the dreaded Ottoman rulers; the Persians alone were able to shield themselves from the consequences of this event by openly declaring for the Shiite doctrines. Syria had neither gained nor lost by becoming a part of the Ottoman empire; but Egypt, already reduced by the turn taken in commercial affairs, not to speak of the fact that the greater part of her diminished income was now sent to Constantinople, became more and more desolate. The interests of the Ottoman sultans thereafter remained bound up chiefly in European affairs; at first they succeeded in forcing back the defenders of Occidental civilisation, but in later times they were desperately engaged in defending themselves from the counter-assaults of the Christian nations. As time passed, also, war became the main interest of the Ottomans; the idea of endeavouring to alleviate the misery of the conquered races of their vast empire scarcely entered their minds. It was only in respect to the art of warfare that they learned anything from the Europeans: for example, their artillery was admirably organised after European methods at a very early period. But in other respects the unimaginative, barren mind of the Ottoman held fast to old customs and conceptions of life with indomitable tenacity; every attempt towards improvement or progress was crushed. Thus, Turkish Western Asia continued to remain in the same hopeless condition into which it had been plunged years before by Timur's campaigns. Wherever a sign of prosperity became visible the Turkish system of government took good care that poverty and misery should be restored as soon as possible.

The Ottoman Empire

Evils of Ottoman Misrule

Unnoticed and avoided, untouched by the world's commerce, and unable to arouse themselves to new life without external aid, the Ottoman provinces of Western Asia continued to exist only as arid, hopeless wastes.

Evil enough has been the destiny of Armenia, the western neighbour of Persia. Never, since the short-lived efforts of Tigranes to establish a great empire, has Armenia been either independent or united. It is true that the mountainous character of the country has to a certain extent protected it from attacks from without; but it has also favoured the division of the land into small and defiant tribal kingdoms, whose constant feuds have presented foreign Powers with welcome opportunities for interfering with Armenian affairs.

The conversion of the inhabitants to Christianity, and the remarkable tenacity with which they held fast to their belief, converted Armenia into a bulwark of the Byzantine empire, and at the same time a favourite object for all attacks made with the object of weakening the Eastern Roman Empire and the power of the Christians. As long as the Byzantines were able to hold the line of the Taurus Mountains it was necessary for the Armenians and Georgians to defend a portion of their frontiers only; and at that time the Armenians, who were still a warlike race, had little difficulty in maintaining their position in spite of their lack of unity. Not until the downfall of the Abbassid caliphs, followed by the invasion of Azerbijan and the lower country of the Kur by the Turks, who not only constantly harassed the Armenians but opened up through their country a way to Asia Minor, did the days of complete destruction begin. Azerbijan now became the favourite headquarters of the nomads and Armenia their chief plundering ground and highway to the west. The Seljuks were followed by the Mongols under Hulagu, and the latter by the armies of Timur. In later times the unfortunate land was torn by the struggles between Turkomans, Ottomans, and Persians.

Armenia a Plundering Ground

Already during the time of the Seljuks multitudes of Armenians had emigrated southward to Cilicia. After the victories of the Byzantine emperor Nicephorus Phocas, Cilicia was evacuated by the Mohammedans; its rough mountain valleys and ravines offered a welcome place of refuge to the feudal nobility of Armenia. But this state of "Lesser Armenia," an independent principality subsequent to 1080, and a kingdom under Christian rulers after 1198, was in itself a land of roads to the west, for the possession of which many a sanguinary contest was fought. Sometimes the Byzantines or the Crusaders, and again the Egyptians,

the Mongols, or the sultan of Iconium sought to render their influence supreme. Finally, in 1350, the Egyptian Mamelukes conquered Armenia, then in close union with the Christian kingdom of Cyprus, and put an end to the Lesser Armenian state. The emigration from Armenia itself still continued, however, when, after the Mongol period, the Turkomans of the Black and the White Ram founded their kingdom in the Armenian-Kurdish mountain country; and the place of the retreating population was soon taken by Kurds and Turkish tribes. The Persian-Ottoman wars, of which the bulk of the expenses was paid by the Christian Armenians and Georgians, completed the evil; scarcely 1,000,000 of the original inhabitants were now left in their native country. The majority had become scattered over the provinces of Western Asia, some indeed penetrating as far as Eastern Europe.

During this period of trial and misfortune the character of the Armenian people underwent a fundamental change. Once warlike and lovers of liberty, feared on account of their exceptional bravery, they now became merchants and money-dealers; and it was with dissimulation and deceit, the weapons of the oppressed, that they struggled for their existence. But the part lately occupied by Armenia in the "Eastern Question" of to-day belongs properly to European history, and is dealt with in another volume.

Change of Armenian Character

The Ottoman government was not only unable to prevent the decay of Armenia, but, moreover, never made any really serious attempt to improve the condition of its inhabitants. And this is also true of the rest of Turkish Western Asia, of which the history for the last 400 years has been on the whole a period of complete stagnation. Nor could it well have been otherwise, according to the principles of Ottoman administration. Asia Minor, however, has always been better off than the other Western Asian provinces. It is true that, with the exception of a few remnants left in the cities of the coast, the ancient Roman-Byzantine civilisation wholly disappeared; but as an offset to this a healthy peasant and soldier population speaking the Turkish language developed in the heart of the peninsula. With this population, thanks to the years of Seljuk rule, the greater portion of the original inhabitants have amalgamated. The old Phrygians and Cappadocians, Bithynians and Galatians, now appear in history as "Turks," however small the infusion of Turkish blood may often be; to this very day it is from Asia Minor that the Ottomans derive most of their power, and here will they be able longest to withstand the advance of European civilisation.

Four Centuries of Stagnation

ERZEROUM, THE CAPITAL OF TURKISH ARMENIA

The mountainous character of the Armenian country, while protecting it from external attacks, has also favoured its division into tribal kingdoms, and it has never, since the days of Tigranes, been independent or united.

An entirely different picture is presented by Syria, only temporarily awakened from her lethargy by the conquest of Selim I. Here an extensive immigration of Turks did not take place; and the Mohammedans who had dwelt there before the advance of the Ottomans were confronted by a large population of other confessions, especially Christians, who were a serious menace to the Turkish government, inasmuch as the nations of Europe had taken a certain interest in the affairs of Syria

ever since the Crusades, and had ever striven to protect the Christians who dwelt there. Far from the centre of the empire, encompassed by hostile neighbours, and entrusted with the welfare of the unstable inhabitants of their own provinces, the governors of Syria and Mesopotamia led a practically independent existence, although it is true that the Damoclian sword of imperial disfavour was always suspended above them. They sometimes even went so far as to make war on their own initiative; and such of them as had powerful friends at the court in Constantinople, and were ready to offer bribes at the right moment, were able not only to retain their positions, but often to pursue their own policy unmolested. The pashas of the smaller districts, however, possessed far less authority, especially in Syria, where neither the mountain tribes of Lebanon nor the Arabs of the steppes were willing to submit to the Turkish yoke. The jealousy between the pashas of Egypt and Damascus formed an absurd epilogue to the old struggles between the Egyptians and the Western Asian peoples for the possession of Syria.

Syria's Independent Governors

For a time it seemed as if the mountain tribe of the Druses would succeed in establishing an independent kingdom in Northern Syria. The Druses were one of those remarkable races of refugees that are formed out of various elements in almost all lands of high mountains, and originally developed from a colony of Ismailian immigrants who wandered into the ravines of Lebanon about the year 1020 during the period of confusion that followed the death of the caliph Hakim. In the course of time they were joined by the persecuted of various other nations. The Druses were distinguished from the other mountain tribes, especially from the Christian Maronites, the descendants of monotheistic refugees who had long been their neighbours, by their peculiar religion — a combination of Ismailite, Christian, and Zoroastrian doctrines. They had no relation whatsoever to the remnants of the Assassins.

The Druses of Lebanon

Towards the end of the sixteenth century the Druses greatly increased in number and influence; and it was only their division into two hostile groups, the Yemenites and the Kases, or Kaisites, after the manner of the ancient Arabians, that enabled the Turks once more to reassert their influence in the mountains of Lebanon. An Ottoman army was despatched against them in 1585; but, in spite of fire and sword and all possible atrocities, the success of the Turks was temporary only.

In 1599 Fakhr ed-din, a man of great ability, assumed the leadership of the Kases, subjected or expelled the Yemenites, and took possession of a portion of the Syrian coast. Interest was aroused in Europe, and Ferdinand I. of Tuscany entered into an alliance with Fakhr ed-din and planned a great league between the Pope, Spain, Tuscany and the Druses for the reconquest of Jerusalem. But the Druses could not exist without constant support from Europe and the bribing of influential personages at the Ottoman court, who were able to prevent any active steps being taken against them; as soon as they were deprived of these two pillars of support their kingdom came to an abrupt end. In 1633 a Turkish fleet blockaded the coast, and an army advanced into the mountains; the next year Fakhr ed-din surrendered, and soon afterward was

MUSCAT, AN INDEPENDENT SULTANATE OF ARABIA
On the old overland route between India and Mesopotamia there arose, after the Ottoman conquest, the independent sultanate of Muscat in South-eastern Arabia.

beheaded in Constantinople. In comparison with this attempt to establish a national government, the numerous rebellions of Turkish pashas, of which the recent history of Syria is chiefly composed, scarcely deserve mention. Mehemet Ali, who sought to renew the ancient claims of Egypt upon Syria, accomplished but little of permanent good during his temporary period of rule, which lasted from 1833 to 1840. The fate of Syria continued to be unfortunate until the present day; the influence of European civilisation has finally begun to reach the districts of the Mediterranean coast, and progress is now noticeable, especially in the economic conditions of Palestine. But the rise of a national spirit is not to be thought of. In the middle of the nineteenth century, from May to October, 1860, the Druses began to massacre the Maronites, and thereby gave the French occasion to renew their old claims to the protection of the Syrian Christians. During the most recent times the majority of the Druses have migrated to the Hauran, where they live still more independently of the Turkish pashas.

No Syrian National Spirit

Irak and Arabia, once centres of the Mohammedan world, have continued to sink lower and lower, until to-day little remains to either of its former prosperity and importance. Irak had always been a semi-artificial state, chiefly dependent on a vast system of canals and the commercial route from India and Persia to the west for its wealth and power. But the constantly recurring invasions of hostile races, combined with the change in the routes taken by the world's commerce, transformed the ancient plain of Babylon once more into a desolate, poisonous land of swamps and marshes, which the Turkish pashas, of all men, least understood how to restore to welfare.

Modern Insignificance of Arabia

Arabia sank to an insignificance that was in truth wholly consistent with its small population and low plane of culture. It was left to itself; and its degeneration into small, mutually hostile emirates was not hindered by the caliphs. Only in Mecca and Medina the Abbassides, the Fatemides, and all other powers who laid claim to the leadership of the Mohammedan religious world sought to retain their influence. The pilgrimages, in consequence, were often warlike expeditions.

Not long after 966, when the Egyptian Fatemides obtained the place of honour in the sacred cities, an Alidic family succeeded in putting an end to the republican-anarchic state of affairs in the city of pilgrims, and established the Grand Sherifat of Mecca, which from this time forth possessed sometimes more, sometimes less power in Western Arabia. The ablest of the Grand Sherifs was Oatadah (1200), whose descendants reigned over their little kingdom until the time of the Wahabis in the eighteenth century. Various influences were at all times centred in Mecca; even from Yemen claims were constantly being made to the sovereignty of the city. When the Ottomans conquered Egypt, Yemen could be subdued only by force of arms. The old commercial significance of Yemen was lost after the country was conquered by the Ottomans. As an offset to this, the independent sultanate of Muscat arose in South-eastern Arabia on the ancient commercial route between India and Irak, and, after the Portuguese had been driven out, developed into a firmly constituted state, setting firm foot in Persia and finally also in Zanzibar. But in the central provinces of Arabia a storm arose in the middle of the eighteenth century that calls to the mind the early warlike period of Mohammedanism. The reforming sect of the Wahabis, founded by Mohammed abd-el Wahab, about 1745, expressed their views with all due emphasis of fire and sword, and finally succeeded in conquering Mecca itself in 1803. A striking parallel to Mahomet was presented by this reformer. The doctrines of the Wahabis were a protest on the part of the old Arabs against the caricature of the original belief which had gradually developed out of the simple teachings of Mahomet as well as against the degeneracy and luxury of the inhabitants of Mecca. That city did not remain long in the possession of the Wahabis; for in the year 1818 the Egyptian Viceroy, Mehemet Ali, took advantage of the confusion that reigned in Arabia and occupied Hedjaz. However, the plans of this ambitious prince eventually came to nothing, and Western Arabia was once more placed under the direct government of the Turks.

Reform By Fire and Sword

Abbas the Great

Aga Mohammed

Kerim Khan

Tamasp

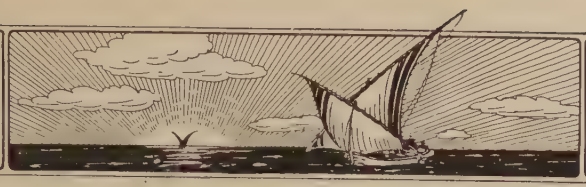
Hosain

Futti Ali Shah

Nadir Shah

SOME OF PERSIA'S RULERS, FROM NATIVE PAINTINGS

Tamasp, son of the founder of the Sefid dynasty, who reigned from 1524 to 1576, abandoned part of his empire to the Turks, but Abbas I., the Great, brought the empire to great prosperity. Hosain, the last of the Sefids, abdicated in 1722. Nadir Shah, a Turk, gained great victories in India, and was followed by Kerim Khan (1751-1779), an anti-Turk. Aga Mohammed Khan, a monster of cruelty, founded, in 1794, the dynasty which still rules. He was followed by Futti Ali Shah.



PERSIA IN MODERN TIMES

THE SURVIVAL OF AN ANCIENT NATIONALITY

THE fate of Persia was more fortunate than that of Egypt, for the people of Iran showed that in spite of all the misfortunes to which they had been subjected there was at least enough vitality left in them for the formation and maintenance of a national government of their own.

In Azerbijan—that is to say, in a region that, together with the neighbouring provinces of the Elbruz Mountains, held longest and most tenaciously to its Iranian character—arose the national dynasty of the Sefids, who, it must be confessed, were greatly indebted for both their influence and power to the mixture of Turkish blood that ran in their veins; the Iranians were, indeed, compelled to make the best of the Turkish elements that were now ineradicably fixed in the heart of Persia. At the same time, however—as had now become the rule in Persia—the new dynastic movement centred in a religious question which was very closely connected with the national feeling. The Turks had become orthodox Mohammedans or adherents of the Sunnitic doctrines almost without exception, the simpler Arabian spirit of the Sunnitic teachings appealing far more to their nomadic temperament than the imaginative symbolical treatment of Islam of the Shiites. All things that had to do with the latter originated with the Iranians. The house of Ali always succeeded in finding adherents in Persia; an Alidic dynasty had long been able to maintain itself even in the mountain valleys of Tabaristan.

The Old Religious Question

Thus Ismail el-Safi, the founder of the Sefid dynasty, "the Sofies," was able to unfurl the banner of the Shiites, together with the national standard, without arousing the enmity of the Turks; for he was descended on his mother's side from Uzun Hassan, the sultan of the Turkomans of the White Ram, and, indeed, his most faithful followers were Shiitic Turks. Ismail experienced but little difficulty in establishing himself in Ghilan, and in a comparatively short time succeeded not only in depriving the descendants of Hassan of their inheritance, but in extending his dominion from Armenia and Irak as far as Transoxania, in 1507. The new Persian Government at once aroused the hostility of the Ottomans, the more so for the reason that the doctrines of the Shiites had become the national religion of Iran, and were in open opposition to the Sunnitic confession of the vast majority of the Turks. The Ottoman sultan, Selim, was not slow to follow the time-honoured traditions of his race, inasmuch as he immediately made arrangements for a persecution of the Shiites in his empire on a great scale, cutting down without mercy all he could capture of these natural allies of the Persians. Ismail, who thereupon fell upon the eastern Ottoman provinces, was forced to retreat before the superior forces of Selim, and was thoroughly defeated at Tebriz in 1514; the result was the loss of Mesopotamia, Kurdistan, and Western Armenia. Ismail's son, Tamasp, who reigned from 1524 to 1576, was obliged to abandon Irak and Azerbijan to the Ottomans in 1534; not until the reign of Shah Abbas I., 1586–1629, was the Persian frontier extended farther to the west.

Moslem Sects at War

Although the adoption of Shiitic doctrines played a great part in the reawakening of the Iranian national spirit, it was at the same time an insurmountable obstacle to complete unity. Ever since the time of the Ghaznavides, the Afghans had been fanatical Sunnites, and, as a result, were far more sympathetically inclined towards the Turks than towards their Shiite relatives. The unfortunate state of affairs that had reigned in Iran ever since the fall of the Sassanidæ was still visible in this religious division. However, the Iranian people were well able to control the Turks, at least so long as the latter did not receive fresh additions from the north-east. The Kisilbashes, a tribe of

Perpetual Division in Iran

Turks who had adopted the Shiitic faith together with the Persian language, were the first example of the coming amalgamation. It is true that these Turks considered themselves to be the true masters of the land; and it was not until Abbas I. had succeeded in surrounding himself with a circle of unconditionally faithful adherents, and in establishing a standing army of Persian infantry and cavalry, that the supremacy of the Iranianised Turks was overcome. At all events, the Sefids performed the great service of closing the gates of Khorassan, thereby checking the advance of the Central Asiatic Turks towards Eastern Iran. The military importance of Khorassan again caused this province to play a very independent part in Persian history; the Sefid, Abbas, reigned there independently for many years, even during the lifetime of his father, the shah of Persia, until finally the rest of Iran fell to him as an inheritance.

Nomadic Immigration Stopped

During this comparatively prosperous period of Sefid rule, the economic condition of Persia gradually improved. Abbas sought to infuse new life into industry by inducing Armenians to immigrate into his provinces, and to further commerce through the construction of new roads and bridges. The discovery of the ocean route to India had affected the commercial position of Persia no less than that of Egypt. Iran was now scarcely taken into consideration as a commercial route from India to the west; still, the Persians of the southern coast were able to establish direct commercial relations with the maritime nations of Europe; while in the north trade began to develop with Russia over the Caucasian passes and the Caspian Sea. Traffic with Russia was also furthered by the bitter hostility between Persia and the Ottoman Empire, which led to the blocking up of all the overland routes to the west. Persia was the natural ally of the European nations that were threatened by the Turks; and European envoys appeared more and more frequently in Iran as time went on, Abbas having already endeavoured to form a great confederation of nations against the Ottomans. The English in particular sought aid from the Persians during their attempts to take possession of India and of East Indian trade; and thus it came about that Persian troops, in combination with an English fleet, conquered Ormuz, still a flourishing province, drove out the Portuguese, and transformed the land into a wilderness. But the Persians were sadly disappointed in their hopes of a great development of Iranian-English commerce. The port of Bender Abbas, founded by Shah Abbas, never attained to any great importance.

Persia an Ally against the Turks

The chief article of export from Persia at that time was silk—no longer the silk of China, carried by caravans along the celebrated routes of Central Asia over Transoxania to Iran, but a product of Persia itself; as early as the period of Sassanidæan rule the silkworm had been imported from China to Iran and the west. But Persia only temporarily maintained her supremacy in silk-weaving; as soon as the Byzantines became acquainted with the trade they outstripped all competitors, Greek silk taking the place of Persian. In the dowry of Fatima, daughter of Melekshah (1072–1092), who married the caliph Moktadi Billah in 1077, were included 900 camels laden with Greek silk. But the fall of the Byzantine empire, and the decay of its economic prosperity following the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, caused Persian silk once more to become an important article of the world's commerce.

Persia's Silk Trade

But now that Persia had once more risen to prosperity after centuries of devastation and decay, the land became a tempting goal for nomadic robber expeditions. Shah Abbas attempted to adapt the excellent military system of the Turks to Persian requirements, and to form the nucleus of a national army by the creation of a standing force of infantry; but his weak successors added nothing in the way of improvement to these insufficient beginnings; and finally the Sefids submitted almost without a struggle to the attacks of new opponents.

These new enemies were the Afghans, the Eastern Sunnitic branch of the Iranians, who had managed to retain a large amount of independence owing to their geographical situation between Persia and the powerful empire of the Great Mogul and the successors of Timur in India. Finally, it became necessary for the Persians to send an army to Kandahar in order to re-establish the influence of the Shah and to strengthen the Indian frontier.

THE LOT OF REFORMERS: A GROUP OF PERSIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS

A PRINCE OF PERSIA

DERVISH OF THE PERSIAN DESERT

PERSIAN LADY

PERSIAN LADIES TAKING OUTDOOR EXERCISE

A MERCHANT

ONLY PEOPLE OF WESTERN ASIA PRESERVING THEIR ANCIENT NATIONALITY

The unscrupulous conduct of the Persian troops drove the Afghans into rebellion; and since the latter took up arms also as champions of the Sunnitic faith, numerous Turkish and Kurdish tribes followed their example and rose against the Shiitic rulers of Persia. At the same time another horde of Turks burst into Khorassan.

Afghans Rule Persia

Mahmud, the leader of the Afghans, boldly advanced on Ispahan with a small army, defeated the Persians, and after long siege entered the capital in triumph; Hosain, the last independent ruler of the Sefid dynasty, abdicated in favour of Mahmud in the thirty-second year of his reign (1722).

Apparently the Iranian element had now won a complete victory, and had shaken off the last remains of Turkish influence, which the Sefids had still been obliged to tolerate. Nevertheless, the differences in religion rendered it impossible for a true reconciliation to take place between East and West. When Mahmud, who had at first distinguished himself by showing a great moderation, finally lost his head completely in his endangered position at Ispahan, and endeavoured to render his throne secure by senseless massacres, as well as by filling the ranks of his weak army with semi-barbarous Kurds, all hopes of prosperity under Afghan rule disappeared. Moreover, the kingdom was unprotected from external foes. The Russians, under Peter the Great, occupied the passes of the Caucasus at Derbent without encountering opposition; and the Turks were prevented from advancing into the interior of Persia only by the heroic resistance of the inhabitants of Tebriz. In fact, a division of Northern and Western Persia between the Russians and Turks had already been agreed upon. Fortunately for Ashraf, the successor of Mahmud, the war against the Sunnitic Afghans was as little popular with the Turkish people and army as was the alliance with the Christian Russians. Ashraf made the most of these circumstances; and, after winning a small victory near Ispahan, showed a most generous spirit of reconciliation, and consequently was enabled to come to fair terms of peace. The western provinces, however, were lost, and the result of the war was that the Persians were obliged to recognise the spiritual supremacy of the Ottoman sultan.

Ottoman Ascendency in Persia

The new Afghan dynasty did not remain long at the head of affairs. The Sefid prince Tamasp occupied Masenderan, and his troops, commanded by the Kisilbash Turk Nadir, finally routed the Afghans in 1730. It was not the Sefid prince who ascended the throne of Persia, but his general, in whom he had evidently placed too much confidence. It appeared, in fact, that Persia was incapable of an independent existence without the Turks. Nadir, after several successful campaigns against the Ottomans, advanced his frontiers further to the west; he also completely overthrew the power of the Afghans, and on doing away with the last remains of the Sefids in 1736 felt himself called upon to renounce the doctrines of the Shiites and to become a convert to orthodoxy. The dissatisfaction aroused by this step did not appear immediately; the energy of the shah, and the brilliance of his victorious campaigns against the descendants of Timur in India, silenced all opposition. Owing to his defeat of the Afghans, Nadir was enabled to occupy the Indian passes; and he well knew how to make use of the advantages gained thereby. The empire of the Moguls under Mohammed Shah (1719–48) was thoroughly plundered in 1738–39, and the Indus became the future Persian boundary; laden with booty, the army returned home. The large amount of money now in circulation, coupled with a general reduction in the taxes, although a cause of great joy to the common people, was naturally of no lasting benefit to the economic affairs of the land. But at least the army, which had been splendidly trained by Nadir, lost none of its efficiency. The subjugation of the Transoxanian Turks and the Khivans soon proved that Persia was able to hold the gates of Khorassan as well as to undertake expeditions against the nomadic tribes of the north.

A Reign of Prosperity

Unfortunately, Nadir, like so many of his predecessors in the Orient, became transformed from a clever and energetic ruler into a mistrustful, bloodthirsty despot, who was led to commit unspeakably stupid atrocities out of anxiety for his treasures and suspicion that the Shiites desired to deprive him of his throne. His efforts to increase the national revenues and to enliven commerce were praiseworthy, however unpractical; for example, he

ordered wood for the construction of a fleet on the Persian Gulf to be sent all the way from the Elbruz Mountains. Nevertheless, he showed in all his attempts to improve the economic condition of his state knowledge of what constitutes the true wealth of a land—a knowledge that is rarely found among Oriental rulers.

After the murder of Nadir on June 20th, 1747, a new period of adversity began. The Afghan Ahmed Khan immediately proclaimed his independence in Kandahar, while Persia itself was given over to quarrels as to the succession. At last the successors of Nadir were able to hold Khorassan alone. The confusion continued until Kerim Khan, a member of the nomadic Persian tribe of Zend, took possession of the throne in 1751, and came forward as a champion of Iran against the Turks.

After his death, in 1779, the land fell once more into complete decay, until, in 1794, Aga Mohammed Khan, the leader of the Shiite Turkish tribes of the Kajars in Masenderan, succeeded after a severe struggle in founding the dynasty which occupies the throne of Persia to-day. The transference of the capital to Teheran was of itself an indication that the kingdom was again ruled by Turks, for Teheran is situated nearer to the pasturages of the Turkish clans of the north-west and north than is either Ispahan or Shiraz [see illustration at the top of page 1989], the residence of Kerim Khan, who characteristically chose the ancient Persis for his seat of government. Khorassan, the headquarters of the descendants of Nadir, was once more conquered, and the unfortunate province of Georgia, which had placed itself under Russian protection, was reduced to the utmost state of desolation. A Russian army shortly appeared and threatened Azerbijan; but the death of the Empress Catherine and the accession of her successor Paul averted a conflict that would in all probability have been fatal to the fortunes of Aga Mohammed.

It was then that the first suspicion may have dawned in Persia of what the vast, constantly advancing power of Russia signified for Western Asia. Twice Persia endeavoured to drive back the champions of Western civilisation and Christianity beyond the Caucasus; but each time her efforts were of no avail. Under the terms of the peace of October 24th, 1813, the majority of the Persian provinces of the Caucasus fell into Russian hands; and after a second war, Persian Armenia, together with the capital Erivan, were evacuated by Persia, under a treaty concluded on February 23rd, 1828.

RUINS OF AN ANCIENT ROYAL PALACE OF SHIRAZ, ONCE THE CAPITAL OF PERSIA

Throughout the later wars carried on by Russia against the tribes of the Caucasus, Persia has remained inactive. During the course of the nineteenth century Russian armies also advanced to the east of the Caspian Sea, and into Transoxania, where one province after another was compelled to acknowledge the supremacy of the conquering Europeans. Finally, the last tribes of free Turkomans of Akhal-tekke and Merv submitted to the superior arms and discipline of their opponents. There is no longer any danger

to be expected from the nomads of Central Asia; it is the civilisation of Europe that now knocks for admittance at the gates of Khorassan. Thus, the old conditions are reversed. Culture once flourished in Iran, and again and again overcame the might of the intruding barbarians. To-day Persia herself is in a condition of semi-barbarism; the dangerous task of assuming the manners and

THE NORTH GATE AT TEHERAN

Teheran was made the capital of Persia in 1794, following Ispahan, of which a view is given at the top of page 1989.

customs of the superior races of Europe without being devoured by them during the process now lies before her.

The relations between Persia and Russia began to create a certain interest in Persian affairs in the minds of British Indian statesmen at the opening of the nineteenth century. The alliance between Napoleon and the Tsar at the Treaty of Tilsit called attention to the possibility of an overland invasion of India. Diplomatic relations, first opened in 1801, were renewed; but interest lapsed when the fear of Napoleon disappeared. In India, indeed, the Government has ever viewed the continuous approach of the Russian shadow with apprehension; in Great Britain fits of extreme alarm generally alternate with fits of extreme negligence. No serious effort was made to counteract the pressure of Russia on Persia, which, without British support, found itself driven into the arms of the Slavonic Power.

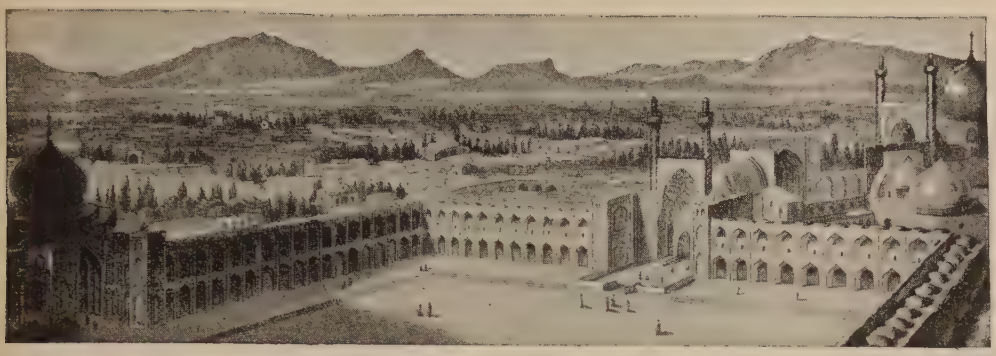
With surreptitious encouragement from Russia, or at least with a rash expectation of Russian support, Mehemet Shah, in 1836, dreamed of a restored Mohammedan empire extended over Hindustan, and with that ultimate end in view attempted to recover the Persian suzerainty in Afghanistan. Russia, however, had no intention of embroiling herself, and Persia was forced to retire. A similar move, though doubtless with a less ambitious aim, was frustrated in 1856–7, during the reign of Nasir ed-din (1848–1898), the shah whose visits to Europe in 1873 and 1878 excited much public curiosity.

For the last fifty years there has been a continuous rivalry between Russia and Great Britain, the former Power exercising a persistent and the latter an intermittent pressure to obtain commercial and railway concessions and counter-concessions, the dominating fact being the consciousness of both that if ever Russia achieves access to and possession of a naval base in the Persian Gulf, Indian waters will cease in effect to be exclusively British waters. Of recent years, the

THE FAMOUS DIAMOND GATE OF TEHERAN

international position has been somewhat further complicated by signs that the Germans also are taking an interest in Persian railway schemes. Between Russia and Great Britain, however, the antagonism has been at least modified for the time by the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907, which has apportioned definite spheres of influence to the two Powers.

HEINRICH SCHURTZ
LEONARD W. KING



WESTERN ASIA IN OUR OWN TIME

BY ANGUS HAMILTON

PRIOR to the arrival of Germany in Asia Minor and Russia in Central Asia Great Britain may be said to have dominated the Middle East. With the intention of preserving Persia from the unfortunate influence of Russia, the British Government in the past had followed on occasion an unusually energetic policy. Britain's operations in respect of Herat, however, had succeeded merely in impressing Persia with a feeling of bitterness against her, equalled only by the dread with which that Power regarded Russia.

Before Germany had begun to sap the position of Great Britain at Constantinople, and Russia to impress the Shah with the power of her sword, the British Government was content to exercise jurisdiction over the Persian Gulf, the coasts of Arabia, and, in fact, the whole of Southern Persia. Mohammera and Bushire, as well as the island of Kharak, were in Britain's possession in 1857. An earlier depôt, serving as a military and naval station, was the island of Kishm, where Britain had settled first in 1820, and on which the Admiralty maintained coal yards.

British Influence in Persia

In the Persian capital British influence was no less assured. Again, at Bagdad, across the border, Britain had laid the foundations of a position which reached its height in the middle of the last century. From Bagdad, and throughout Mesopotamia to the shores of the Gulf, respect was readily accorded to British authority by the semi-independent, wholly lawless, and usually piratical sheikhs who exercised despotic dominion over the region. Indeed, if the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries witnessed successive conflicts between Portuguese, Dutch, French and British pioneers of East Indian adventure, at the dawn of the nineteenth century the influence and trade of Great Britain were unquestionably pre-eminent because foreign trade was satisfied to rely upon British protection. Although the situation created at Teheran by the troubles on the Afghan frontier in 1885 was most unfortunate, the damaging effects attaching to it were soon eliminated by the personal influence of Sir Ronald Thomson, Britain's progressive and enlightened Minister in the Persian capital. Not only had Sir Ronald Thomson won the entire confidence of the Shah, but he pushed British interests to a foremost place by advocating most strongly the opening of the Karun river, the construction of a road between Teheran and Ahvaz, as well as the provision of a service of steamers on the Karun. Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, who went to Persia in 1887, carried the efforts of his predecessor several stages further, and in 1888 the Karun river was open to international navigation as far as Ahvaz.

Landmark in Persia's Evolution

The year 1888 became a landmark in the economic evolution of Persia. Not only was the Karun river freed to commerce, but on June 25th the first railway was opened under the auspices of a Belgian company. This little line, with a length of five and a half miles, the first and last of its kind in Persia, ran from the capital to the mosque Shah Ab-dul-Azim. Since 1893 two branches, two and a half miles in length, have been added, but the lines, together with the Teheran tramway, built in 1889, long ago passed

into the hands of a Russian company. Although failure was not contemplated by the pioneers in the Persian field of concessions, the Imperial Bank of Persia represents the sole instance of success. Issued on January 30th, 1889, to Baron Julius de Reuter, in exchange for a concession granted in 1872, which leased for seventy years all possible forms of commercial development in Persia, the charter for the formation of a Persian state bank carried with it the exclusive right of issuing bank-notes as well as the control of a variety of mines and mineral deposits. Although the concession of 1872 had not materialised, and Baron de Reuter had paid to the Shah no less than $200,000 deposit, which was lost when the concession was cancelled, Russia was known to be much annoyed at the character of Baron de Reuter's latest concession. Early in the following month, therefore, Prince Dolgorouki, the Russian Minister in Teheran, obtained a pre-emption over all railway concessions in Persia for the following five years, as well as the right to establish a Russian Consul-General at Meshed. Eight months later, on October 23rd, the Imperial Bank of Persia, having bought out for $100,000 the recently established New Oriental Banking Corporation, opened its doors. In November, 1890, however, the Russian Government succeeded in having the terms of its secret railway agreement with Persia extended until the year 1900.

The Gamble of Concessions

Ellis & Walery

NASIR ED-DIN, SHAH OF PERSIA

Nasir ed-din, who was assassinated in 1896, appreciated the value of an understanding with Great Britain, and during his rule Russia obtained no great success at British expense.

Secure in its possession of the rights over the mineral wealth of Persia, the Imperial Bank of Persia ceded to the Persian Bank Mining Rights Corporation, in 1890, its powers in respect of mineral deposits. In the following year, too, the Imperial Tobacco Corporation developed from the concession of a tobacco monopoly which had been granted to British capitalists in 1890. Unhappily, the fates of these two companies were disastrous. The former went into liquidation in 1894. The latter, on account of local differences and disturbances, which reached a head on January 4th, 1892, suffered the cancellation of its concession in the following April. At the same time it received from the Persian Treasury an indemnity of $2,500,000, met by a loan of $2,500,000 at six per cent. on the security of the customs of the Persian Gulf from the Imperial Bank of Persia. Similar misfortune attended a concession for the monopoly of lotteries, which, granted to a Persian subject and ceded to a British syndicate for $200,000, was withdrawn, inflicting a direct loss of the purchase money on the promoters.

Disastrous Ends of Monopolies

With the retirement of Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, for reasons of health, in 1890, and the arrival of his successor, Sir Frank Lascelles, in the autumn of 1891, a new era may be said to have been inaugurated. Save for the activity of the Imperial Bank of Persia in developing a system of carriageable roads, for the next nine years British enterprise stood still. On the other hand, the interests and prestige of Russia increased. Enhanced by the diplomatic skill of the Russian Minister in Teheran and the efforts of the Russian Consul-General at Meshed, a steady development had marked Russian commercial relations with North-east Persia. Russian interests were further promoted in 1895 by the announcement of a tariff, designed for the express purpose of stopping the Indo-Transcaspian trade that made Khorassan its centre of distribution. Unfortunately, the system of rebates offered by Russian railways to goods of Russian manufacture that were destined for the Persian markets, and the granting of subsidies to manufacturers who were interested in the Russo-Persian trade, had already brought about the practical extinction of Indian trade with Khorassan. With a view to meeting Russian competition, therefore, the Indian Government

decided in 1896 to open up a trade route between Quetta and Seistan. The action of Russia in North-east Persia had aroused the attention of the Government of India as early as 1890, but action was impossible since the Amir of Afghanistan occupied a portion of the region through which the suggested route would pass. By the terms of the Durand Agreement of 1893 this obstacle was removed, and between 1894 and 1896 boundary commissions delimitated the Afghan-Baluch and the Perso-Baluch borders, upon completion of which the new route was opened.

While Russia and India were competing for the trade of Khorassan, Nasir ed-din was assassinated on May 1st, 1896. The late Shah appreciated the value of an understanding with Great Britain, and in spite of the political advantages which described the Russian position, Russia had obtained under his rule no very conspicuous success at Britain's expense. With his successor, Muzaffar ed-din, who had been compelled to seek the financial assistance of the Imperial Bank of Persia in order to travel from Tabriz, where he was crowned and where he had resided as Governor-General of Azerbijan, to take his seat on the throne, matters were different, since for many years he had been subject to Russian control.

SHAH MUZAFFAR ED-DIN
Muzaffar ed-din, who reigned from 1896 to January, 1907, was subject for many years to the control of Russia, who secured the sole right of issuing loans to the Persian Government.

Among the difficulties confronting the new Shah at his accession was an entire absence of money. A loan was sought, but, although the sum wanted was only 5,000,000 dollars, the British Government did not follow the advice of Sir Mortimer Durand, then British Minister at Teheran, and guarantee the amount. In the negotiations British capitalists demanded the right of placing their own agents in charge of those custom houses whose receipts were offered as security. Although, in regard to a sum of $250,000 this point was conceded to the Imperial Bank of Persia, it was declined where it had reference to the larger sum. As a consequence the proposals fell through, to the bitter disappointment of the Shah, who, abandoning a contemplated visit to Europe, formed a most unfortunate impression of the British Government.

British Financial Aid Refused

Compelled by stress of financial difficulties to find methods for improving the revenue, the reform of the customs department was decided upon in 1898. The services of a number of custom house officials from Belgium were obtained, and the complete reorganisation of the methods begun. Under the supervision of M. Naus, lately Director-General of Persian customs, the new system was instituted first at Tabriz and Kermanshah in March, 1899, and twelve months later throughout the whole of Persia. Although the total Persian revenue at once appreciated, the Shah himself was still pressed for funds, and in the course of the summer of 1899 negotiations for a loan were opened again with London. Rendered impatient by delays, however, the Shah issued a firman in September which authorised the Russian Banque des Prêts, now called the Banque d'Escompte de Perse, to float a loan, when it became known that British capitalists were willing to advance $6,250,000 at five per cent. to be issued at 82. This offer came too late for acceptance, and, on January 30th, 1900, the Russian Government officially announced the issue of a loan for $12,000,000. Secured upon the custom receipts of the whole of Persia, with the exception of those for the Persian Gulf, it was guaranteed, bore interest at five per cent. and was issued at 85.

A British Offer Too Late

Although Russia waived the right of control over the Persian customs, upon which British capitalists had insisted, she made it a condition that the balance of the British loan of 1892 should be paid off, and the indebtedness of the Persian Treasury to the Imperial Bank of Persia and the International Bank of Commerce

liquidated. It was stipulated, too, that Persia should contract no other loan with a foreign government for ten years. The loan nominally was for $12,000,000, but Persia had so many obligations that she had but little more than $5,000,000 to her credit when they had been satisfied. Within a few months a further loan was required. On October 27th, 1901, Persia received from the Russian Government a further 7½ million dollars, on the understanding that the tariff of the Persian customs should be revised in favour of Russia and that the period during which Persia should contract no further loan from Powers other than Russia should be increased to 1912, while the Railway Agreement was extended to 1905.

Persian Dependence on Russia

While Russia—by means of the secret railway agreement and the loan agreement, and through the advantages accruing to her under the 1901 Russo-Persian tariff revision and from the reorganisation of the Persian customs—established a political, as well as an economic, supremacy over Northern Persia, Germany followed in Asia Minor a policy inspired by an identical purpose. Committed to commercial expansion as an economic necessity, she conceived the plan of developing Asia Minor by an elaborate system of railways which should connect her own commercial centres with new, but none the less profitable, markets. Hitherto, no attempt had been made to exploit the commercial capacity of Turkey-in-Asia. For many years only two railways of importance were in existence: the Smyrna-Aidin Railway, for which a concession had been granted in 1856 to an English company, and the Smyrna-Kassaba Railway, which dated from 1863. In 1871, the Ottoman Government had constructed some fifty-six miles of railway between Haidar Pasha and Ismid, which in 1880 had been leased to an English company for a term of twenty years, subject to compensation if the arrangement were terminated before the expiry of that period. In 1888, ten years before the German Emperor made his dramatic pilgrimage to the Holy Land, Germany secured two Imperial Irades which conveyed to an agent of the Deutsche Bank powers over the Haidar Pasha-Ismid line, and a ninety-nine years' concession for its extension to Angora, with a retrospective guarantee of 10,300 francs per kilometre, and a prospective guarantee of 15,000 francs per kilometre.

Germany Develops Asia Minor

The Ottoman Company of Anatolian Railways, financed by German capital, now blossomed into existence, and by 1892 work had been completed. In the following year another Irade granted to the company the right to construct a branch from Eski Shehir to Konia, which was completed in 1896, as well as powers to extend the line from Angora to Kaisariyeh, with authority to carry it viâ Sivas, Diarbekir, and the Tigris valley to Bagdad. The irritation aroused in Russia by the announcement of a German railway in the northern part of Asia Minor was sufficient to cause the Angora-Bagdad project to be abandoned in favour of the Konia-Bagdad route, in respect of which a preliminary concession was signed in 1899 between the representatives of the Porte and the Anatolian Company. A little later, on January 16th, 1902, an Imperial Irade, approving the final details of the earlier proposals, was issued, but not before the Porte had conceded to Russia, in the terms of the Black Sea Basin Agreement of 1900, priority of rights throughout the Asiatic provinces of Turkey that drain into the Black Sea in respect of the construction of railways.

The Bagdad Railway

With a view to eliciting the co-operation of foreign capital in the development of the powers granted by the conventions of 1899 and 1902 to the Anatolian Railway Company, the Imperial Ottoman Bagdad Railway Company came into existence. Signed on March 5th, 1903, the third and last convention modified in certain aspects the terms of the previous agreements. None the less, it gave to a German corporation a right of way across Asia Minor from the Bosphorus to Basra on the waters of the Persian Gulf. With the intention of making the project an international one, overtures were made in the spring of 1903 to British, as well as to French, capitalists. Although the scheme was regarded quite benevolently by the French, the view held in Great Britain by no means encouraged British participation. Although marked inequality existed between the conditions governing British capital and those put forward on behalf of German capital, financial points were not the only ones over which it became impossible to agree. In detail,

the proposals did not appeal to the British Government, to whose guarantee London financial houses were looking before embarking upon so large and so precarious a venture. As a consequence, British assistance was not forthcoming. With the collapse of the negotiations for British co-operation, those with the French group similarly fell through. Germany, left to finance the great concession, has not yet attempted the task, save for the section from Konia to Eregli, a distance of sixty-two kilometres.

Under the influences which had already appeared in the Near East, as in the Middle East, the position of Great Britain in Western Asia was directly challenged by Russia from Central Asia and Northern Persia, by Germany from Asia Minor, and by a combination of France, Russia, and Germany from Southern Persia, the situation thus precipitated necessarily affecting British prestige in the Persian Gulf. Ostensibly there was no connection between the action of Germany in Asia Minor and the action of Russia in Northern Persia, but active wire-pulling from Constantinople and Teheran caused identical action to be taken by Turkey and Persia under conditions which were a constant source of embarrassment to Great Britain.

British Position Challenged

Persia and Turkey possess sovereign rights on their respective shores, but expression was seldom given to them prior to the advent of Germany at Constantinople, of France at Muscat, and of Russia at Teheran. At the same time, while true to the traditional policy of maintaining the peace of the region for international interests, Great Britain has persistently encouraged the extension of Persian, as of Turkish, authority over the littoral of the Gulf. By the reiterated statement that she would not permit any but these Powers to exercise territorial rights there, considerable umbrage has been give in Constantinople and Teheran. The attitude, moreover, has run counter to the ambitions of Russia, who has expressed a longing for a naval base in Southern Persia, and to the aspirations of Germany, who, in recent years, earmarked either Basra or Kowyet as a possible terminus for the Bagdad railway.

France, by virtue of a treaty with the Sultan of Muscat, since 1862 had been conceded equality of treatment with Great Britain, and thus occupied a position which it was impossible to oppose. It was not until 1894, however, that the terms of this agreement were brought into force, and then it was more with the intention of assisting the descent of Russia to the Gulf than for her own purposes that France established a consul at Muscat. Since that day German and Russian naval squadrons have visited the ports in the Gulf; protection has been offered and accepted by certain of the sheikhs, and the Gulf in some degree has ceased to be the exclusive British zone that it was when the Indian Government furnished naval and military expeditions for the purpose of suppressing piracy or the operations of some troublesome chief. Trade, too, in some districts, followed the flag of Germany or that of Russia, while it is safe to say that the plots and counter-plots of which so much has been heard were the work of the political agents, who, under the guise of consuls, began with the close of last century to represent the interests of France, Russia, and Germany in the region of the Persian Gulf, ever a centre of intrigue.

Politics of the Persian Gulf

During this period it was not only in Northern and Southern Persia that questions with Russia were arising. After experiencing the advantages to be gained by encroachment upon Khorassan, it was hardly to be expected that the prospect of political difficulties with India would check the development of Russian policy in Eastern Persia. Accordingly, when Russia found that the facilities offered by the Nushki-Nasratabad route offset in great measure the penalties imposed upon Indian trade by the frontier regulations of 1895 and the Russo-Persian tariff of 1901, she contrived, in 1902, with the aid of the Belgian customs, to throw additional obstacles in the way of those caravans from India which entered Persia. Besides a bureau of the Belgian customs which was established in Seistan a Russian consul was detailed to Nasratabad, their mutual efforts being supported by a quarantine cordon, improperly brought into existence, to check the spread of Indian plague, as well as Indian trade. Under the stress of these devices, Indo-Persian trade was thrown into confusion, which was not materially reduced by the announcement that the Government of India proposed

Russia Spoils Indian Trade

to extend to Nushki the railway then terminating at Quetta.

Remonstrances addressed to Teheran seemed hardly to reach Seistan. For the moment the special measures designed by Russia for the discomfiture of Anglo-Indian interests in a region offering equal conveniences to Russia or India—according to the forward or defensive movements with which it might be concerned—were largely successful. Moreover, affairs in Seistan were already rather unsettled, since a question concerning the waters of the Helmund river had arisen between the Afghans and the Persians. By the early autumn of 1902 the controversy had begun to assume alarming dimensions, when, by the terms of Article 6 of the Anglo-Persian Treaty of 1857, it was submitted to the arbitration of Great Britain. By virtue of this, early in January of 1903, an imposing mission arrived on the scene, where, although experiencing the hostility of the Persians and arousing the indignation of the Russians, it remained for three years, intent upon the demarcation of the Perso-Afghan boundary and the appropriation of the Helmund waters between the respective peoples of the border region. Although a check was placed upon Russian activity in Seistan by the presence of the McMahon mission, the outbreak of war between Russia and Japan in 1904 was no less instrumental in bringing about material depreciation in the gravity of the situation. At the same time due recognition must be paid to the revival of official Indian interest in Persia. Stimulated by Lord Curzon, the Government of India since 1899 had gradually increased the number of consuls and vice-consuls while providing imposing mounted escorts to all consulates. Similarly, military officers were attached to Meshed and Teheran, the Gulf postal and telegraphic services were improved, while the medi al officers appointed to the Gulf ports took over the duties of plague inspection.

Walery

THE DEPOSED SHAH OF PERSIA

Mohammed Ali Shah, who succeeded in January, 1907, and was driven to abdicate, July, 1909.

Under an increasing interest the position of Great Britain regained something of its earlier importance, and, in spite of the nature of the Russian loan agreement, the Shah borrowed, in 1903, from the Government of India. Although the result of the campaign necessarily exercised a modifying influence upon the development of Russian policy in Western Asia, Russia has not ceased to be a power of great importance in Persia. The conclusion of peace with Japan in August of 1905, however, gave rise to a wish for the readjustment of relations with Great Britain, and after many attempts negotiations were set in foot with this end in view. In the meantime changes which had taken place in Russia through the granting of a form of parliamentary liberty by the Tsar to the people had stimulated the imitative zeal of the Persians, who, in the spring of 1906, compelled Muzaffar ed-din to agree to the creation of a Mejlis or national assembly. The constitution was dated January 1st, 1907, but before the Persian Parliament had had time to become accustomed to its existence the Shah died.

With the accession of Mohammed Ali Shah, on January 8th, the influence of the negotiations then in progress between Great Britain and Russia so governed the situation in the Middle East that, in order to facilitate the position of the new ruler, the Russian and British Governments offered him a loan of $2,000,000 in order to relieve his more pressing necessities. Although the Shah and his responsible Ministers were in favour of accepting the terms, which sought merely the usual lien on the customs, the Mejlis scouted the proposals, thereby inaugurating the quarrel between the monarch and his parliament.

Beginning with the exclusion of the members of the Mejlis from the ceremonies of the coronation, which took place on January 19th, as from the general durbar, which was held on January 20th, Mohammed Ali Shah throughout his reign

treated the Nationalist movement with contempt, although unexpected boldness in the attitude of the Nationalist leaders compelled him upon occasion to yield with discretion. None the less, the first demands were a little startling, and embraced, in addition to a number of far-reaching reforms, the recall of several important officials from centres of provincial government, where their malpractices had inflamed the neighbouring populations, and the dismissal of M. Naus, the head of the Belgian customs.

Accustomed to an atmosphere of autocratic government the Shah expressed reluctance to conform with these demands, particularly as the reactionaries were able to present the efforts of the reformers in a light that was not conducive to their ultimate success. Accordingly, the Shah became the centre of a number of intrigues, behind some of which could be traced the influence of Russia. Distinct progress was made, however, although the assassination of the Prime Minister, Amin-es-Sultan, in August, 1907, threw back the cause of the reformers, creating an animus against them in the mind of the Shah that gave rise, at the end of 1907, to an attempted coup d'état. The struggle between the people of the capital and their ruler was not the only difficulty against which Persia had to contend at the dawn of 1908. Inspired by sympathy with the plans of the reformers, wide areas in many parts of the kingdom exhibited signs of suppressed revolt, the existence of these disorders encouraging a corresponding spirit among the Kurdish tribes on the Turkish side and the Turkomans on the Russo-Afghan side of the frontier. While the operations of the Turkomans were confined to raids in the vicinity of Meshed, the movement among the Kurds on the western border threatened to be attended by serious complications. Hitherto, unless threatened with extreme measures by the reformers, no attention was paid to their demands, and the Shah rode roughshod over the most delicate situations without any expression of concern.

Unrest in Persia

The continuation of the state of affairs which distinguished the first twelve months of Mohammed Ali's reign brought Persia to the edge of revolution. Crisis succeeded crisis, and while each outburst threatened to precipitate the downfall both of the Shah and of his Parliament the situation at best may be said to have represented a truce with Fate which, so soon as it was broken, afforded the world the spectacle of a Persian débâcle.

Negotiations for the readjustment of the points of disagreement between Russia and Great Britain in Asia were begun in 1905, and concluded in the autumn of 1907. By the treaty then disclosed, British and Russian interests in Persia were divided by a line which, in the case of the British sphere, ran from the Afghan frontier by way of Gazik, Birjand, Kerman and Bender Abbas; and, in the case of the Russian sphere, passed from Kasr-i-Shirin through Ispahan, Yezd, and Kakhk to terminate at the intersection of the Russian and Afghan frontiers. In accordance with this arrangement the area allotted to Great Britain and Russia became a neutral zone, open to the commercial activities of any Power.

The Treaty of 1907

ANGUS HAMILTON

RECENT EVENTS IN PERSIA

EVENTS of the years following 1907 only brought increasing ruin and decay to Persia. Shah Mahommed Ali got rid of the troublesome Mejliss in the summer of 1908 by a coup d'état, and promised numerous reforms in the government of Persia. Not one of his promises was ever fulfilled, anarchy became the order of the day in many provinces, and the Shah's treasury was empty. Under pressure from Russia and Great Britain, Mahommed Ali decided, too late, to restore the constitution and amnesty all political prisoners. The revolutionary tribesman accepted the restored constitution, but had no desire to retain the Shah.

In July, 1909, Mahommed Ali fled before the advancing troops of the revolutionaries and took refuge in the Russian Legation at Teheran. His flight was accepted as an act of abdication, and a National Council formally deposed Mohammed Ali and declared his eleven-year-old son, Ahmed Mirza, to be Shah. Mohammed Ali departed to the Crimea, but his followers kept up spasmodic

hostilities with the Government, and the ex-Shah himself made an unsuccessful attempt to invade Persia from the Russian frontier in 1911.

An effort made by the Persian Government to bring, at least, financial order out of the hopeless chaos at the treasury in Teheran, by the engagement of Mr. Schuster, an American financial expert, was frustrated by friction with the Russian Government, which led to Mr. Schuster's retirement. So things went from bad to worse.

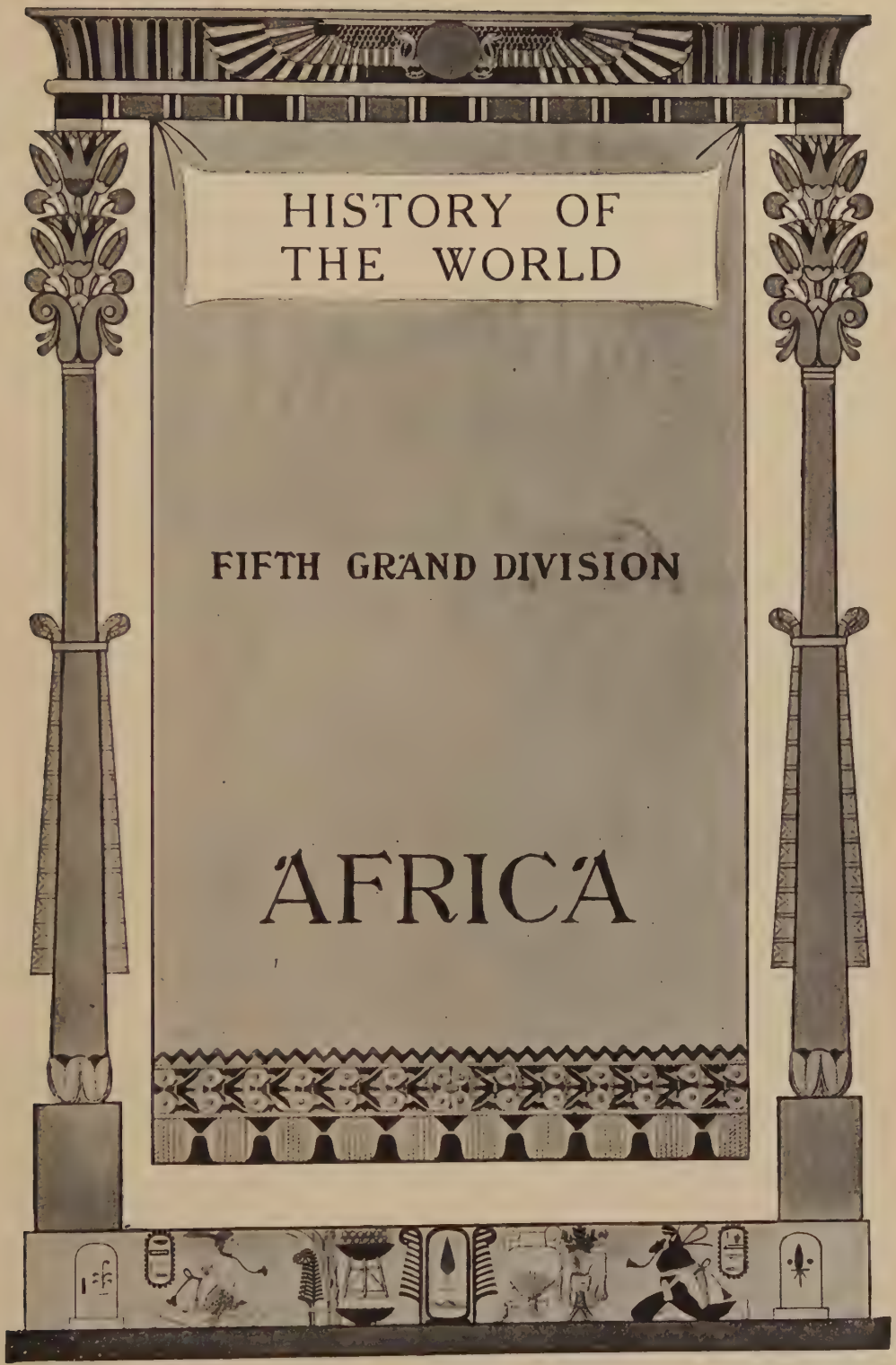
Southern Persia is now "a country in the throes of dissolution," in Lord Curzon's words: "a country given up to rapine and brigandage, where trade is at a standstill, where armed bands rove about the country doing as they please; a country where the central Government is impotent and local Government ignored."

In the North, Russian companies obtained concessions for railways, and by the Russo-German Convention of 1911, Russia stood pledged to secure equal facilities for Germany in the matter of international traffic on the Khanikin-Teheran and Khanikin-Baghdad lines.

The Persian Government, under the conditions of a loan of $2,000,000 advanced jointly by the Russian and British Governments, agreed to accept the Anglo-Russian regime, and the presence of Russian troops in the North guaranteed the restriction of any activities the Mejliss might display.

Thus Persian independence crumbles away, and if the British and Russian forces afford some sort of protection to foreigners in the country, they also promise that the existence of Persia as a sovereign state is over.

THE SPHINX


HISTORY OF
THE WORLD
FIFTH GRAND DIVISION
AFRICA

FIFTH GRAND DIVISION

AFRICA

The African Continent forms a geographical region so definite and intelligible that it has been taken by itself as forming our next Grand Division. On the like ground, since it is virtually bisected by the Equator, it has been divided into two main portions—the north and the south.

The northern portion falls into four clearly marked sections: Egypt; the regions bordering on the Mediterranean; the Sahara, with the Sudan (that is, the belt which stretches eastward up to Abyssinia—included in this section—and westward to the Atlantic, inhabited by races only partly negro); and the next belt, almost pure negro, whose southern border is roughly the Equator.

The division of South Africa is less obvious, since, except in the far south, which is not negro but Hottentot, almost the whole land is covered by kindred tribes of Bantu negroes. Here the territorial division is no longer fundamental: its place is taken by the natural division into an account of the native peoples and states, and of the modern development of a European ascendency.

The two first divisions of Northern Africa, Egypt and the Mediterranean littoral, are so closely connected, historically, with the main stream of civilisation from the earliest times, and later with Mohammedanism, that it might have been included with the Near East Division, under the title of the "Semitic Area"; but it was felt that such a division would have been less readily grasped by the average reader than that which has been adopted.

PLAN

AFRICA—THE LAND AND ITS PEOPLES
By Dr. Heinrich Schurtz

EGYPT
By Stanley Lane-Poole, H. R. Hall, and Carl Niebuhr

NORTH AFRICA
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SOUTH AFRICA
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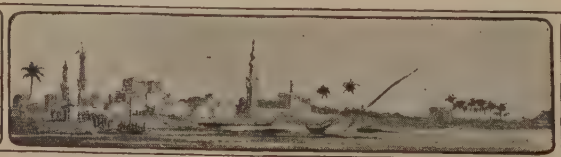


AFRICA: THE LAND

AND THE PEOPLES

THE CHARACTER OF THE CONTINENT AND ITS NATIVE RACES

BY DR. HEINRICH SCHURTZ

ETHNOLOGICALLY and historically, Africa falls at once into two main divisions; on the one hand, we have the lands on the north of the Sahara, including Egypt; on the other hand, we have the main bulk of Africa, which lies to the south of that line of desert. As a matter of convenience only, the portion which lies north of the equator is here treated under the heading of Northern Africa.

The equator almost bisects the continent, and the larger portion of its area lies within the tropic zones, so that Africa is the hottest quarter of the globe. This fact undoubtedly accounts for many peculiarities in the African races. Their dark complexion, so often considered the brand of Cain, is certainly due to the climate and the burning sun, though science may be unable to explain the details of the process. Whether primitive man was fair or dark is an insoluble question. This much, however, is beyond doubt; as the light complexion of the Aryan points to his origin in the cool regions of the globe, so the dark colour of the negro is evidence for the fact that this family of the human race was developed in the same hot climate which forms its environment at the present day.

The African climate is hot and, generally speaking, dry rather than damp, although exceptions to this rule are by no means rare. Its northern portion contains the greatest desert in the world—a mighty barrier, forming the boundary which divides tropical Africa from the civilisation of the old world. Arabia is really a portion of this desert, divided from the continent by the waters of the Red Sea gulf. The desert is broken by the Nile valley, which forms a narrow strip of civilisation amid the surrounding desolation; the river would form a convenient means of communication with the interior of Africa were it not for the rocks which bar its passage in mid career, so that the verdure of its banks disappears in places where the river is forced to pass these obstacles in rapid and cataract. However, the desert itself is passable for the adventurous merchant at several points. It is also inhabited, in spite of its desolation, by peoples who have exercised a considerable influence upon neighbouring civilisations. The history of the Sudan—the belt which stretches from the Upper Nile to the furthest West Coast, south of the great desert—is to be explained only by a knowledge of the Sahara and its peoples.

The hypothesis that the Sahara is merely the bed of a prehistoric sea can no longer be maintained; it is a district of very diverse characteristics, and its general desolation is due solely to the absence of water. But even this scarcity is not everywhere so terrible as earlier descriptions would lead us to suppose. Upon occasion, rain seems to fall in every part

of the desert, and of the total area about 2 per cent. may be oasis and quite 16 per cent. pasture and prairie land; hence we find nomadic races tending their flocks in districts which have been characterised as entirely uninhabitable. The percentage of arable and pasture land is highest upon the west; in proportion as we advance eastward the drought increases and the population diminishes. Thus the Sahara, in spite of its desolation, is the dwelling-place of important peoples, differing one from another in race, although their environment has stamped them ineffaceably with the same marks of character. Its races also show similarity of habits; they are restless nomads, forced by the poverty of their lands not only to wander, but also to be constantly fighting for the pasturage and fruitful lands of the oases. Poor, warlike, and eager for booty, they have never been content merely to subdue and plunder the settled inhabitants of the oases or to rob the merchants travelling through their districts with precious goods; they have also proved a danger to the fruitful frontier lands of the desert. The north, with the snow-crowned Atlas and its hardy mountaineers, has seldom attracted them; Egypt, fortunately for herself, was protected by the Libyan desert; but the negro lands upon the south lay open and defenceless before them. Upon these districts the peoples of the steppes and of the desert have descended again and again, until a zone of conquered states and mixed populations was formed, lying as a broad strip along the south of the desert. This district is the Sudan, of which the Egyptian Sudan, not infrequently referred to in Britain as the Sudan, is only a portion.

Rainfall of the Sahara

The Sudan is distinguished from the rest of Africa both by the character of its inhabitants and by its geographical nature; it again falls into several more or less similar divisions, but these are of no very high importance, as a glance at the geography and the configuration of Central and Southern Africa will show.

Physical Features of Africa

The special characteristic of the whole of this quarter of the globe can be at once made plain in figures. The average height of Africa above the sea-level is probably about 2,000 feet. This is considerably in excess even of the average height of Asia, although Asia has the highest mountains and the most extensive tablelands in the world. The force of this fact becomes plain as soon as we remember that Africa has a very few regular mountain ranges, and cannot display that backbone of lofty peaks which is a special feature in almost every other continent. She does not owe her high average in this respect to the possession of separate mountain systems; instead, the larger part of the whole country forms a tableland, from which particular peaks rise here and there—a tableland which only in places, especially upon its edges, rises into a true mountain range.

The inhospitable and exclusive nature of the continent is the immediate result of its configuration. Behind the scanty harbours of the fever-smitten coast-line tower these highland heights, impassable in many places for the individual, and much more so for the trader's caravan.

In Africa the rivers partake of the hard repellent character of the continent. In the interior they certainly form extensive waterways, which will become of great importance in course of time; but their descent from the highlands to the coast is a succession of rapid falls and whirlpools, so that even when the mariner has entered the river mouth, he cannot pass the coast-line.

Rivers of Africa

But while the configuration of Africa offers no facilities for penetrating the interior, the interior itself is devoid of those natural clearly marked barriers which assist in the formation of separate nationalites. There are no long mountain ranges dividing the country into distinct provinces; no gulfs running into the heart of the land and separating one settlement from another.

This uniformity of configuration has ensured uniformity of population. Peoples have been continually driven in rout, like the dust before the wind, by the onslaught of warlike invaders, and the tribes that have settled again and again upon these broad plains have invariably tended toward a greater uniformity, while the refugees collect in every place which affords some protection, in the inaccessible mountains or in the swamps and islands of the rivers. Thus, in the interior of the continent constant movement and commixture has ever been the history of the black races; the inhabitants of the plains bordering upon the prairie and the

AFRICA: THE FIFTH DIVISION OF THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD

Unlike the preceding Grand Divisions of our History, the Fifth is devoted to one entire continent. It sets forth the story of Africa and its peoples from our earliest accounts of the "Dark Continent" down to the present time. Egypt, though geographically only a small part of the great continent, is historically of greater importance than all the other territories of Africa, and is here dealt with, of course, from the historical point of view.

desert succumbed to the attacks of the desert tribes, and states were founded upon this mixture of different nationalities, in which conquerors and conquered gradually coalesced to form new races. But the districts in which individual tribes could escape the levelling influences of migration and commixture are very scattered and very small in extent. Such isolated districts are the cradles of those individual peoples who are content with the natural conditions of their home, and long retain their special characteristics and peculiarities, even after they have found their territory too small and have gone forth on a war of conquest. In Africa, typical swamp-races are to be found, such as the Dinka on the Upper Nile; there are hardy tribes of mountaineers in Kilima-Njaro and on the slopes of the Kamerun Mountains; but all these little tribes are too scanty in numbers to have exercised any definite influence upon the inhabitants of the African plains. Nor has Africa any

of those extensive islands which in other parts of the world have been the birthplace of distinguished nationalities, such as England in Europe or Japan in Asia; Madagascar is the only great island. The sole marked exceptions to the law of assimilation are the sons of the desert; however long a tribe may have been settled in the Sudan, it preserves, while it maintains its exclusiveness, those characteristics which have been stamped upon it by a nomad life in the thirsty plains—the lean, nervous frame, the lighter complexion, and the flashing eye. But upon admixture with the negro tribes of the Sudan some even of these peculiarities gradually disappear, and, again, a mixed race is formed, in which the negro element preponderates.

The Mixture of Races

In order to comprehend these details some consideration of the several districts of Africa is indispensable. The Mediterranean North may be left aside in view of its special ethnological and historical situation; let us then begin with the Sudan.

By the Sudan in a general sense we mean all that district bordering upon the south of the Sahara—that is to say, the district of transition which divides the desert from tropical Central Africa, and forms a zone of mixed populations and civilisations. It is impossible to lay down any hard and fast boundary on the north of the Sudan, for on that side the fruitful soil becomes gradually poorer and poorer, until it fades away into steppes and deserts; similarly upon the south there is no natural line of demarcation between the pure negro districts and the Sudan districts under the influence of Islam.

The entire zone of the Sudan is a unity, not so much by reason of its orographical or hydrographical characteristics, as in virtue of its climatic, and therefore of its ethnological, features. As it is the meeting-point of two climates, so it is also of the two peoples belonging to these climates, the light brown Hamite and the dark-skinned negro. The east is the most mountainous portion of Africa, and is at the same time rich in the possession of great lakes. A central highland with mountainous frontiers and wide depressions in which the great lakes have been gathered may be distinguished from the lower steppes of the tablelands lying farther to the east, Somaliland and Gallaland. Farther

Peoples of the Sudan

southward the mountains fringing the central plateau come down so near to the sea that room remains only for a strip of coast line more or less narrow. Like Somaliland, the tableland of the interior has, in general, but a scanty rainfall. Where the surrounding mountain ranges tower aloft, where isolated volcanic peaks rise from the plateau, or where the steep sides of the depressions catch the cloud-laden breezes from the west, there rain falls more abundantly, and vegetation grows in tropical luxuriance. Hence it is that about the deep inlet opposite Zanzibar, which is chiefly exposed to external influence, a fruitful mountainous country extends behind the coast; to this succeeds a dreary region of steppes, and finally, about the great lakes the rainfall again becomes more frequent and regular, and agriculture is consequently more extensive. The mountains on the eastern frontier, among which should be considered the volcanic peaks of Kenia and Kilima-Njaro, are higher and more important than those of the west; in truth, the highland of Abyssinia and its mighty elevations form merely the northern forerunners of this high range. From this description of the Sudan it becomes obvious that the Atlantic seaboard must not be included in that great zone of mixed populations and Mohammedan politics which we comprehend under the name of the Sudan, but that we have here a district of true negro population, as is proved by anthropological evidence, and by the nature of its civilisation.

Desert, Mountain, & Seaboard

In the extreme north of this district, in Senegambia, special circumstances have to be taken into account; for Senegambia borders immediately upon the desert, and is therefore, to a certain extent, subject to those influences which produced the ethnological conditions of the Sudan; hence it remains a doubtful point whether or not this country is better included in the Sudan. Another special characteristic of Senegambia is the fact that the two great rivers, the Senegal and the Gambia, make communication possible far into the heart of the country, which consequently loses much of that exclusiveness which is characteristic of the larger portion of the Guinea coast.

The northern boundary of the district is determined by the course of the Senegal and the frontiers of the plateau of the

West Sahara. The southern boundary cannot easily be defined. In Senegambia we have a fairly well-watered country, stretching unusually far northward to the very edge of the desert—a fact to be explained by the existence of the Futa-Jallon mountain system, which collects the moisture of the breezes from the coast and transmits it by numerous rivers, partly to the coast, and partly to the Niger.

Features of the West Coast

The coast line between Senegal and Gambia belongs by origin to the sandy district on the southern border of the Sahara, but has been increased to an extensive plain by the alluvial deposits of the rivers. Further south the mountains run closer down to the sea, and the plains on the coast, which become appreciably narrower towards the south of Senegambia, are further diminished in size about Sierra Leone. The conformation of this plain is, however, totally different from that of the more northerly plains with their boundary of monotonous sandhills; numerous rivers widen into broad estuaries, swampy peninsulas and islands are formed, and at low tide banks and strips of land appear for a moment before they are again covered by the returning sea. Here we have a district eminently fitted to shelter the wrecks of persecuted peoples, and here the influence of the Sudan definitely ceases.

The Grain Coast is not so broken, though the plains are not wide, for the spurs of the highlands run close down to the sea. That coast formation, however, soon begins, which is characteristic of Guinea as far as the Bight of Biafra, known as the Lagoon Coast. Instead of the huge delta-shaped estuaries and the islands lying at their extremities, we have a sandy and generally even strip of land stretching away, upon which the rollers of the Atlantic thunder, and which is broken only at rare intervals. Only here and there, especially in a large part of the Gold Coast, does this kind of coast formation disappear, and the hilly country come down to the sea.

At the Bight of Biafra the Lagoon Coast terminates, and in its stead begins the huge swampy delta, formed by countless river mouths, which the Niger has built up in the sea; further onward the coast takes a southerly turn, and we have a district of broad estuaries, the land of the "Oil Rivers." But just at the point where the coast line bends round, between the mouth of the Calabar and the estuary of the Kamerun rivers, rises a mighty mass of volcanic mountains, the Kamerun, of which Clarence Peak, in the opposite island of Fernando Po, is a continuation. Farther inland rises the tableland of Central Africa in terraces; at this point and farther southward it catches the warm west wind and occasions the growth of the wildest primeval forest, forming a zone of almost impenetrable thickness; in the depths of this forest the remnants of the shy dwarf peoples have found a refuge. Such is the formation of the coast line almost as far as the mouth of the Congo.

In the Region of the Congo

South of the Congo the vegetation of the coast becomes scantier, and almost disappears as we pass on to the steppes of South Africa. The formation of the coast line, behind which the highlands rise in successive terraces, remains in its main features the same as in Upper Guinea, except that the plains upon the coast in the district south of the Congo are considerably narrower than they generally are in the north.

The coast of Lower Guinea is broken by the mouth of a mighty river, the Congo, which is deep enough to admit ships of considerable draught. But the passage is soon barred by a series of rapids and cataracts. For centuries the short navigable distance through the plains upon the coast was the only known part of this great river, until Stanley's expedition informed the world of the enormous area covered by the Congo river-system with its multitude of navigable tributaries.

About the point where the eastern source of the Congo, the Luapula, first crosses the equator, the river rushes in a number of cataracts, the Stanley Falls, over one of the terraces of the highland of Central Africa. Now begins the central and navigable course of the Congo; it makes a gigantic curve far to the north of the equator, and then sweeps southward again, passing at length over the lower falls already mentioned before entering upon its short course to the sea. The central division of this broad stream, richly studded with islands, traverses the immense forests of Central Africa which extended from about the point where the Ubanghi enters the Congo almost to the western sources of the Nile. This thickly wooded Congo

The Real Heart of Africa

basin forms the real heart of Africa. Here, until very recently, the true African tribes remained wholly undisturbed by foreign influence; here the remarkable races of dwarfs have maintained themselves in largest numbers. During its course through this district the Congo receives numerous tributaries, such as the Aruwimi and the Rubi on the right bank, and the Lomami on the left. The position, however, of the Congo relative to its mighty tributaries is peculiar, and forms a special feature of the whole district. These secondary rivers run almost parallel to the main stream, receive all the waters which flow down toward it, and then deliver them into the Congo itself. Cases in point are the Ubanghi upon the north, and the Luapa and Lulongo on the south, and especially the Kassaï, which, with its numerous tributaries, absorbs almost all the water south of the Congo valley.

The Congo's Mighty Tributaries

The sources of the Kassaï and of its southern tributaries lie beyond the forest region of Central Africa: at this point begins a savannah district, interrupted here and there by forests, and finally passing into the steppes of South Africa. Geographically this most southerly portion of the Congo valley has certain affinities with the Sudan, and from an ethnological point of view parts of it are not unlike the frontier zone of the Sahara. Within the Congo valley there never was any approach to anything like a uniform native state, whereas in this district important states existed till lately, such as the famous kingdom of Lunda and others to its east and south.

The valley of the Zambesi, the river of the east, is of primary importance as forming a transition district from the well-watered tropics to the deserts of South Africa; the peoples permanently settled about this river have always been under the influence of the shepherd tribes of South Africa. As it descends from the highlands of the west coast into the lowlands of the interior and enters the depression which divides the tablelands of East and South Africa, it forms numerous waterfalls and rapids, including the Victoria Falls, the biggest in Africa. It is important, too, as a boundary line—a protecting barrier, behind which peoples might find a domicile and a temporary refuge from the attacks of the warlike shepherd tribes of the South. But it was not a barrier which remained permanently impassable.

Importance of the Zambesi

In South Africa we have a new zone before us, again the scene of ethnological convulsion, which, like the Sahara, exercises a powerful influence not only upon neighbouring districts, but also, mediately or immediately, upon the far interior of the country.

Those bold and simple features which characterise the configuration of Africa generally are to be found in their entirety in this southern portion. South Africa is a tableland, the edges of which attain the height of mountains, running in some places close down to the coast, and in others leaving room for plains upon the seaboard of varying breadth. On the eastern side these mountains are higher and of more massive structure than those upon the west. The consequence is that the east, which is further benefited by the prevailing winds blowing from that quarter, is much better watered than the west, which, with the exception of the southernmost region, possesses only periodical streams. The Orange River certainly runs out on the west coast, but rises in the eastern mountains, as do all its tributaries. The district with the smallest rainfall, which is therefore the driest and the most desolate, is the interior, the Kalahari desert.

Features of South Africa

The mode of life and the character of the inhabitants of South Africa correspond to the special peculiarities of each district. In the centre are the wandering Bushmen; on the west, shepherd tribes of comparatively scanty numbers; in the east, the numerous warlike Kaffirs, half cattle-breeders, half tillers of the soil, the most important native race of South Africa. Finally, the southern extremity was the home of a race which did not belong to the black peoples, the Hottentots, who were driven forward by successive waves of migration, and finally found a home in the remotest corner of the continent.

On the north-east, the mountains bounding the tableland retire far enough from the coast to leave room for a broad, low-lying plain, through which the Limpopo, the chief river of South-east Africa, runs down to the sea, as also does the Zambesi at a more northerly point. Here the nature of the country and of

its inhabitants more nearly resembles that of the tropical districts.

Thus within Africa three main zones may be distinguished—a mighty region of steppes and desert upon the north, a smaller region of steppes in the south, and, lying between these two, tropical Central Africa with its vast forests and rivers. These three great zones correspond to the three main ethnological groups of Africa—the light races in the north, the yellow Hottentots and Bushmen in the south, and in the heart of the continent the black negro type. Each group has conformed to the special nature of its environment. They have grown up influenced by the characteristics of their habitat; and when we have learned the special nature of their country some of the secrets of their mysterious origins stand revealed before us.

As void of vegetation we may note the peaks of certain mountains, and in particular the vast area of the North African desert. We have already seen, however, that the Sahara is not so black as it has been painted. Even in the most barren districts the least drop of moisture will produce one or other of the sturdy desert growths with which the much-enduring camel may satisfy its hunger.

Vegetation is richer in the thirsty valleys, and even becomes luxuriant so soon as a mountain thunderstorm has filled the watercourse with its rapid torrent. Moreover, in the western portion of the Sahara, districts are to be found which for part of the year are covered with green verdure; and in the oases under the groves of date-palms other more delicate nut-bearing plants flourish.

MAP OF THE RACES AND RELIGIONS OF AFRICA
The peoples of Africa may be divided into three groups: the light races of the north, including the Hamite peoples; the black negro type in the centre; and the yellow Hottentots and Bushmen in the south.

The savannah, with its thick grass and scattered trees, forms the commonest and most characteristic landscape of Africa. This feature of the country, together with the extensive high tablelands, is so widespread that the interior of Africa presents but few obstacles to the fusion of peoples which has constantly taken place; whereas the conformation of the coast line offers almost insurmountable obstacles to penetration into the interior. Hence we may trace one of the special characteristics of African history—constant movement in the interior of the country, but little interchange of influence between the interior and the coast.

The savannahs are connected with the treeless steppes, and the steppes with the desert, by almost imperceptible gradations. Again, the transition from the savannah to the forest is by no means invariably abrupt. In the grass-grown plains the groves become thicker and thicker, the lakes are surrounded with the characteristic "gallery woods," and thus the steppes gradually change into woodland, and the primeval forest begins, broken with open clearings and grassy glades.

The huge primeval forests are the second great feature in the vegetation of Africa, which is of importance for the development of the population. The main portion of this forest growth fills the eastern side of the Congo basin, reaching almost to the western sources of the Nile and, in a westerly direction, nearly to the mouth of the Ubanghi and Lake Leopold; northward, the whole of the forest district does not extend far beyond the valley of

the Congo; southward it passes somewhat beyond the valley of the Sankuru. Beyond these limits the savannah country begins, although there is no lack of close forest, especially in the Western Congo Valley. A second forest district begins upon the Upper Nile, and continues up to the ethnographical boundary of this remarkable district. The forests upon the edge of the African tablelands may also be considered as a third group of primeval forests which rise with the coast line in terraces to the level of the interior, the moisture giving every opportunity for the forests to take root in the declivities. Thus in Guinea, especially in the Kamerun and Gaboon districts, a broad strip of forest divides the interior from the coast; a similar belt, though not of uniform depth throughout, is a feature upon the East African coast for a considerable distance. Where these woods which border the tablelands have been strongly developed we may consider them as the most important of those obstacles which shut off the interior of Africa from external communication.

The Forest Primeval

The primeval forest is inhospitable alike to the white man and to the true negro. Only upon the border line between forest and savannah, where the gloomy shadows of the woods are broken by broad glades, can the negro make his plantations, fell the giant trees to clear fresh spaces, and penetrate this uninhabitable zone more deeply as the pioneer of agriculture. There are, however, peoples who belong to these forests and keep body and soul together within their depths; dwarf tribes, who wander through the forest lands of the Congo basin and of the interior of the Kamerun and Gaboon district.

Compared with the forest and savannah, those districts in Africa overgrown with scrub are of small importance, though in other countries, especially in Australia, they are an important feature in the landscape, and may be a serious obstacle to communication. They are most extensive in Somaliland and in South Africa, and may be considered as a special and by no means useful variety of the steppe.

Africa's Predatory Animals

When we turn from the general to the special influences exercised by the natural world upon man, we have, first of all, to consider the "influences of opposition"—that is to say, the dangers with which the existence of harmful animals and plants threaten mankind. In this respect Nature has dealt kindly with Africa, as compared with other countries; the reason may be found in the fact that the African climate is for the most part dry. At any rate, the number of victims to beasts of prey or to snake bite is far smaller in Africa than in India. Predatory animals naturally exist in largest number in those districts which are richest in game, and therefore especially in the plains of East and South Africa, whereas West Africa, which has but few wild animals, can sustain but few beasts of prey. When the game upon the plains has been driven out or exterminated, and man appears with his flocks and herds, then the war against predatory animals is naturally prosecuted with vigour, and man generally proves victorious in the struggle.

Of much greater importance is the influence exercised by poisonous insects and by those minute organisms to which the spread of epidemic diseases must be ascribed. Even in this respect Africa is better off than some districts of Asia, the breeding-place of those devastating plagues which may desolate a whole continent; and, moreover, the population of Africa is, upon the average, far more tenacious of life than any other of the races of mankind. Contagious diseases have found their way to Africa from other continents; but they have proved far less destructive than in Polynesia or in South America.

Influence of Epidemic Disease

By far the most important of the local diseases of Africa is the swamp fever, or malaria, a defence against invaders, invisible, it is true, but more formidable than any other, for white men are especially liable to its attacks, and in most cases succumb sooner or later. It will, perhaps, ensure the black races in the possession of the larger part of tropical Africa. The negro does not, indeed, enjoy complete immunity. Even Africans who have passed from a healthy district into a malarial zone do not escape the attacks of this disease. Thus we have a factor to be reckoned with in the internal history of Africa; by this influence migration must often have been checked, and the pursuit and extermination of a conquered people hindered. In a country which provides support for

so many shepherd peoples as Africa those enemies become highly important which strike at the very basis of man's existence by imperilling the safety of his flocks and herds. The larger beasts of prey are often of relatively small importance compared to the destructive powers of smaller foes. Among these the tsetse fly is known to be one of the most fatal possessions of Africa. Putting all exaggeration aside, it remains perfectly certain that this diminutive winged organism, whose bite is harmless to man but deadly to cattle and horses, makes cattle-breeding impossible in places, and thus restricts the wanderings of the nomadic tribes. The area of its distribution begins nearly upon the northern frontier of the Transvaal, and continues towards German East Africa. The fact that the Transvaal boundary was pushed no further northward and that no Boer states were formed north of the Limpopo, is due chiefly to the destructive agency of this insect, which killed horses and oxen upon every attempt at settlement, and thus checked all advances northward.

Ravages of the Tsetse Fly

The tsetse fly is confined merely to certain districts and does not extend its ravages beyond these; the contrary is true of another destructive insect, the locust, and of a destructive epidemic disease, the rinderpest, probably not indigenous. Political changes can generally be retraced to causes of this nature; tribes are weakened by the destruction of their sources of support, become incapable of resisting their enemies, and are shattered and destroyed, or forced to give up their land and so seek new and less fertile districts.

At the outset of our enumeration of domestic animals we are confronted by the difficult question of their origin. Some of them are very probably of African origin, in particular the donkey, assuming the supposition to be correct that the wild ass of Eastern Africa is the ancestor of our patient beast of burden, which certainly seems to have been first domesticated in the Nile valley. The African elephant also appears to have been tamed in ancient times by the Egyptians, as also was the dog. The dog is found in every continent as the companion of man, so that only by careful examination into the characteristics of the different breeds could we gain information upon their respective origins. It is noteworthy that the dwarf tribes in the primeval forests of Africa keep a special breed of hunting dogs: other races use the dog for food.

The other domestic animals have certainly been introduced from other continents—as, for instance, the camel,

Historical Importance of the Camel

which seems to have been entirely unknown in Africa before the period of the great migrations in Western Asia, about 2000 B.C. This is a fact of no small historical importance: it is the camel which now makes communication possible between the Sudan and the north coast of Africa; consequently the want of this "ship of the desert" in earlier times must have hampered communication, and this helps us to explain the absence of relations at that period between Mediterranean North Africa and the negro districts.

The horse is of importance only in the north and in the Sudan; cavalry is the strongest arm of the service of the Sudanese potentates, and brought destruction upon the heathen negro races who were exposed to its attack upon the open plains. It first reached Northern Africa with the invading Semitic tribes of the Hyksos, who occupied Egypt about 2000 B.C. In South Africa the introduction of the horse by European agency has transformed certain Hottentot races into tribes of mobile riders; but in this case the tsetse fly has in places prevented the northward advance of the horse and his owner.

In West Africa sheep pasturing has spread among the natives as far as the southernmost point, and also in the Sudan and the north-east of the continent; the pig, originally brought to the west and south coasts by Europeans, is now to be found far in the interior. Of much greater importance than either pig or sheep is the ox, which was also intro-

Care and Use of the Ox

duced, though it seems to have been domesticated within the Black Continent from a very early period. It is the chief means of subsistence to many great tribes; there are even typical nomad peoples to be found in Africa who devote the same tender care to their herds, and make their welfare the motive of their every thought and deed, as did the old Indian Aryans in the case of their "sacred cows." It is the ox that makes the steppes

habitable enough to be the cradle of those great tribes whose attacks upon the fortunes of their agricultural neighbours form so large a part of African history. With the exception of a few scattered districts elsewhere, the Congo basin—that is, the forest zone of Central Africa—is the only district where the ox is also entirely unknown.

Meats Prohibited as Food

While we are considering how far the possession of cattle and of poultry for food made existence possible we must not forget the fact that everywhere customs universally recognised, or special prohibitions of certain meats, precluded all possibility of using certain animals for food. Thus the pig was excluded from Mohammedan districts; poultry, which are to be found almost everywhere in Africa, were in many cases not eaten, and even the eggs were despised. Among many nomadic tribes the ox was so highly reverenced that the owners contented themselves with the milk of the cows. Similar prejudices prevent the eating of this or that kind of game, and on a large portion of the East African coast fish are never touched.

Whatever the importance of hunting and cattle-breeding among large portions of the population of Africa, the existence of the negro is based upon the cultivation of certain plants useful to man, agricultural operations being performed in the simplest fashion with the mattock, or hoe. The African is most teachable in this respect: he has adopted a large number of plants from other tropical countries, and has gradually imparted them to races dwelling further inland. Africa itself is not particularly rich in such plants. The most important, and probably the first to be cultivated, are those like *Panicum distichum*, *Holcus sorghum*, and *Eleusine*, from which the negro is able to brew intoxicating liquors. Beside these, there is the maize, which was introduced from

Growth of Exotic Plants

America, and the manioc root, from the same continent. European grain corn, in its several varieties, will grow in the tropics only upon the higher mountain districts, which are in Africa no very prominent feature; it is cultivated successfully, however, in the sub-tropical districts up to the far interior of the Sudan. Rice, on the other hand, a true tropic plant, is gathered on the east and west of the continent in the better-watered valleys. Earth-nuts and special kinds of beans and peas are probably indigenous. The banana, which is a staple food in places, especially in Eastern Africa, becomes scarce elsewhere, and seems to be sporadically distributed. The date palm, a native of Western Asia, is found only in the deserts of the North and their frontiers; the coco palm is confined to the coasts. On the West African coast, the trade in palm oil and the fruit of the oil palm is rapidly increasing, and is likely to become a permanent source of income, as it does not usually involve the destruction of its source: on the other hand, the collecting of indiarubber in the woods upon the coast has lately received a considerable impetus, but is so unsystematically carried on that it will probably decline. It is only quite recently that plantations of any size have been made under European direction, a movement which may revive the trade to some extent.

In consequence of the great uniformity of the African continent, the conditions essential to successful agriculture are rarely

The Negro as a Cultivator

so different in neighbouring districts as to offer any obstacle to the spread of population. Moreover, the number of plants for cultivation is large, so that for every piece of ground, even when offering only moderate possibilities, the proper kind of plant or grain is easily procurable, and the negro, generally speaking, is a cultivator by no means to be despised. The desert peoples, however, upon their invasion of the fruitful Sudanese districts, had to give up their diet of dates; and this sudden change of habit produced dangers and inconveniences to them, which may be considered as tending in some slight degree to protect the inhabitants of the Sahara frontiers.

We have now to inquire what position is occupied by the negro, the inhabitant of tropical Africa, in a general scheme of the human race as a whole. Physically, he belongs to a separate and special type of humanity, whose characteristics are familiar. It is only in point of language that the race does not form a distinctive unity. The theory that the negro is of Melanesian origin may be dismissed. Although we may readily admit the probable existence, in some remote age, of a connection by land between Africa and the negro districts in the East, the

overwhelming presumption is that the negro developed in the tropical regions which are still his principal habitat.

A shade of colour distinguishing the negro from other African races is the colour of the skin, often enables us to recognise the mixture of a fair Hamitic element with indigenous dark-skinned negro races, though in itself colour is not always satisfactory evidence ; for even within the pure African tribes greatly varying shades of colour are to be found, a result undoubtedly due to varying conditions of climate. "Among the dark races colour varies with habitat and mode of life, and the type alone remains constant." Yet, on the other hand, it appears that the dark complexion is the most easily transferable of all the racial characteristics, as is seen in the case of commixtures of negroes and fair races, and no amount of subsequent commixture appears to weaken the depth of colouring. At any rate, a case in point is to be found in the Arab-Nigritic bastards, almost the sole representatives of Araby on the east coast and in the Sudan. In darkness of complexion they are in no degree inferior to the purest negroes, while at the same time their sharp-cut profile betrays their Semitic origin. Still, cross-breeding between negroes and whites appears to produce quite different results.

Height and breadth are also important evidences of origin. Thus the small stature of certain Central African races points to the existence of a strain of dwarf blood ; the dwarf peoples themselves must be sharply distinguished from the negroes chiefly on account of their difference in stature. Slightness of build, on the other hand, is a distinguishing feature of the desert tribes, and is often continued long after emigration into fertile districts. In South Africa, among the Hottentots and Bushmen, this slender build is often combined with rugosity of skin, and also with excessive fatness in certain parts of the body—steatopygy, or obesity—a characteristic which is also found among the races on the Upper Nile and on the steppes of North-east Africa.

The formation of the head, which is highly characteristic in the case of the negroes, is invariably an important feature, though too little attention has been paid to it in the past. Investigators have generally contented themselves with skull measurements, and though this is a valuable inquiry, yet it has led to no definite result, as it affords information only upon one part of the head, and that comparatively unimportant. As it is by their physiognomy that the mixed Arab races can be most sharply and definitely distinguished from the pure negroes, so only by examination of those marks which the countenance displays will the investigator be able to discern other fusions of races going back to prehistoric times. Together with the dark complexion, the hair is another racial feature of the African which often enables us to note a strain of negro blood in tribes which are generally considered to belong to other races. On the other hand, if we find negroes with hair diverging from the woolly type, we may presume an earlier commixture with some other nationality. Next to these physical characteristics comes language. Philology teaches us

MAP OF THE NATURAL PRODUCTS OF AFRICA

Africa is not remarkably rich in cultivatable plants of native origin, but many plants from other tropical countries are grown. Among the most important are maize, corn, rice, the palms and rubber trees. The mineral wealth of the continent is entirely confined to the south.

one great fact—that the nigritic populations are connected by the common tie of language. All the races that live south of a certain line—with the exception of the utterly different Hottentots and Bushmen — speak the Bantu languages, which are very closely related to one another, and are to be distinguished by special characteristics from the other great families of languages in the world. This line begins on the Atlantic coast about the old northern boundary of the German Kamerun, then continues in an easterly direction to the Victoria Nyanza, leaving the states of Unyoro and Uganda on the south. In East Africa itself the line has been much broken as the result of recent migrations; however, Bantu peoples are found as far north as Tana.

The Tie of Language

From the special group of Bantu-speaking races we are obliged to exclude the negroes of the Sudan, and also those of the Guinea coast. Though the languages of these negroes do not belong to any one family, we must consider them as the second great division of the African races. It is thus obvious that a division upon purely philological principles would be erroneous, seeing that, anthropologically, the pure negro of Guinea and of the Sudan is inseparably connected with the Bantus. If this fact is not strongly emphasised, the whole foundation of African pre-history will appear in a false light. None the less, the distribution of the languages of Africa is a matter of high importance for the history of the continent. For the extension of the Bantu languages is undoubtedly the result of a long period of development and of important historical events.

Anyone who examines dispassionately the present condition of such uncivilised races as those, for example, of Australia will recognise that we have to admit the multiplicity of primitive languages as the first step in our investigation; within small and isolated races there is a constant tendency to form separate dialects. Hence we may assume that in African antiquity a large number of different languages were in use. The last stages of this state of affairs are now apparent in the distribution of the languages on the coast of Guinea and in part of the Sudan. Upon the great tableland to the south a change gradually set in, the process of which is in close connection with long wars, displacements, and fusions of the inhabitants of that district. In course of time, one people imposed its language upon all the others; but who were that people, and how can we picture the whole process to ourselves?

Languages in African Antiquity

We are helped to the answer to the second of these questions by an important fact, which shows us that those forces which brought about the spread of the Bantu languages are at work elsewhere in Africa at the present day. In the Western Sudan a district of uniform language is being formed, and we can follow the formation very closely. Here it is the Hausa language which is gradually defeating and overpowering the other tongues, so that it is already predominant over a large part of the Western Sudan and is yet further extended as the language of commerce.

The people known as Hausa are a motley mixture sprung from different sources, and their language is the sole tie which makes them a unity and enables them to extend their influence. In like manner we must conceive the process of extending the Bantu languages, though with one great difference necessitated by the lack of civilisation in Central and Southern Africa; the Bantu dialects must have been spread more by military conquest than by peaceful trading. Such a process must have involved great disturbances. It is not, however, necessary to suppose that the original Bantu-speaking race overran, subdued, and colonised the whole district. The whole process may have been carried out very slowly, lasting through thousands of years; in many cases, peoples may have helped to spread the Bantu languages who had themselves received it from others, and in this way the tongues may have been passed from race to race in the most varied way. From this point of view the linguistic uniformity of Central Africa may be considered as the result of opposition to those seething movements of the outer world which, for a very long period, form the history of Africa, and are a consequence of that lack of obstacles to communication within the interior which is characteristic of the continent. HEINRICH SCHURTZ

Spread of Bantu Languages

EGYPT

AT THE DAWN OF HISTORY

BY H. R. HALL, M.A.

THE archæological excavations in Egypt since about the year 1895 have given us a totally new idea of the beginnings of Egyptian history. At that time, the name of Sneferu, the last king of the third dynasty, stood alone, a solitary figure on the threshold of Egyptian history. The admirable history of Heinrich Brugsch-Pasha, "Egypt under the Pharaohs," which was for all the text-book of the annals of Ancient Egypt, could tell us of no real historical fact, of no real historical personage, before Sneferu. Carved on the rocks of Sinai, his figure stood, striking down the barbarian Menti, a warrior-king of old, with the possible exceptions of Sargon and Naram-Sin in Babylonia, the oldest historical person known to us. Mena, the founder of the Egyptian monarchy, there was indeed, but he was a purely legendary figure. Tjeser Khet-neter and Send of the third dynasty were known to us, the one as the possible builder of the Step pyramid at Sakkara (*vice* Ata, of the first dynasty, whose claims were always most shadowy), the other from the later slab from the tomb of his priest Sheri, which was sent to England by the Aleppo merchant Tradescant in the seventeenth century, and placed in the Ashmolean Museum, of which it still forms one of the oldest possessions. But of none of these three was anything beyond legend known: Sneferu and his contemporaries, Nefermaat, Rahetep and Nefert, whose beautiful statues are perhaps the most valuable possessions of the Cairo Museum, and others, were the most ancient Egyptians whom we knew. Yet a mere glance at the artistic works of Sneferu's time sufficed to show that Egyptian art did not begin with them. It could not be supposed that Egyptian sculpture sprang, perfected, out of nothing, like Pallas, "all armed," from the brain of Zeus; there must have been a long history of development before these fine works of the Pyramid builders came into being. And the Pyramids themselves, these monstrous stone barrows of perfect mathematical accuracy of form, could hardly be the conceptions of architects who lived a bare half century after Sneferu. Yet of this earlier history of culture-development we knew nothing.

Egyptology Twenty Years Ago

What We Did Not Know

All this is now changed. The excavator, trained and made ready by a decade of work in other and less important fields, turned in the fullness of time to sites which, if hidden records remained, would, it was felt, reveal to us the most ancient age of Egypt. And the brains and money which enabled the work to be done were almost exclusively British and American. The French alone can share the credit of the achievement with us. It was the work of the Anglo-American "Egypt Exploration Fund," directed by Petrie, Mace and Maciver at Abydos and al-'Amra, of the exclusively British "Egyptian Research Account" under Petrie and

Quibell at Koptos, Nagada, Tûkh, and Hierakonpolis; and of the Frenchmen De Morgan and Amélineau at Abydos and in many other ancient necropoles of the earliest period throughout Egypt, that gave us our new knowledge of Archaic Egypt. And recently the American expedition of the University of California, directed by Dr. Reisner, has added new facts to our knowledge. To summarise this new knowledge as succinctly as possible will be the object of this section.

British and American Excavation

The best general summary of the results of the new excavations that has hitherto appeared is that contained in the first volume of Dr. E. A. Wallis Budge's "History of Egypt," published in 1902. Of course, "much water has flowed under the bridges" since 1902, but nevertheless, if we leave out the inevitable modifications that work and consideration since that date have rendered necessary, Dr. Budge's description still remains the handiest that we possess of the archaic civilisation of Egypt.

The fact that so good a general description of the new discoveries could be written in the year 1902 shows how swiftly these discoveries were made. One followed immediately upon the other; each season's work provided a mass of new material. In fact, the years 1897–1902 were epoch-making for Egyptologists. Perhaps the new discoveries may really be said to have begun somewhat earlier, with Professor Petrie's work at Koptos in 1894.

Of the French investigators the work of M. Amélineau at Abydos is different in kind from that of the others. His was a private venture, and from circumstances over which, we can well understand, he had little control, the scientific results from Abydos were of small value till Professor Petrie took over the site, and began his yearly publication, under the auspices of the Egypt Exploration Fund, of the series of volumes which gave us our first connected idea of the earliest Egyptian dynasties. Previously to Petrie's work at Abydos, that of Mr. Quibell at Hierakonpolis had given us our first conception of the peculiarities of archaic Egyptian art, and our first names of the oldest kings of Upper Egypt. At Abydos Professor Petrie found many more monuments of these and other new kings, and for the first time marshalled the facts in order.

Oldest Kings of Egypt

It must be understood that the newly discovered antiquities fall into two main classes: those of the primitive Neolithic Period, and those of the Archaic Period, properly so called, the age of the beginnings of the Egyptian monarchy, from the first to the third dynasties inclusive. Apart from these, we have also the newly identified relics of the Palæolithic Age in Egypt, centuries before the Neolithic Age. Its relics are the worn flint implements which are found upon the surface of the desert plateaus on both sides of the Nile. With the users of these Palæolithic implements, the most ancient human inhabitants of the Nile Valley, our survey begins.

These primitive people were in point of culture contemporaneous with the European man of the Quaternary Period; but whether they were not really later in point of date is not yet settled. The climate of Egypt in their time did not differ radically from that now obtaining in the Nile Valley. The dryness of the atmosphere, due to the existence of the high deserts on each side which is nowadays so characteristic of Egypt, and ensures an almost perpetual summer in that favoured land, cannot have been much less in Palæolithic days than it is now. We have to dismiss from our minds all ideas of a heavy rainfall, with watercourses descending to the Nile from forests crossing the mountains and desert, where now not a blade of vegetation is to be seen. We can suppose only that the rainfall was rather heavier than it is now, so that the desert-torrents, which now once in two or three years after rain descend through the stony wadis to the cultivated land, were then far more frequent. That these wadis were originally carved out by the action of torrents is undoubted—they present all the characteristics of dry watercourses.

The Primitive People

Then there was, of course, no cultivated land. The valley of the Nile was a marsh. The inhabitants lived on the desert slopes and on the plateaus. On these are now found the relics of their presence in the shape of their flint implements, lying just as they were left thousands of years ago by the Palæolithic flint-knappers who went up on to the desert to make their weapons out of the countless pebbles of flint and chert which cover the surface of the ground. Regular factories of these flints have

been found just as they were left, with spoilt fragments, broken as well as perfect weapons, lying around. The flints are of the well-known European types of St. Acheul, Chelles, and Le Moustier. Considerable attention has been devoted to these implements of recent years, and though their Palæolithic character was at first doubted, there is no doubt now that they are the African fellows of the flint implements found in the gravel deposits of England, France and Belgium [see page 238]. Other traces of Palæolithic Man in Egypt there are none.

Ages passed away before the primitive Egyptians gradually passed, like the rest of the world, from the older to the newer age of stone. When we reach the Neolithic Period we see an enormous advance in civilisation. The flint weapons of the Neolithic Egyptians are probably the finest known. None hitherto found in Europe or America can compare with them in accuracy and beauty of finish. They mark the apogee of the art of flint-knapping. Naturally, they must be placed late in the history of the Stone Age in Egypt. For at the time they were made the Egyptians were already preparing to pass into the age of metal, and in the succeeding "Archaic" Period, properly so-called, we find them in the "Chalcolithic" era of human progress, when copper and stone are used indifferently and side by side. Copper is already found sporadically in the later graves of the Neolithic people.

Beauty of Egyptian Flints

For it must be remembered that our knowledge of the Neolithic Egyptians is derived almost exclusively from their graves. The last resting-places of the Palæolithic people are naturally utterly unknown to us; perhaps they ate one another, but we know nothing of how they disposed of their dead. It is otherwise with their Neolithic successors. They were buried, usually in the cramped position characteristic of primitive nations, in shallow, oval graves packed closely together, on the lowest desert slopes near the cultivated land. Sometimes they were placed in pots, sometimes they were covered merely with a reed mat. Ready to the hand of the dead man were his flint weapons and tools, his pottery to contain the funeral meats with which the love or fear of the living had provided for his sustenance. With the body were also buried articles of personal adornment, such as combs, or slate palettes on which to grind face paint. Small dolls or figures of men and women are also found.

From this sketch of the objects found in these graves it will be seen that the Neolithic Egyptians had progressed far beyond the civilisation of Rudyard Kipling's "Ug," in which their Palæolithic predecessors had lived. They were no longer naked savages killing each other and their fellow-beasts, the lions and jackals, with rudely-fashioned lumps of stone. In fact, with them Egyptian civilisation has begun. We have spoken of the excellence of their flint weapons. Not less excellent was their pottery. Made without the aid of the wheel, which was not yet invented, it yet attained a perfection of form which makes the fact that they were built up solely by the hand of the potter almost incredible.

Beginnings of Egyptian Civilisation

The commonest type of this pottery is a red polished ware with black top, due to its having been baked mouth downwards in a fire, the ashes of which deoxidised the hæmatite burnishing, and so changed the red colour to black. Later in date are red and black wares with rude geometrical incised designs, filled in with white [see page 235]. Later again is a buff ware, either plain or decorated with deep red wavy lines, concentric circles, and elaborate drawings of boats sailing on the Nile, human beings, ostriches, and so forth. With this ware the prehistoric pottery reached its apogee; thenceforward it degenerated throughout the Archaic Period till, in the time of the fourth dynasty, fine wheel-made pottery of a deep red colour came into use. So enormous have been the finds of prehistoric pottery of late years that these ancient crocks are to be seen in nearly every museum. The dividing line between the Neolithic and Archaic Periods is not by any means clear. Roughly we might place it where history begins, with the unification of the whole country under the earliest kings of the first dynasty. Yet this point of division does not coincide with the real division between the two stages of culture. Perhaps it makes rather the central point of the Archaic Period, when the growth of civilisation had progressed so far that a unified "culture-

Where History Begins

state" could be founded, rather than the division between the older and the more developed civilisation. We can see that the older culture was very different in many ways from the later. Archaic Egypt is, in spite of its archaic character, the Pharaonic Egypt which we know, with king, nobles, and commoners, officials and artists, priests and scribes, just as we have them in the days of Thothmes and Rameses. Neolithic Egypt has none of these; its people were more like North American Indians than anything else; they were simple hunters and primitive cultivators, and much of the remains of their culture would not necessarily be put down at first sight as Egyptian at all. Yet in them we see the germs of the later Egyptian state. Writing was not known to them, yet individual signs which afterwards became Egyptian hieroglyphs, were; we have one—the oldest hieroglyph known—the symbol of the god Min upon a slate "palette" from al-'Amra.

Egypt's Archaic State

The use of metal weapons was not known to them till near the approach of the Archaic Period. But we cannot say when they actually passed from the pure Neolithic to the Chalcolithic period of culture any more than when they first began to write in the true sense of the word. The whole elaborate structure of the later Egyptian religion was unknown to them, yet we can see that many of the gods of the later Egyptians had been gods in Neolithic Egypt also—above all, the animal objects of popular worship, the beasts and birds who were afterwards identified with higher deities or became their "sacred animals." We can see that these were the tokens of different Nilotic tribes in Neolithic times, and they are so represented on the early pottery. Yet we cannot say when the Egyptian state-religion, as such, first took the form and shape which we find it has assumed in the Archaic Period, and which it ever afterwards preserved. In fact, we cannot draw any hard and fast line of division between the two stages of culture. As we examine their relics, we find the primitive culture developing and merging imperceptibly into the Archaic civilisation before the unification of the kingdoms. At al-'Amra, more particularly, we can trace this development best as regards burial customs, from the simplest pot-burial to small brick chambers, between which and the brick royal tombs of the first dynasty there is but a step. Dr. Reisner's discoveries at Nag 'ed-Dêr, opposite Gîrga, have notably supplemented Maciver's results at al-'Amra.

Origin of Egypt's Religion Unknown

We can, then, see that the stone-using Egyptians gradually increased in civilisation until their various tribes combined to form larger entities, which eventually coalesced into two chief states—Northern and Southern Egypt—which had capital towns, Buto in the north and Nekhen, the Hierakonpolis of the Greeks, in the south. Of these two, the southern kingdom was the more purely Egyptian. As we shall see in the next chapter, the Delta was probably never so truly Egyptian, nor is it now, as the Sa'îd, or Upper Country. Mediterranean tribes akin probably to the Cretans lived on the shores of the Delta, The Egyptians called them the "Hau of the marshes," the signs of which name, reading Hauhenu, were in later times misread as Ha-nebu, which could be translated as "Lords of the North" or "All the Northerners," and early appears, using another word for "North," as Meht-nebu. This process may be rather obscure to those who are not familiar with the possibilities of an ideographic mode of writing, but the meaning would be perfectly clear at once to a Chinaman or Japanese. Afterwards this name, Ha-nebu, pronounced something like "Huenim" in later Egyptian, became the regular late-Egyptian word for "Greeks," Oueeienin. The Hau of the marshes were abominated by the developed Egyptian religion, and none of the magical charms of the "Book of the Dead," by the help of which a man, when dead, could force his way past all the unknown dangers of the other world to the fields of the blessed, might be communicated by a pious Egyptian to one of the outcast Hau. Yet ethnology and archæology both combine to tell us that the sea-people of the Egyptian coast, and even their congeners over the sea in Crete, were in all probability not racially very different from the Egyptians.

Nile Delta Not Egyptian

The many resemblances between the early Ægean civilisation and that of Egypt may prove ultimately to be due far more to a common African origin of the two cultures than to the mutual influence which was exercised in later

times by the one over the other. More than this we can hardly say at present.

Other elements which must have modified the Deltaic Egyptians from the earliest times are the Libyan on the west and the Semite on the east. No doubt the Libyans were closely connected with the Nilotes, and so with the Mediterraneans; and in Palestine, where at that time the Semites had probably not yet settled, there no doubt existed a primitive population of Mediterranean origin. In the eastern desert, however, in Sinai, and perhaps also in the Wadi Tumilat, the land of Goshen, true Semites already lived.

Their culture, such as it was, was distinct from that of Nilote or Libyan. Behind them, in the far Mesopotamian basin, lived the peculiar people of the Sumerians, un-Semitic in blood and speech, to whom the Semites owed all that they ever possessed then of culture. It can hardly be doubted, as we shall see later, that this Sumerian culture exercised through the Semites considerable influence over that of the Northern Egyptian kingdom. The original knowledge of the cultivation of cereals may well have come to Egypt from Mesopotamia, and it is almost certain that brick architecture was directly transmitted to the Egyptians from the Sumerians. Other points of resemblance between the Archaic Egyptian culture and the Sumerian may be noted, such as the common use of the stone cylinder seal and the peculiarly shaped macehead. And, finally, it is probable that the Egyptian script first developed out of a primitive picture-writing under the influence of the Sumerian ideographic system, which afterwards became what we know as "cuneiform." For the Egyptian language, as we find it first developed under the fourth dynasty, has in it a distinctly Semitic element. And long before this, in all probability, Semites had adopted the Sumerian signs for their own use. That the Semites who introduced elements of their tongue into the Nile valley also brought with them perhaps some of the earliest combinations of the Sumerian picture-signs, is by no means improbable.

Culture from Mesopotamia

Yet this Sumerian-Semitic culture-influence must have been very ancient, for the Semitic element in Egyptian might perhaps be more fairly described as "proto-Semitic," and the languages of the Libyans, the Berbers, and the Imoshagh, or Tawarek, had and have just as much of this "proto-Semitic" element—to be distinguished from modern corruptions of Arabic—in them as had Egyptian. Are we to assume a very early wave of proto-Semitic conquest of the Delta, passing on to the Libyans beyond? The theory that Semites did come into Egypt by the Wadi Tumilat at a very early period has many arguments in its favour; among others, the existence at the Egyptian end of that valley of the sun-sanctuary of On, or Heliopolis. Of sun-worship, which afterwards was so characteristic of the Egyptian religion, we have as yet found no trace among the Neolithic Egyptians, the Nilotes of "Mediterranean" race, whose stone weapons and pottery we have described. Yet it was characteristic of Sumerian-Semitic religion. And in this latter we find no trace of the equally typical Egyptian veneration of birds and beasts, which we have seen was certainly practised by the primitive Nilotes. We believe, then, that sun-worship was introduced into Egypt and grafted on to the ancient animal worship by these invading proto-Semites.

Likelihood of Semitic Invasion

There was in Archaic Egypt, as distinct from Neolithic Egypt, also another sun-god, of southern, however, not of northern origin. He is Horus of Edfu, as distinct from Ra of On. Afterwards the two were combined as Ra Harmachis. It might be supposed that because this sun-god came from the south, therefore he is an indigenous Nilotic deity. This is, however, by no means the case. Of him it was always told in legend that he was a conqueror, and that he advanced down the Nile valley to overthrow the ass-headed god of the north, Set, whom he defeated in a great battle near Dendera. He was accompanied by followers called Mesniu, or Smiths, who were armed with metal weapons. This certainly looks as if we had here a tradition of a foreign race of conquerors, whose metal weapons gained them the victory over the indigenous people of the valley. It is that old story in the dawn of the world's history, the utter overthrow and subjection of the stone-users by the metal-users, the primeval tragedy of the supersession of flint by copper and bronze. That these invaders from the south were Semitic sun-worshippers is very probable. If

The Primeval Tragedy

so, we may see in them a southern Semitic wave from Arabia, which crossed into Africa by the Straits of Bab el-Mandeb, and reached the Nile valley either by way of the Blue Nile or up the coast and thence westwards by the broad Wadi Hamamat. It is curious that at Koptos, almost opposite Dendera, where the legendary battle between the Mesniu and the aborigines took place, at the Nile end of the Wadi Hamamat, Professor Petrie discovered some of the most ancient relics of Egyptian civilisation. Among them were statues of the god Min, on which are incised rude sculptures of animals and crioceras shells, which belong to the Red Sea. It may be that these are relics of the invaders. But the god Min seems to belong to the primitive inhabitants rather than to them. However this question may be solved, it may well be that by Horus and his Smiths we are to understand a second Semitic conquest, distinct from the northern Semitic wave which entered by way of the Wadi Tumilat.

Deity of the Primitive Peoples

In the south, then, we have also Semitic influence, though less marked than in the north. It is possible that to this influence in the south and north is due the development which ended in the rise of the two kingdoms of Hierakonpolis and Buto. Of the pre-dynastic kings of the south and north we know nothing. By chance we have as a monument of the fifth dynasty the "Stele of Palermo" [see page 249], a list of some of the northern kings, whose names are simple and primitive in form—Seka, Desiu, Tiu, Tesh, Nihab, Uatj'antj, Mekha. But we possess no contemporary relics of them or of any of the southern kings before the latter began the wars of conquest which ended in the subjugation of the north and the confiscation of the kingdom. Then, at the beginning of the first dynasty, we first have contemporary monuments. The excavations at Hierakonpolis and Abydos have yielded to us the monuments of the kings whose names appear in altered forms in the later lists as the Pharaohs of the first two dynasties.

The First Dynasties

The information which, before the new discoveries, we possessed with regard to the Egyptian kings who preceded Sneferu was of a very jejune character. It was derived solely from the lists of their predecessors which the kings of the nineteenth dynasty set up at Abydos, supplemented by another list of the same kind in a private tomb at Sakkara, side by side with the lists handed down to us by the Ptolemaic annalist Manetho. Now we have the actual contemporary monuments of many of these kings, and can see how far we have been rightly guided by the later list-makers.

The royal lists of Abydos were no doubt put up there because it was known that the tombs of the earliest kings were there. We use the word "tombs" here, but, as a matter of fact, it is more probable that these were not all the actual tombs of the kings of the first dynasty. One, Aha, was, we know, really buried elsewhere, at Nagada. But it was often the custom of Egyptian kings to have cenotaphs put up in their memory at Abydos, where every pious Egyptian desired to be commemorated.

The names of the following primeval kings have been found at Hierakonpolis and Abydos. Apart from words such as Ro, Sma, and Ka, which have been supposed by Professor Petrie to be those of kings who lived before the first dynasty, and are therefore assigned by him to a "Dynasty O," but are by no means certainly royal names at all, the list is as follows. The hawk, or Horus name, borne on a banner called the srekh, or cognisance, comes first:

The Primeval Kings

1. Horus Aha (King Men ?).
2. Horus Narmer, or Betjumer.
3. Horus Tjer (afterwards misread Khent).
4. Horus Tja, King Ati.
5. Horus Den (or Udimu ?), King Semti.
6. Horus Atjab, King Merpeba.
7. Horus Semerkha, King Nekht.
8. Horus Qa, King Sen.
9. Horus Khasekhem, or Khasekhemui (King Besh ?).
10. Horus Hetepsekhemui.
11. Horus Raneb.
12. Horus Neneter (or Netrimu ?).
13. Horus Sekhemab, Set Perabsen.

It will be noticed that the last king has a Set name, appropriate to him as king of Lower Egypt, as well as the Horus name as king of Upper Egypt. When the king-name is not given, it is unknown. The queried names are all doubtful. Netrimu and Udimu are given

merely because they are forms that have been proposed by German scholars, but they are not very convincing. Besh, as the name of King Khasekhem, is usually accepted; but it is more probable that Professor Naville's disbelief in it is justified, and that it refers really to the land of Bi—that is, Lower Egypt. The name of the king of Lower Egypt was "biti"; that of the king of Upper Egypt was "suten," which afterwards became the ordinary word for king, a curious sign of the position of Upper Egypt as the conqueror. Mr. F. Legge has lately shown that the name "Men," which has been supposed to have been read on tablets of Aha, is more doubtful than ever, and no definite identification of Aha with the legendary Menes can be founded on it.

It will be noticed that the above list does not entirely agree with those published by Professor Petrie. This is because it is not based upon Professor Petrie's own writings only, but also on those of the other Egyptologists who have discussed these questions and have criticised his conclusions. For instance, Professor Petrie's king "Merneit" does not appear in it, because there is no positive proof that the name is that of a king. Narmer, too, is assigned to the first dynasty, because, unless this is done, there are too many names for the first dynasty as it stands in the later lists, on the assumption, accepted by Professor Petrie, that Aha is Menes. The certain identification of these contemporary names with those of kings for the first two dynasties given in the lists are these:

A PRIMITIVE GOD
Min was a god of the primitive Egyptians. and his symbol is the oldest hieroglyph.

5. Den Semti = Hesepti, Manetho's Ousaphais.
6. Atjab Merpeba = Merbap, Miebis.
7. Semerkha Nekht = Shemsu or Semsem, Semempses.
8. Qa Sen = Qebh, Bienekhes.
9. Khasekhemui = Betjumer (?), Boethos.
12. Neneter = Bineneter, Binothris.

Of these names Professor Sethe was the first authority to point out the chief identifications, those of the names of Semti and Merpeba with Hesepti and Merbap.

Hesepti, then, is the earliest historical king in the lists. Professor Petrie, however, taking Aha to be Menes, goes on to identify Tja Ati with Ateth, which may eventually prove to be correct, Merneit with Ata and Tjer with Teta. The two last are arbitrary identifications, and we have not recognised Merneit as a king at all.

It is very probable that the names Teta, Ateth, and Ata, which are given in the nineteenth dynasty lists as those of the immediate successors of Menes, are really all later inventions, founded on Ati, the personal name of Tja. Tja had become triplicated in legend, while Tjer and Narmer had disappeared from it, for the authorities used by the nineteenth dynasty list-makers must have been largely legendary: Menes was to them much what King Arthur is to us. Perhaps, however, Betjumer Narmer, the powerful king who has left so many relics of his presence at Hierakonpolis, had not disappeared from legend altogether, but was in it rather combined with his predecessors (?) Aha, "the fighter," to form the heroic figure of Mena, or Menes, the traditional founder of the monarchy; while in the lists his name has got out of place, having been set in the form Betjumer—which is quite possibly more correct than Narmer—at the beginning of the second dynasty, and read by Manetho as Boethos. Professor Naville holds the view that this is his proper place, and that with Khasekhemui, whose monuments were found with his at Hierakonpolis, he should be put at the head of the second dynasty—if, indeed, Khasekhemui, the conqueror of the North, does not rather belong to the first.

But there is no doubt that Narmer's monuments [see pages 247-248] are among the most archaic of those of the earliest kings. Judged by the criterion of style, they are certainly almost contemporary with those of Aha, and antedate those of Tja and Tjer. And Khasekhemui's, judged by the same criterion, are certainly later than those of all the kings of the first dynasty. Therefore we may retain Khasekhemui at the head of the second dynasty, and suppose that because Narmer was also a

conqueror of the North, his name was misplaced in the royal lists, as we have shown it in our list above. His contemporaneity with Aha, and the position of both before Tja and Tjer being practically certain, we hold that Professor Petrie is justified in putting him, with Aha, at the beginning of the whole list. But, not recognising Aha as the sole original of Menes, and seeing no reason why we should strive, with Professor Petrie, to place the kings of the first dynasty upon a Procrustes bed, and lop Narmer off, because, if Aha is above Menes, he does not fit in with the lists of the nineteenth dynasty and of Manetho (in which we believe the names of the first four kings before Hesepti-Ousaphais were purely traditional), we can well conclude that Aha, the great king, who was buried at Nagada, and Narmer, who reigned at Hierakonpolis and conquered the North, were the joint originals of Mena or Menes. The "Scorpion" king, also found at Hierakonpolis, is, on account of the absolute identity of his monuments in style with those of Narmer, to be regarded as identical with him.

Who Were the First Kings?

Archæology has, therefore, discovered the real kings of the beginning of the first dynasty, who were known to the later Egyptians only in legend. It is as if we were to discover the real originals of Agamemnon or Theseus—which, indeed, we may do yet—in Greece on Mycenæan monuments. The earliest king of whom the later Egyptians had real historical knowledge would seem to have been Semti, whose name was misread by them as Hesepti, which form was copied by Manetho as Ousaphais. It is at least significant in this regard that the private list at Sakkara places not the legendary Menes but the successor of Semti (Merpeba), as the first king of Egypt. We may then regard Semti and Merpeba as the first kings who were really known to the later Egyptians. Their successor, Semerkha, is the first of whom a contemporary monument has been discovered apart from the actual royal "graves" at Abydos: this is his stele, or tablet, in the Wadi Maghara, in the Sinaitic peninsula. With these three monarchs, therefore, Egyptian "history," as apart from either legend or archæological probability, may be said to begin. What history there is to be told of this early time may be seen from the succeeding chapters, in which the traditions of the later Egyptians are combined with what we know from the contemporary monuments. Here it may be said that it is firstly a record of the conquest of the North by the kings of the South, which was not finally consummated till the reign of Khasekhem, literally, "Power appears," who, however, after the final conquest apparently, changed his name to Khasekhemui, "Two Powers appear," the powers of North and South, not of the South alone. On the commemorative maceheads and state shields (so-called "palettes") of this time, which were dedicated in the temples, we have records of these conquests. On small tablets deposited in the royal cenotaphs at Abydos we have records of the foundation of temples and other buildings, notably one found by Petrie at Abydos, and now in the British Museum, which commemorates the establishment by Den of a temple of himself at Osiris, on the occasion of his Sed festival—the festival "of the end," at which he, like many other Egyptian kings, was deified before his death. On the Palermo stele, already mentioned, we find records of the years of several of the kings of the second dynasty, in which little but the building of palaces or the celebration of festivals is chronicled.

Earliest Known Kings

Egypt's Unchanging Civilisation

The story, so far as it is known to us, of the expansion of Egypt at this time, of the occupation of Sinai, and of wars with the Libyans, of the greatness of kings like Tjeser of the third dynasty, the first pyramid-builder, and so forth, will be found in the next chapter.

Here we are concerned chiefly with the general aspect of the oldest civilisation of Egypt, which, though the same as that hitherto known to us, is yet different, inasmuch as it is that civilisation in its infancy, in the making, swiftly developing, till in the times of the fifth dynasty it was stereotyped, so that there is less difference between the Egyptian religion and royalty of the days of Nectanebus (350 B.C.) and Ne-ueser-Ra (3000 B.C.) than between those of Ne-ueser-Ra's day and of Narmer's (4000 or 3500 B.C.). Minor art might change, fashions of dress alter, language decay and be re-cast, but religion and royalty, and the common people, the fellahin, remained the same, like the unchanging Nile valley itself.

It was in the space of but a few centuries that Egyptian civilisation swiftly developed till it came to a stop. With art and handicraft developed political and religious ideas, and when a stable state had been firmly erected, and the goal of progress seemed reached, political and religious cohesion imposed stability, and therewith fossilisation on art, and, to some extent, on thought also. The machine ceased to move of itself, and the only motive power which afterwards ever sent it further along was applied from without by Hyksos or Assyrian or Greek or Arab conquest, or, in modern days, British conquest too. It may, indeed, be argued with some probability that even the initial impulse to the original development of ancient Egyptian civilisation was given, also from without, by the invasions of Semites, which, as we have seen, probably took place before the rise of the kingdoms of Buto and Hierakonpolis, and transformed the Neolithic people of the Negada graves into the archaic Egyptians.

Egypt's Debts to Babylon

However this may be, the archaic culture certainly seems to owe something to the Sumerian civilisation of Babylonia. The use of the cylinder-seal, the shape of the maceheads, the invention of brick—the original Egyptian building material being wattle and daub—the peculiar crenellated brick architecture which at Abydos and at Nagada, in early tombs as in fortresses, is exactly the same as that of the walls of Gudea's palace at Tello in Babylonia, the introduction of burial at full length even, in place of the older crouched position—all these point to early Babylonian influence. How far the Sumerian script influenced the development of Egyptian writing we do not know; little real connection between the two sets of picture-signs can be traced even in their beginnings. Their later development was quite other in the two states. This was due to the use of clay tablets in Babylonia on which the signs were impressed with a stilus, while the Egyptians preferred to write with ink on papyrus, pottery, or wood. We find ink used to write even on stone under the first dynasty, so it was invented then. The Babylonians never used it, though the Egyptians sometimes used the stilus on soft bricks. The Cretans wrote both with ink in Egyptian fashion on pottery, and, more usually, with the stilus on clay in Babylonian fashion. Thus, though it is said that the oldest Sumerian name for the god Marduk was Asari, and was written by means of a group of two ideographs which are very like the Egyptian ideographs of the name of the god Asari or Osiris (between whom and Marduk there is little in common, by the way: Osiris would seem to be a primitive Nilotic rather than an imported Sumerian-Semitic deity, and the sun-gods and the goddesses Hathor, Sekhmet, and Bast seem to be the most Semitic of the original Egyptian deities), we cannot say that the connection between the Egyptian and Babylonian picture-writings is yet proved. The original Egyptian pictures were, as we have seen, probably of indigenous Nilotic origin.

Hieroglyph and Cuneiform

It is in the development of the writing during the Archaic Period that the great advance of Egyptian civilisation at this period can be recognised even more clearly than in the development of art. In both cases the swiftest development took place at the beginning, under the first dynasty. If the century and a half, or, at most, two centuries of this period saw the advance of art from the crude and clumsy style of Narmer and Aha to the developed, though still archaic style of Khasekhemui, between whose and Ne-ueser-Ra's art in the fifth dynasty there is less difference than between Khasekhemui's and Narmer's, they also saw a far greater advance, the development of the Egyptian script from a mere painful stringing together of rude pictures, analogous to those of the Bushmen or Red Indians, to a writing which could express thought with more or less clearness.

When we reach Sneferu's time we find the complicated hieroglyphic system, with its array of alphabeto-syllabic and syllabic signs—designed to express sound though not necessarily meaning also—as well as of determinative signs, practically developed to the full. The scribes of the Ramessides could easily have read Sneferu's or Tjeser's inscriptions, Khasekhemui's even, without extraordinary difficulty, but those of Den, still more those of Narmer, would have given them almost as much trouble to decipher as they do us. As the development progressed, unsuitable signs were dropped, so that in these archaic inscriptions we often meet with hieroglyphs, the meaning of which

Hieroglyph System Developed

is unknown to us. The Egyptian scribe was inventing his script, and he often abandoned his inventions if they were found to be unserviceable, and invented others in their place.

So did the artist and architect. Brick was introduced, but it was not long before stone, which lay to hand so near in the mountains on either side of the valley, was pressed into service also. We find it first used in the middle of the first dynasty. Buildings increased in size; the royal tombs became labyrinths of chambers very different from the oval graves of the Neolithic people, and under the third dynasty a great stone pyramid, the first of its kind, was erected over a king's tomb instead of a brick mound. Soon followed the wonders of the world, the pyramids of Gizeh, those mightiest monuments ever erected by the pride and power of man. The mathematical accuracy with which the architects and engineers of Sneferu, Khufu, and Khafra did their work is the best testimony to the mental advance which five centuries had seen. A Bushman or an Indian had developed into a designer of Brooklyn Bridges and Eiffel Towers.

The World's Wonders

It was an age of swift change and thrust upward and forward; an age, too, of cheerful savage energy, like most times when kingdoms and peoples are in the making. When Khasekhemui finally conquered the North, he slew 47,209 "northern enemies." The attitudes of the slain northerners were so greatly admired and sketched by the artists of the time that some of the most picturesque were reproduced on the pedestal of the king's statue, found at Hierakonpolis by M. Quibell, which is now at Oxford. And on the earlier reliefs of Narmer we see the king, accompanied by his page bearing his sandals and a vase like a teapot, containing his favourite drink [see page 248], going out in comfort to inspect the bodies of his enemies, which were tastefully laid out in rows, with their heads severed and their toes artistically turned in, whether to make them look ridiculous or not we cannot tell.

An Age of Savage Energy

From monuments such as these we learn a good deal of the position of the king and of the general state of the Egyptian polity at the beginning of history. We have said that at the time of the fifth dynasty the Egyptian monarchy and religion crystallised, and altered but little thereafter. This statement is, of course, to be taken in a general sense, especially as regards the monarchy. The polity of the fifth dynasty was an absolute monarchy, or, rather, theocracy, in which a god ruled over his court nobles and his slaves, the common people. Under the twelfth dynasty we see a king, always by courtesy called a god, controlling from his palace a number of feudal nobles to whom the people actually owed allegiance; under the eighteenth dynasty a king, one among other kings, of Babylonia or elsewhere, at the head of a bureaucratic state of very modern type. Yet the general proposition is true: in the eyes of priesthood and people the king was always what he had been, his titles never varied from age to age, all ceremonies connected with him, religious or civil, were conducted just as they had been conducted in the time of the pyramid builders, and, as far as artistic representations are concerned, there is little or no difference between Nectanebus and Ne-ueser-Ra. And, as is natural, there is also not much difference between Ne-ueser-Ra and Narmer. The princes of Hierakonpolis, the sutens of Upper Egypt, were living sun-gods, "Horuses," with their subordinate chiefs around them; they wore high straw hats covered with white cloth and trailed cow's tails behind them to distinguish them from the vulgar, and were naïvely represented in art as being twice as large as ordinary mortals. This was quite natural in the primitive period, and since the power of the king was already absolutely autocratic, as he was the lord of all, who were his slaves and worshipped him as a god at the beginning of the first dynasty, there was no room for further development of his power, and but for the invention of new titles, such as "Son of the Sun," there is no alteration in the position or description of the king during the Archaic Period. And when his position really altered, after the nobles had learnt that successful rebellion was possible, and they might themselves by that means come to sit on Pharaoh's throne, the description had long before been fixed and remained so for ever, so that the Roman emperor Decius still wears Narmer's high cap and cow's tail on the walls of the temple of Esne.

Deification of the Kings

H. R. HALL

THE LAND OF THE PHARAOHS

BY CARL NIEBUHR AND H. R. HALL, M.A.

TO THE TIME OF THE PYRAMID-BUILDERS

IN "geologic" times the habitable Egypt of to-day formed a long, narrow gulf extending from the Mediterranean to the first cataract. In the course of ages the gulf was filled up by the heavy deposits of silt which the Nile still continues to bring down, every year increasing its delta. The rainfall is of small amount, and but for the regular flooding of the Nile valley every year a country now arable would be at the most a region of arid steppes.

At Assouan—the Suenu of ancient Egypt and the Greek Syene—the Nile leaves Nubia and begins its lower course, first breaking through a granite barrier which has thrust itself between the ridges of red sandstone that extend along the sides of the valley to this point. The fragments of rock in the river bed, large enough at this point to form islands, render the navigation of this first cataract extremely difficult. At a distance of 38 miles below Assouan, at Gebel Silsila, the sandstone formation draws nearer to the course of the Nile, narrowing the river bed to the breadth of 300 yards. When this gorge has been passed, the fall of the river is very gradual, from Assouan to Cairo barely 300 feet, and thence to the coast 32 feet, so that the river is free to extend as it will. The mountain chains to the right and left retreat further and further from the stream, and at Esne change to a Tertiary limestone formation. At Luxor, the site of ancient Thebes, the arable land of the valley is over five miles in breadth. A short distance further on begins the system of irrigation canals. Here, in the district of Abydos, the arable land is eleven miles in breadth, nine on the west bank, and two on the eastern. This general breadth of the cultivated land is preserved till Cairo is reached, broader now on one bank, now on the other, as the cliff-border of the desert now approaches, now recedes from the river, on one side or the other. The eastern mountain chain preserves its precipitous character until it joins near Cairo the Mokattam range, which there takes a turn to the west. The rolling hills on the western side permit the passage of the so-called Joseph's Canal, or Bahr Yusuf, the most ancient of all the irrigation streams of any size, which branches off from the river in lat. 27° 5′ N., and after flowing parallel to the Nile for a distance of over 450 miles, passes the line of hills and creates the habitable district of Fayyum. In early times this western dependency of Egypt was watered by a great stagnant lake, the "lake Moeris" of the Greeks; in modern times the canal now flows further to the west, into the brackish "lake of horns"—Birket

The Nile's Cataracts

The Narrow Land of the Nile

el-Kerun, 130 feet below the sea-level—although its water still continues to fertilise a considerable portion of the Fayyum.

The Nile Delta

Some twelve miles below Cairo the Nile, which there attains a breadth of over 300 feet, divides into the two branches by which it now reaches the sea—the Rosetta Nile and the Damietta Nile. Here the Delta begins. In remote antiquity this district consisted almost entirely of marsh land; but very early in Egyptian history the work of reclaiming the marshes was begun, and by the fourteenth century B.C. the cultivated land of the Delta was probably as great in extent as it is now. At the present day it has an area of 13,500 square miles, and a coast line of 180 miles in length, and is intersected by a network of streams with a total length of 8,400 miles. The regulation of the Nile floods, a difficult task in this low-lying region, was in modern times first attempted in the nineteenth century by the construction of the barrage, a great dam at the southern extremity of the Delta. Of the seven chief mouths as known to classical antiquity by which the Nile flows into the Mediterranean, the Bolbitine corresponds with the Rosetta Nile; the western arm, the Canopic, was replaced in 1820 by the Mahmudiyah Canal, which flows into the lagoon near Alexandria. To the east of the Bolbitine Nile followed in order the Sebennytic, the Phatnitic, or Damietta, the Mendesian, the Tanitic, and the Pelusian. The Mendesian and Tanitic branches are now represented by canals which enter Lake Manzaleh from the south. The Pelusian branch, which originally reached the sea considerably to the eastward of the modern Port Said and the Suez Canal, has entirely disappeared.

Egypt a Little Country

The land which is fertilised by all these channels from Assouan to the borders of the Delta has an area in round numbers of 18,500 square miles—that is, a little larger than Belgium. The population, however, is at least a third more numerous. The total area of the country, a large proportion of which consists of the barren districts of the Arabian desert, between the Nile and the Red Sea, and the Libyan desert, which loses itself in the Sahara on the west, is about 640,000 square miles.

The names under which Egypt has been known to neighbouring peoples in the course of history have never yet been satisfactorily explained. The native name for the country was "Kemet," in later forms, "Kemi" and "Khemi," signifying "the Black Land," the land of dark soil; the ancient Egyptians called

MAP OF THE BASIN OF THE RIVER NILE

themselves simply Romitu, "the people." When the priest of Saïs told Herodotus that of the 360 priests who had succeeded each other at Saïs from time immemorial each one was a "*piromis*, and the son of a *piromis*," he meant that

each one had been "a man and the son of a man," in Egyptian *pi-romi*, with the definite article *pi*. Modern investigations have made it probable that the name Egypt may have been derived from the native name of the town or the temple precinct of Memphis, Ha-ka-ptah. As early as 1400 B.C. Memphis was known to foreigners under the form of "Hikuptah." The Semitic peoples called the country Misr, or in Hebrew, Misraim. The kings of Egypt, at any rate those of the eighteenth dynasty, in their letters to foreign powers generally styled themselves rulers of "Misri." The Persians turned this name into "Mudraya." But the origin and the meaning of the word are unknown.

VIEW OF THE NILE AT THE FIRST CATARACT

The same uncertainty prevails with regard to the name Neilos, by which the Greeks called the river. The ancient Egyptians called the Nile Hapi; but this, in popular language, was replaced by *Itur*, river, of which the Coptic, the last surviving dialect of ancient Egypt, has preserved the derivative form *Iaro* or *Eioor*. The Israelites called the Nile by the same name, Yeor, the Assyrians, Yaru; and in Syria the Delta region was known about 1380 B.C. as the country of "Yarimuta," of which word the second part still awaits explanation.

Meaning of Egyptian Names

Egyptologists are by no means altogether agreed that ancient Egyptian civilisation originated wholly in the East, and opinions are still divided as to the origin of the earliest inhabitants of the land. Both the negroes and the western neighbours of the Delta, the Libyan nations, have been considered possible progenitors. The first may be ruled out at once; there was negro blood in Egypt in ancient times, as there is now, but the Egyptians were not, and are not, a negroid race. But that they were closely akin to the Libyans, now represented by the Berbers, Kabyles, and Tuareg of Northern Africa, is very possible; the Egyptian language, though it contained many "proto-Semitic" forms, was not more Semitic in general character than are Berber dialects, which are distantly related to the Semitic tongues. But that in very early times a distinctly Semitic immigration took place from Arabia, bringing with it elements of Mesopotamian culture, seems highly probable. With the exception of the Mediterranean coast, the

VIEW OF THE NILE AT THE SECOND CATARACT

only points at which the invasion of Egypt by a horde or army of any size is at all possible are the former isthmus of Suez, the Libyan border of the Delta on the opposite side, and finally the pass of Assouan in the south. In antiquity the Nile valley was absolutely closed against the advance of large armies, from Cairo upward, on both sides. Oases, it is true, are not entirely wanting, but their situation is not such as to have permitted a direct attack upon the pass into the valley between Assouan and the Fayyum.

In the age of the Ptolemies and the Romans the eastern desert was inhabited by a nomadic race, known to the Egyptians who wrote in Greek as Trogodytes —not Troglodytes, which would mean cave

MAP OF THE DELTA OF THE RIVER NILE

dwellers. It was only in the region between the Nile and the Red Sea, where they were secure from any persistent pursuit or expulsion, that the remnants of these most ancient inhabitants of the Nile valley were able to maintain their primitive existence. Artemidorus, about 270 B.C., thus describes the habits of this people: "The Trogodytes lead a nomadic life; their several tribes are ruled by chiefs of unlimited power. Women and children are held in common; only the families of chiefs are excepted. Whoever defiles the wife of a chieftain must pay a fine of one sheep. The women take great care in blackening their eyebrows—[which shows that they were not negroes]. Shells are worn round the neck as a charm against witchcraft. Battles occur for the possession of the pasture lands; the conflict is begun with fists, continued with stones, and should a wound be inflicted with these weapons, arrows and knives are brought into play; thereupon the women rush between them and reconcile them by their appeals.

The Most Ancient People

Their food consists of flesh and bones, which are mingled together and crushed, wrapped in skins and then roasted and prepared in various ways by the cooks, whom they call unclean. Thus they devour not only the flesh, but also the skin and bones; they also partake of blood mingled with milk. The drink of the great majority is an infusion of buckthorn; the chiefs, however, drink a kind of mead, for which purpose honey is pressed from a certain flower. . . . . They invariably go naked, hung about with a skin and carrying a club. They are not only mutilated, but some of them are also circumcised, like the Egyptians. Some of the Trogodytes bury their dead, fastening the legs of the corpse to the neck with withes of buckthorn; they then joyfully and with laughter pile stones upon the corpse until it is hidden from view. Then they set up a goat's horn upon the pile and go their way." Similar modes of burial to those here described are to be found far and wide in Central and Southern Africa at the present day. The goat's horn placed above the grave was the "totem" of the deceased, which he wore while alive, suspended from his neck together with the shells. Whether these Trogodytes had any connection with the primitive population of Central Africa, who seem to have been pygmies, may be rendered more certain by knowledge of the pygmy races at the sources of the Nile and in the Congo district. The existence of these latter was well known to the ancients, and individual representatives occasionally

Ancient Race of Pygmies

A scene on the River Nile, where it broadens in its course, above one of the reservoirs.

Arab trading boats with their familiar lateen sails on the Nile at Luxor.

The banks of the Nile, showing a typical scene on the lower reaches of the river.

SCENES ON THE NILE: THE RIVER TO WHICH EGYPT OWES ITS LIFE

In the course of ages the Nile has filled up with its silt, a black and very fertilising mud, the narrow gulf which extended in geologic times from the Mediterranean to the first cataract, creating in the desert a long, narrow strip of arable country of an average breadth of about eleven miles.

made their way to Egypt, such as the "Deng," who was brought by the traveller Herkhuf to the court of King Merenra, as related below, in the time of the seventh dynasty, and "delighted the heart of his Majesty more than anything." A similar dwarf had been brought from the land of Punt by the Chancellor Baurdad in the time of King Assa. Whether the Nile valley was ever inhabited by pygmies remains uncertain; there is evidence for their wide ethnographic distribution in ancient times.

Dwarfs at the Court

Only a few years ago, inquiry into the origin of Egypt and its civilisation was founded entirely upon the list of kings drawn up by the priest Manetho about 260 B.C. According to this list, Menes, the first king of the whole country, who was indeed preceded by ten unnamed human rulers, began in his person the "first dynasty," a fixed starting point which had been accepted by learned Egyptian writers long before Manetho. The list given in the "papyrus of kings," in the Turin Museum, dating probably from 1500 B.C., also begins with Menes—Egyptian "Mena"—and names as his predecessors the Shemsu-Hor, that is, the successors of the god Horus. These, then, were demi-gods; they, also, appear in Manetho's list, under the name of "Nekyes," or "Ghosts," though separated from Menes by the ten human rulers previously mentioned. The chief account of this monarch states that he came from This, the district round Abydos, north of Thebes, and proceeded to Memphis, where he established his capital. Thus, the region considered in historical times as the original settlement lay in the south. This hypothesis, in itself highly probable, has been entirely confirmed by the recent excavations of Flinders Petrie, Quibell, De Morgan, and Amélineau. The list of kings given by Manetho is not only very full, but also begins at the right place, and provides connecting links between a number of figures which emerge dimly from the darkness of a remoter antiquity.

The Earliest Kings

All the excavations referred to above are grouped around the king's tomb at Nagada, the royal "tombs" at Abydos, and the remains of the primitive buildings at Hierakonpolis; and at Ballas and Tukh. The great tomb of Nagada proved to be an erection of sun-dried bricks, the remains of which now form a buried rubbish heap some 160 feet long and 80 feet wide. The interior was divided into chambers, the largest of which occupied the centre. Here the body of the king, whose name was Aha, was originally laid out upon the bier; the other chambers, which decreased in size as they approached the outer walls, contained the sacrificial offerings. The vessels holding the latter were for the most part broken into fragments on the occasion of the burial ceremony. The whole building, and the central chamber in particular, was then destroyed by a great fire, which did not perhaps take place before Christian times.

The most salient features of the civilisation of this early period are the facts that the bodies are not mummified—in all probability the art of embalming the dead was then unknown; further, that this people were in a state of transition from the later Neolithic to the Bronze Age; and, finally, that the implements of the period already showed a considerable development of artistic skill. Together with numerous beautifully-worked implements of stone, including knives of high quality, bronze utensils, and objects of ivory, linen cloth and gold ornaments have been discovered. The greatest progress, however, is shown in the pottery of the time, although the large vessels of every kind of pattern show no trace of turning on the potter's wheel. Furthermore, it is clear that basket-making was here the parent art of clay-modelling, and therefore one of the earliest acquired of human accomplishments.

Early Artistic Skill

The Egyptians of the Nagada period also gave their pottery the appearance of stone; their panel ornamentation showed a preference for spirals, wave and N-lines, as well as for rows of triangles, a characteristically African design. Their representations of men and animals show that their art had already reached a high stage of development. The ostrich often appears depicted walking in single file and as often at full speed; the same bird is also represented in the tomb-paintings found at Hierakonpolis by Green, and by ancient wall-chiselling, or graffiti, at Arb-Assouan, a few miles below the first cataract, the most southerly point at which sculptures of the Nagada period have been discovered. Pictures of the camel or the horse nowhere

appear; the cat also seems to be unrepresented, while elephants constantly recur, and are sometimes boldly depicted as balanced on the mountain tops. Antelopes, goats, bulls, asses, and geese, lions, hippopotami, crocodiles, jackals, dogs, scorpions, all kinds of fish, and finally the sparrow-hawk, the bird sacred to Horus, are the chief representatives of the animal world in the art of this period. In contrast to the drawing in profile hitherto known as "Egyptian," an attempt is made at foreshortening, movement being indicated by curving the legs, and, in the case of the ostriches, by the oarlike posture of the wings. The measured stride of men and animals characteristic of the later art does not appear in the drawings of this period. Scorpions and crocodiles stretch their legs out sideways with a resultant life-like appearance of crawling which is not to be found in later work. It may also be mentioned that the Nile river-boats are pictured quite as often as one would have expected.

Mansell

THE TRANSITION ART OF EARLY EGYPT

The implements of the Egyptians of the first dynasties, who were in a state of transition from a stone to a bronze age, showed considerable artistic skill, as the flint dagger, knife and arrowhead, and bronze daggers, hatchet and war-axe, shown above, exemplify.

Of particular interest are the tall, sacrificial urns, often four or five feet high, tapering to a point at the bottom, and the slate tablets used as amulets for the dead. The urns differ only in their elongated form from those in use in Egypt at the present day, but the means of stoppering employed is worthy of mention. The narrow orifice was covered with a disc of burnt clay upon which were placed two bell-shaped lids, also of clay, one fitting over the other, the stopper having thus the appearance of a sugar-loaf. Stamps were printed upon the soft clay stoppers by means of cylinder seals; naturally the impressions upon the innermost lid are generally in the better state of preservation.

Early Traces of Writing

The designs most numerous are the Horus names of the kings—indicated by the picture of a sparrow-hawk above the inscription—pictures of animals, and various ornaments. The art of writing, therefore, though but little practised in the early days of the Nagada period, was not unknown; proper names could, at any rate, be inscribed.

The amulets of slate are sometimes called "palettes," because they sometimes show traces of colouring, and are supposed to have been palettes for face-paint. Remnants of rouge paint have also been found in the graves which contain bodies buried in a crouching position; in these graves alone have such palettes been discovered. The tablet of slate was laid between the hands and face of the deceased; its use as an amulet is indisputably established. In most cases holes are found drilled in the tablets, whence it may be conjectured that they were worn during the possessor's lifetime. A unique headless figure, discovered in one of the graves at Tukh, bears extraordinary painted or tattooed designs on the trunk and limbs. In the spring of 1898, Mr. J. E. Quibell directed his attention to the temple of Hierakonpolis, situated further to the south; another chambered tomb, surrounded by a wall of bricks, was brought to light, and in this case it was possible to announce a discovery dating within historic times. The structure had been twice renovated, for the first time in the sixth, and again during the twelfth dynasty of Manetho. From this it is concluded, or rather presumed, that the Egyptians of that age, which was a period of literary activity, were acquainted with the affairs and history of the Archaic Period, in contrast to the Egyptians of the New Empire, whose lists of kings display little knowledge of that era. Of these discoveries an account has already been given.

Amulets of the Dead

The age of Khasekhemui and Narmer is posterior to the true "Nagada period." As has already been seen in the essay on

Archaic Egypt, prefixed to this chapter, both Narmer and Aha are in reality to be assigned to the first dynasty of Manetho, as these three principal monarchs are in all probability the originals of the legendary "Mena," who is then to be regarded as a compound figure, typifying the beginnings of the monarchy under those early kings of Hierakonpolis. With them the Nagada period ends, and the civilisation of the first dynasty, as revealed to us by the excavations at Hierakonpolis and Abydos, begins.

Our interest in the hypotheses concerning the origin of the Neolithic Egyptians of the Nagada period requires no justification. The results of grave exploration have made it clear that the fundamental type of this people was closely allied to the Trogodytes in the east, if it was not identical with them. The description

AGRICULTURE IN EARLY EGYPT

This vivid scene in the agricultural life of the early Egyptians is taken from an Egyptian wall-painting reproduced in Sir Gardner Wilkinson's standard work, "The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians."

given by Artemidorus of the Trogodyte custom of binding together the heads and feet of the dead is a description of the procedure necessary to secure the bodies in the embryonal position of the Nagada graves, where the goats' horns of the Trogodytes find their prototype.

Of capital importance for the decision upon ethnographic grounds of the question whether the Neolithic Egyptians and the Trogodytes were of primitive African origin are the ancient rock graffiti at Hierakonpolis and Arb-Assouan, together with certain vase paintings found at Abydos and Nagada. Mr. R. A. Macalister, who visited the Trogodyte desert from Upper Egypt in December, 1899, speaks of similar drawings on the cliffs at the confluence of the Wadi Munila and the Wadi Shaid. The primitive rock-drawings of the Bushmen of South Africa irresistibly invite comparison with the primitive productions of the Nagada period; while the proportions of the skulls found in the southern burying-ground at Nagada often point to a close connection with the Bushmen and Hottentots. Many of the Nagada statuettes exhibit traces of the fatty development peculiar to both of these South African tribes.

Bushmen and Trogodytes

The Egyptians, at any rate those of the eighteenth dynasty, are said to have recognised a relationship with the inhabitants of Puenet, or Punt, the land of incense, which lay to the south of the Red Sea. But the statement that the sailors of the Egyptian Queen Hatshepsut worshipped the goddess Hathor as the deity of Punt is in itself insufficient evidence, inasmuch as Hathor was the special goddess of seafarers and vouchsafed the favourable wind without which the journey to Punt was impossible. From the mural decorations in the temple of Der el-Bahari, it may be concluded that about 1500 B.C. Punt was inhabited by brown-coloured races. They dwelt in huts built on piles and entered by ladders, and endeavoured to acquire articles of metal, and weapons in particular, by means of barter. The Puntites, as represented by the Egyptians, are always remarkably like the Egyptians themselves; and it may well be that these people, who were no doubt of the Galla race, were recognised by Egyptians as akin to themselves. The higher—Asiatic—race of the Archaic Period was no doubt nearly related to the Galla stock, which probably came originally from Arabia.

The condition of political affairs in Egypt at the end of the Nagada period shows that in contrast to earlier times the military power of the land had now to be directed toward the north, where Libyan tribes had occupied the Delta and cut off the Upper Nile from communication. The greatest achievements of Menes, the first traditional king—who is probably a compound of the early monarchs Narmer and Aha, so that the latter's sepulchre at Nagada may perhaps be called the "Tomb of Menes"—were his removal of the royal residence from the

First War with the Libyans

THE STONEWARE OF ANCIENT EGYPT: ALABASTER VASES 5,000 YEARS OLD Mansell

south to Memphis, and his defeat of the Libyans. One theory put forward is that the conquerors who founded "dynastic" Egypt were Asiatics who advanced by way of the Isthmus of Suez.

But, as we have seen in the preceding section, it is by no means certain. Another theory would bring these conquerors into Egypt by way of the Wadi Hammamat. In fact, all that can be said is that the most ancient kings appear as southerners, who subdued the north, and thus united the "two lands" under one sceptre. The kings who effected this, and founded the first dynasty, figured in Egyptian tradition as one man, named "Mena," the "firm," who came from This, or Thinis, near Abydos, and founded the city of "Mennefer," or Memphis (Fair Haven) near the apex of the Delta, thus consolidating his conquest of the north. Neither in history nor tradition have we any confirmation of the otherwise very plausible hypothesis of an initial movement of the dynastic Egyptians from north to south.

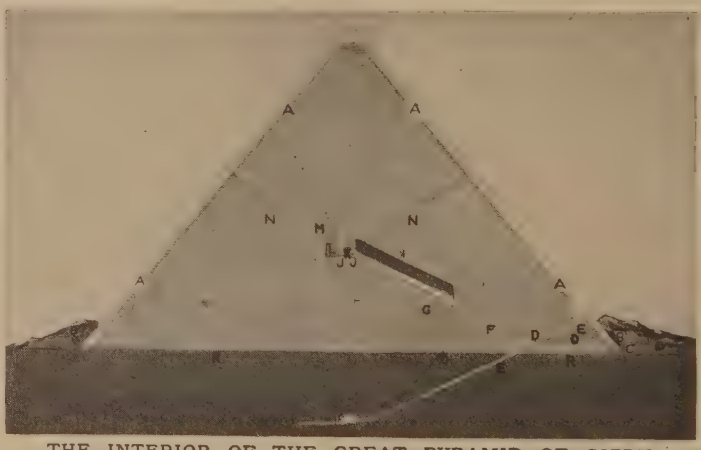
There is no country in the world that can be compared with Egypt in wealth of antiquities. It is true that the valley of the Euphrates and Tigris is not far behind in respect of the number of discoveries there made, but it can show nothing approaching the variety of objects found in Egypt which illustrate the different departments of human activity. Egypt unfolds before us the daily life of all classes from the highest to the lowest. The methods of manufacture and agriculture, specimens of all articles and utensils of luxury and necessity, from children's dolls and draughtsmen to the valuable gold ornaments of royal personages, the carefully

ART IN EARLY EGYPT: A TOMB DECORATION PAINTED 3,500 YEARS AGO

preserved bodies of famous conquerors, the songs, myths, and fairy tales that were the delight of young and old, the writing materials with which they were immortalised, the amulet, the sandals, even the wig worn by the scribe—of all these we have examples, and often in abundance. If these fragile remnants have lost something of their freshness in the course of thousands of years, the loss can be supplied by the faithful representations and richly-coloured paintings on the walls of the tombs.

Wealth of Egyptian Antiquities

Invaluable as was the realism of the Egyptian people, it proved unable to stand the test the moment tasks were encountered transcending the tangible and the visible. The vast achievements of early Egyptian art, and its no less imposing course of development, are only too liable to render us blind to the fact that throughout its entire progress it rested upon one and the same foundation—rigid adherence to the material, and consequent intellectual constraint. Again, in literature and in art, each new phase of development seems to have emerged at stated intervals as a completed whole, invariably appearing at the end of long periods of "Egyptian" darkness, these intervals being occupied by reviving fusions of Asiatic influence as a result of political changes.



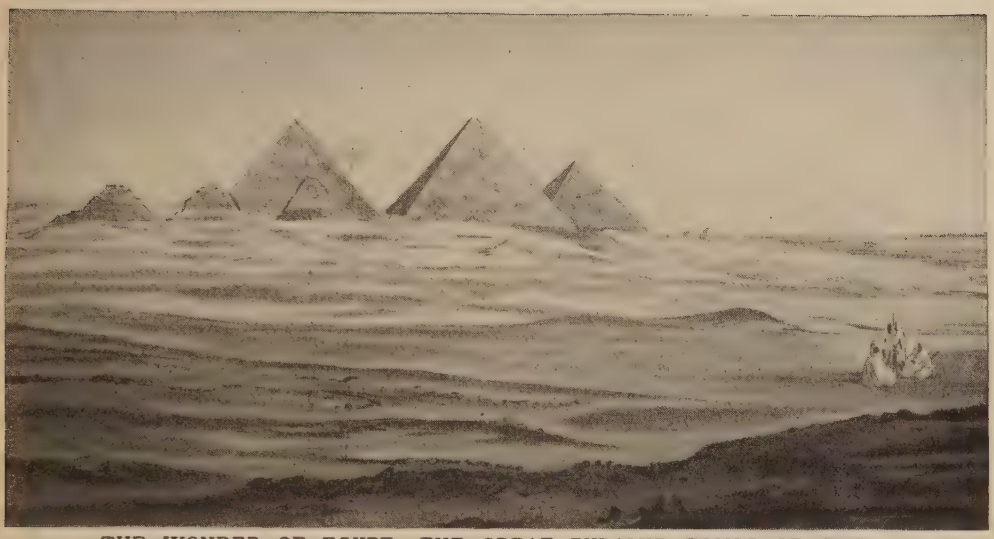
THE INTERIOR OF THE GREAT PYRAMID OF GIZEH

In this section of the pyramid A is the ancient casing of polished granite; B, sand and debris; C, casing now remaining; D, a passage forced by a caliph; E, descending entrance; F, ascending passage; G, passage to the queen's chamber; H, queen's chamber; I, the great gallery; J, passage from the great gallery to the king's chamber; K, ante-chamber; L, king's chamber and sarcophagus; M, chambers used in building; N, ventilating chamber; O, well; P, subterranean chamber; R, the rock base of the pyramid, about 750 feet long.

Such a period of darkness was the supremacy of the Hyksos, which continued too long and had too profound an effect upon the Egyptian people to vanish entirely upon its expiration. At the end of this period the "New Empire" begins. One new and unexampled effect of this period was the awakening influence which it exerted upon the previously shadowy historical sense which the Egyptians possessed. The kings began to draw up lists—of select names only—of such of their predecessors as could be collected, and endeavoured to secure the relation of their own deeds in proper sequence. We have several such "cursory" lists, three of which are in a fair state of preservation: a tablet from the temple at Karnak, or Thebes, upon which Thothmes III. does obeisance to sixty-one ancient kings; another, discovered in the temple of Osiris at Abydos, with seventy-five names; and a third from a tomb near Sakkara, an abridged copy of the preceding, and, like it, belonging to the time of Rameses II. The Turin papyrus professes to contain more than a mere collection of names; but unfortunately the document consists only of fragments of which but a small portion has been pieced together. The list given by this papyrus not only extends from the gods who ruled on earth to the period of the Hyksos, but notes the exact length of each reign in years, months, and days. Even if the transcription be of later date, and to be placed at the beginning of the nineteenth dynasty, the original from which it was compiled undoubtedly belongs to the time immediately following the Hyksos. An obvious imitation of Babylonian lists of kings, the text remains unique by reason of the detailed character of its statements. Compilers, doubtless, were soon wearied by the labour involved in carrying accuracy to such extremes.

Royal Egyptian Records

Not until the Alexandrine period was the history of Egypt written by a native pen. The high-priest and temple scribe, Manetho of Sebennytos, who had received



THE WONDER OF EGYPT: THE GREAT PYRAMID TOMBS OF GIZEH

Built by Khufu, Khafra, Menkaura, and other Pharaohs of the fourth dynasty about 3800 B.C., these tombs are among the oldest and most stupendous edifices known to mankind. The largest was built by Khufu, or Cheops.

a Greek education, composed his work "Ægyptiaca," which remains to us only in the shape of excerpts and quotations. No doubt he had a rich store of material at his disposal, although it is evident that he was unduly influenced by contemporary opinion; he even accepted the popular myth of the world-conqueror Sesostris, unless this and similar matter has been interpolated into the citations which have come down to us. So many false accounts of other matters were foisted upon Manetho in antiquity that only in a few isolated cases can we obtain more than a general idea of his work; however, his chronological system was accepted until modern times. According to him, the Old Empire begins with Menes, and embraces the first to the eleventh dynasties; the Middle Empire extends from the twelfth to the nineteenth dynasties; and the New Empire begins with the twentieth, and continues to the time of Alexander. This system cannot be entirely maintained in the face of the archæological evidence which we possess. It is usual to consider the Middle Empire as having begun with the eleventh dynasty, and as ending with the seventeenth. The Old Empire, however, must be reckoned as ending with the conclusion of the sixth dynasty, where there is a long break in the course of events. The scanty information which we possess concerning dynasties seven to ten is to be considered as marking a transition period leading to the Middle Empire, while the New Empire begins with the expulsion of the Hyksos, and continues until the outset of the twenty-sixth dynasty, so that the scheme of Manetho is abandoned from the reign of Psammetichus I. onward. There is no possible doubt that Manetho made use of such records as the Turin papyrus and the lists of kings inscribed on their monuments, but the beginning of the New Empire must be considered as the earliest limit of his sources of information.

First Egyptian Historian

The kings of Manetho's first dynasty are as follows: Menes, with a reign of 62 years; Athothis, with 57; Kenkenes, with 31; Uenephes, with 23; Usaphaïs, with 20; Miebis, with 26; Semempses, with 18; and Bienekhes, with 26. The succession invariably passed from father to son. The list of the second dynasty contains nine rulers: Boethos (38 years), Kaiekhos (29), Binothris (47), Tlas (17), Sethenes (41), Khaires (17), Neferkheres (25), Sesokhris (48), Kheneres (30). Both houses were called "Thinites," and hence Manetho assumes their extraction from the district of Abydos, while, according to him, the next dynasty originated in Memphis. Finally, the list of the third dynasty contains nine kings: Nekherophes (28 years), Tosorthros (29), Tyreis (7), Mesokhris (17), Soüphis (16), Tosertasis (19), Asykhes (42), Sephouris (30), and Kerpheres (26). Thus we may be said

The First History Criticised

to have altogether twenty-six kings, who reigned during a period of seven hundred and sixty nine years. Such is Manetho's list of the kings of the first three dynasties. In the main it agrees remarkably well with the evidence of the monuments, as far as the first two dynasties are concerned. Of the third we have few monuments but those of the great King Tjeser, who is probably Manetho's Tosorthros. But the earlier kings of the second dynasty and those of the first dynasty in Manetho's list agree very well in number, and often also in name, with the historical rulers of this period, as far back as Miebis and Usaphaïs, whose real names were Merbepa, or Merpeba, and Semti (read "Hesepti" in later times, whence the Manethonian form). Semti, who also bore the name of Den, or Udimu, seems to be the most ancient historical king of Egypt known to Manetho and the ancient annalists from whom he gained his information. The lists of Abydos and Sakkara agree with Manetho as to the number, and in two cases as to the names, of the four kings before Semti or Usaphaïs; but it is evident that these are merely legendary figures. The historical kings who preceded Semti do not agree with them either in name or number; even the occurrence of the name "Men" as an appellation of King Aha, which has been supposed to be inscribed on a tablet of this king found at Nagada, is uncertain, and will in the long run probably not be maintained. Setting aside certain names, which—if they are names at all, and this is doubtful—belong to monarchs of the time of the Shemsu-Hor, we have, as we have seen, the following list of historical kings of all Egypt at the beginning of the first dynasty: First, Aha, Narmer or Betjumer, and a monarch called "Scorpion"; these are probably the originals of the legendary Mena: the "Scorpion" may not impossibly be identical with Narmer. Then follow Tja, the "Serpent," who possibly bore the additional name of Ati, which may be the original of the legendary Teta, Ateti, or Ata, perhaps of all three; "Ateti" is evidently the original of Manetho's "Athothis." As has been said in the preceding chapter, it is hopeless, as well as quite unnecessary, to try to force the historical names into the cartouches of Mena, Teta, Ateti, and Ata. The lists which give these names agree with Manetho, except as regards the forms of the names "Kenkenes" and "Uenephes"; but this is only because Manetho was copying these very lists or similar ones, and their knowledge of the kings who united the kingdom was evidently quite legendary and uncertain. It is only with King Semti Den that we reach firm ground. He is the Hesepti of the lists, the Usaphaïs of Manetho. It is probably not a mere chance that his successor Merpeba, the Merbep of the lists and Miebis of Manetho, begins the royal list of Sakkara instead of Mena. At Memphis he was evidently regarded as the first historical king of all Egypt of whom anything definite was known in the time of the nineteenth dynasty. His successor, Nekht, was called in the lists "Semsu," which is the origin of the Manethonian "Semempses." After him came Sen, also called Qa, whose name was misread "Qebh" by the compilers of the lists. He is certainly Manetho's "Bienekhes," but the origin of this form of his name is impossible to divine. The names of these kings are known from their tombs at Abydos.

Early History Upheld

The Historical Kings

Founder of the Empire

Manetho's account of the events during this period is purely legendary. Naturally, the account of Menes, the founder of the empire, is richest in detail. In addition to the fact of his removal of the seat of the empire from Thinis to Memphis, where he founded a temple of Ptah, the god of the town—the first temple ever erected in Egypt—it was also said of him that he invented the hieroglyphic system, introduced the worship of the sacred bull Apis and of the crocodile, and taught men the art of luxurious living. He waged wars against Libyan forces, and met his death from a hippopotamus. Obviously, no mention was made of the tomb of Menes in the sources of information open to Manetho.

Athothis is said to have built the king's fortress in Memphis, and to have written an anatomical treatise. As a matter of fact, the Ebers medical papyrus contains the recipe for a hair-wash concocted by Shesh, the mother of Athothis. Finally, during his reign a two-headed crane—that is, a bird sacred to the god Thoth,

of which name "Athothis" is a compound—appeared in the land, an event signifying prosperity. The reigns of the successors of Menes seem to be characterised by a preponderance of misfortune; the reign of Uenephes was made memorable by a famine, that of Semempses by "many wonders" and a great plague.

Manetho's list of events for the second dynasty is equally wonderful. The reign of Boethos is remarkable for the fact that a cleft in the earth opened in the delta at Bubastis, and caused the death of many men; Kaiekhos, as Manetho relates, introduces the worship of Apis into Memphis, that of Mnevis into Heliopolis, and that of the sacred ram at Mendes; under the king Neferkheres the Nile flowed with honey instead of water for eleven days; and, finally, Sesokhris was a "very dangerous man," five cubits and three palms high. The difference between Manetho's Greek transliteration of the kings' names and the hieroglyphic forms of the same words may be clearly seen by the comparison of the first five kings of this dynasty and the list from Abydos. This list gives the names in accurate order of succession: Betjau, Ka-ka-u, Ba-neter-en, Uatnes, and Sent; the other four names are missing. On contemporary, or nearly contemporary monuments, we have the names Khasekhemui, Kakau, Neneter, or Netrimu, and Sent. Khasekhemui was the first king of the second dynasty. His successor was Hetepsekhemui. Then came Raneb. who may or may not be identical with Kakau-Kaiekhos, and then Ba Ne-neter, certainly the historical Neneter or Netrimu, who succeeded Raneb. Uatjnes, or Tlas, is not known to the monuments; but both Sekhemab Perabsen and Sen, who came next, are.

The Second Dynasty

Manetho's account of the third dynasty is exceedingly scanty; with its last representatives the first glimpse of historical tradition appears. Of the first two kings we are told only that the Libyans revolted in the reign of Necherophes, but fled in horror when the moon suddenly increased in size. Further, Tosorthros, or Tjeser, was a great physician and architect, and improved the script in use; he built an edifice of hewn stone. The pyramid of Sakkara, built in steps, shows that its builders had not as yet advanced to the art of smoothing the sides, which indeed was not the original plan. This name occurs in the account of a papyrus among the immediate predecessors of Sneferu, with whom the third dynasty ends. It is probable that Manetho's account of the edifices erected by Tosorthros refers to Tjeser and the pyramid of Sakkara.

THE GALLERY IN THE GREAT PYRAMID
It is very difficult to give a pictorial idea of the great gallery, but this section, from the "Description de l'Egypt," gives as good an impression as it is possible to convey.

Tjeser had another tomb, a great "mastaba" of bricks, at Bet Khallaf, near Abydos. Another king buried there was named Sanekht. A papyrus also contains the observation that King Huni died and Sneferu succeeded him.

World's Vastest Tombs

Nowhere in the course of history have such vast masses of stone been piled up upon such comparatively small areas by human labour as in Egypt at the command of the pyramid builders. The idea of constructing these gigantic tumuli originated, no doubt, in the natural heaping up of earth or stone in the form of a barrow over the tomb of a dead man. For the pyramids are nothing but tombs. They have no astronomical intention or meaning whatever. The ideas of Piazzi Smyth and others on this point are now known to be mere vain imaginings, based upon insufficient knowledge of Egyptian archæology and love of "the marvellous." There is nothing marvellous about these great tombs except their size and the accuracy of their building. At any rate, the pyramids of the fourth dynasty have become imperishable landmarks of Egypt, and are numbered among the oldest edifices known to mankind. All are situated on the western bank of the Nile, between Gizeh, near Cairo, and the extreme north-eastern corner of the Fayyum. They are divided into groups, named after the Arab settlements near which they rise, hence the terms the Pyramids of Gizeh, Abu-Roash, Abusir, Sakkara, Lisht, Dashur, Medum, Illahun and Hawara. The remains of smaller imitation pyramids, of which two exist in the Fayyum itself, as well as the very late attempts at constructing smaller edifices near Meroe in Ethiopia, need not be further considered. There are in all more than seventy examples within the district of the Pyramids proper; but the majority of these served as quarries in later years, and have consequently disappeared to their very foundations. Those which still remain are pierced by sloping passages running through the interior and leading to the burial chambers. In other respects there are many differences of plan; for instance, the great pyramid of Gizeh contains several burial chambers in its centre, one built above the other, whereas others have but one such chamber.

The Seventy Pyramids

That these complicated and extensive pyramid buildings were severally designed as the tomb of some one king—Menkaura and Sneferu erected two each for their own use—is proved among other evidence by the fact that the high officials in the old kingdom were accustomed to erect their tombs of different shape, the "mastabas," or "benches," within the shadow of the royal sepulchres. Curiously enough the mastabas are the richer in information upon their dead occupants. That the surfaces of the pyramids were covered with long inscriptions, as is stated in some ancient records, has been doubted, upon strong evidence. We have also reason to believe that the builder of a pyramid permitted the bodies of the members of his family to be deposited in the central chamber with his own. We must first learn those conceptions which gave the impulse to the erection of these tremendous structures. No doubt the safety of the mummies and their rich surroundings were considerations of the first order.

Why the Pyramids Were Built

The adoption of a pyramidal form was undoubtedly inspired by natural considerations; a pile of stones is naturally conical or pyramidal in form. It is possible that the construction of the pyramid was first arrived at by superimposing mastabas of gradually decreasing size upon one another; indeed the mastaba itself somewhat resembled a square platform, with sides sloping outward. Mastabas differed greatly in size, their bases varying in area from about 250 to 12,000 feet square. They contained a chapel, the walls of which were covered with pictures and inscriptions, a separate chimney-like compartment for the stone image of the deceased, and finally an underground sepulchral chamber, void of decoration, where the enswathed mummy lay in a sarcophagus of stone. Our chief knowledge of the life and doings of the Egyptians of the Old Empire is derived from the pictures on the walls of the chapels, which were accessible from without, and were intended as depositories for the sacrificial gifts, for incense offerings —in short, for the soul-worship continued by the descendants of the deceased. In the smallest mastabas, in place of the chapel there is a blind door set into the outer wall, inscribed with prayers and the name of the deceased.

THE EARLY DYNASTIES

ACCORDING to Manetho, the fourth dynasty begins with King "Soris," the Shaaru of the monuments. He evidently succeeded Sneferu, Manetho's Sephouris. Until a short time ago, Sneferu was the first Egyptian ruler known to us from his own inscriptions, discovered in this case in Wadi Maghara on the Sinaitic peninsula. In fact, the copper mines in that peninsula, which are now exhausted, were known as the "Mines of Sneferu" as late as the period of the New Empire. It is known, however, that Sneferu was not the first to bring this region into the possession of Egypt; King Nekht Semerkhat of the first dynasty was the first to inscribe his name on the rocks of Sinai, and he was followed there by Tjeser and Sanekht, before Sneferu, whose inscription shows him to have been the conqueror of the Mentiu, the small Bedouin tribes of the peninsula. With the exception of a similar inscription of Khufu, there is no further mention of war during the fourth dynasty. It was only in times of peace that the mass of the population could be employed year by year in the construction of gigantic edifices, or for other useful purposes. Sneferu's two pyramids were at Dashur and Medum. The personages buried in the surrounding mastabas were his subjects, as was Rahetep, the "Great Man of the South," whose lifelike sitting statue, together with its counterpart, a still finer image of his wife Nefert, now adorns the museum at Gizeh. The king was deified immediately after his death, and his worship continued to the time of the Ptolemies.

The Fourth Dynasty

Sneferu was succeeded by Shaaru, and he by Khufu, the Cheops of Herodotus. Of all the names of the fourth dynasty, that of Cheops is the most celebrated. However, of him we know nothing more certainly except that the largest pyramid is his; it measures 480 feet high and 764 feet square at the base. Remains are still visible of the paved causeway along which, according to Herodotus, the building-stones quarried on the other side of the Nile were landed and dragged to the site of the edifice. The short inscription found in Wadi Maghara again refers to a chastisement of the Bedouins. The mastabas that lie behind the pyramid of Cheops provide no information upon the history of the king, though containing the tombs of several royal children. They point to the existence of an exclusive nobility clinging to strict forms and customs in death as well as in life.

Cheops and his Pyramid

The pyramid of Medum is situated at the extreme south of the pyramid district; on the other hand, the pyramid of Khufu lies to the north near Gizeh. They are thus separated from one another by a distance of some thirty-seven miles. It is therefore probable that Khufu resided in Memphis, which was close at hand, and that Sneferu's residence, the full name of which was in all likelihood Ded-Sneferu, must be sought for in the neighbourhood of Medum or Dashur.

Khafra succeeded Khufu, who was probably his father, although Herodotus gives "Chephren" as the name of Cheops's brother. The pyramid of this king is not far distant from the great pyramid, and is only some twenty-seven feet lower. A magnificent diorite statue, a stately and faithful representation of Khafra, has been discovered, together with six smaller images of the same ruler, the latter in a badly damaged condition, in the shaft of the temple of the Sphinx, not far from the pyramid. The lofty throne is surmounted by the sparrow-hawk of Horus, whose beak projects over the low headcloth of the sovereign, the broad ends of which lie folded upon his shoulders. The great Sphinx belongs, however, to a later time, although as early as the New Empire Khafra seems to have been looked upon as its maker. At that time a small temple was constructed between the outstretched feet of the Sphinx; and it appears from contemporary documents that the figure was considered to be an image of the sun-god. It is a matter of doubt, however, whether

The Sphinx and its Temple

this idea is a full explanation of the original purpose of the Sphinx, which during the greater part of its existence has been buried in sand-drifts. Hewn out of the adjacent rock, it is over sixty-five feet in height, and represents a lion couchant with a human head; unfortunately the features have been badly mutilated by fanatical Arabs.

Mystery of the Sphinx

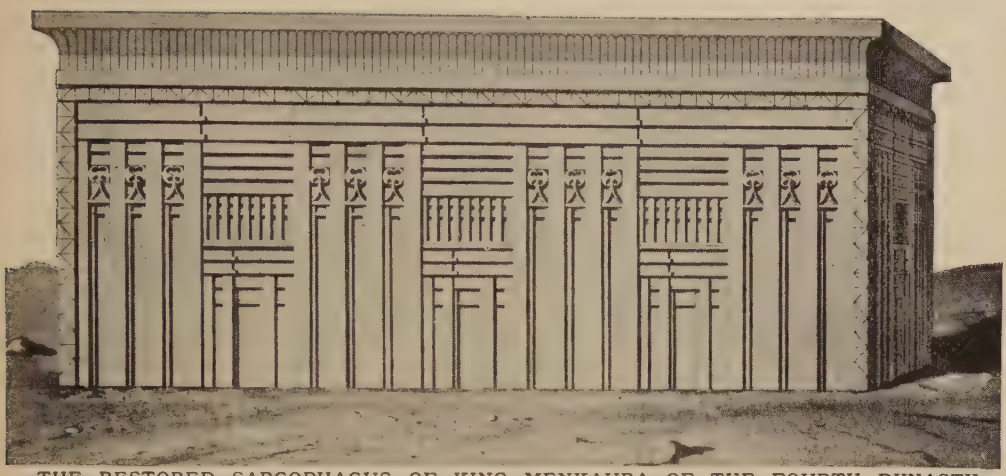
Here and there mention has been found of a king Radadf, likewise of the fourth dynasty; his pyramid is at Abu Roash, but his place in the succession of rulers is uncertain. He is evidently Manetho's "Ratoises," and therefore should come between Khafra and Menkaura. Menkaura, the Mycerinus of Herodotus, stands as the immediate successor of Khafra. His sepulchre is in the third pyramid of Gizeh, which is only 218 feet in height. The last king of the fourth dynasty was Shepseskaf; it has not been ascertained which of the pyramids is his. Mariette (1821–1881) discovered the tomb of a dignitary called Ptahshepses near Sakkara, who gives us some valuable personal information. He was first adopted by Menkaura and then by Shepseskaf "among the number of royal children"; the latter gave him the hand of his eldest daughter, Khamaat, in marriage. Ptahshepses was also appointed priest of three obelisks of Ra; it is here that we first meet with these slender-pointed stone columns erected in honour of the sun-god, the tallest of which, situated at Thebes, measures over 100 feet in height. The inscription of Ptahshepses is now in the British Museum.

Mansell

KHAFRA AND MENKAURA, KINGS 5,800 YEARS AGO
Khafra, whose magnificent diorite statue is shown on the left, was the fourth king of the fourth dynasty, and Menkaura the fifth.

The popular tradition of later times represented the pyramid builders as unjust oppressors of Egypt. The character of this belief may be gathered from Herodotus. Cheops and Chephren are said to have closed the temples and stopped the sacrifices in order to employ the whole strength of their subjects in the construction of their monuments. These two kings are the builders of the largest pyramids. Mycerinus is said to have been the first king to resume the practice of justice towards gods and men. But, continues the myth, in a manner truly typical of the gloomy theory of life entertained by the fellahin in all ages, the gods had no consideration for him; they cut short the life of Mycerinus, alleging it to be their will that the land should continue still longer unfortunate. Thus this king, although he built a much smaller pyramid than his predecessors, was none the less guilty of disobedience. Further, a myth of great intrinsic interest, which apparently originated in the course of the Middle Empire, relates how the gods turned away from Khufu and his house. The manuscript, which forms a part of the "Westcar papyrus," unfortunately breaks off at the very point where the development of the story begins. Nevertheless, in the portions which are still preserved it is related that King Khufu once summoned a magician, Dedi, to court through the prince Hordadf, who appears in the Book of the Dead as a son of Menkaura. When the enchanter, "who was 110 years old, and devoured 500 loaves of bread, a joint of beef, and 100 jugs of beer on the same day," had given an exhibition of juggling feats before the king, he prophesied that three sons that were to be born to Ruddedit, wife of the priest of Ra at Sakhebu, would one

Pyramids at Expense of Justice



THE RESTORED SARCOPHAGUS OF KING MENKAURA OF THE FOURTH DYNASTY
A fine basalt sarcophagus, eight feet long, dating from about 3840 B.C., which once contained the body of King Menkaura.

day be rulers of Egypt. Khufu was greatly alarmed at this piece of news, and immediately determined to set out for Sakhebu. The birth of the three boys with the assistance of the gods is next related. Isis names them Userkaf, Sahura, and Kaka; in fact, the three first kings of the fifth dynasty appear in this order in the list of Abydos. The story ends with an account of how a maid-servant attempted to disclose to the king the existence and destiny of the three children, but was prevented from putting her design into execution. Although the scribe with true court politeness handles Khufu with all possible deference, nevertheless the general feeling is obviously against him. He is the representative of an extinct and unpopular line; the three sons of Ruddedit wield the sceptre, and are therefore "popular."

It is evident that the fifth dynasty did not originate in Elephantine in Upper Egypt, as stated by Manetho, but in Sakhebu on the "Two-fish canal"—in the Delta, according to Petrie. The nine kings of the line were buried in relatively small pyramids; the situations of four have been determined with probable accuracy, those of Sahura, Ne-ueser-Ra, and Neferari-ka-Ra at Abusir, and Unas, the last representative of the dynasty, at Sakkara. During their period this dynasty is even poorer in historical records than the preceding. Possession was retained of the Sinaitic mines, the kings Sahura, Ne-ueser-Ra—Ra-en-user (Manetho's "Rathouris")—Menkauhor, and Assa being represented there by inscribed tablets.

The Fifth Dynasty

In the reign of Assa, whose first name was Dedka-Ra, the first copy of the Prisse papyrus was written; the author was Ptah-hotep, a relative of the king and a high dignitary. Our copy is of the period of the Middle Empire, and seems in general to reproduce the formal literary style in vogue at that period. Fragments of other papyri connected with the reign of Assa were discovered by peasants near Sakkara in 1893. The Prisse papyrus contains the meditations and maxims of Ptah-hotep—much like other meditations and maxims. Assa's successor, Unas, whose pyramid, together with portions of his mummy, was discovered in the spring of 1881, ruled for thirty years, according to the Turin papyrus. The epitaph of an official named Senetjem-ab, discovered at Gizeh, is the authority for this order of succession; but no mention is made of Unas as co-regent during the lifetime of Assa.

Earliest Known Papyrus

The German excavations at Abusir have brought to light remains of temples and bas-reliefs executed during the fifth dynasty, which show that religious art at least arrived at its zenith of development under the fifth dynasty, and was ever afterwards fixed and stereotyped. No change in the hieretic representation of the gods, for instance, is observable after this time. These excavations, carried on by the German Oriental Society by Messrs. von Bissing, Borthardt, and Schaefer, are of great interest, especially the clearing of a remarkable sanctuary of the god Ra, near Abusir, built in the reign of Ne-ueser-Ra. In this temple stood a great Sun-

obelisk on a pedestal, like those described above, of which Ptahshepses was minister. Close by, also, was found a great imitation Baris or Boat of the Sun, of gigantic size, built in brickwork. In the court of the temple, before the obelisk, stands a huge altar of alabaster blocks, and at the end of the court is a row of great alabaster bowls, to hold the blood of the sacrifices. For here animals were undoubtedly slaughtered in honour of the god. At Abusir the funerary temple of King Ne-ueser-Ra has entirely been cleared, and many interesting conclusions as to the architecture of this early period have been drawn from it. Its lotus-bud columns of granite, and floors and walls of black basalt, were very fine. In the reign of Ne-ueser-Ra lived Thi, whose tomb at Sakkara is so famous for its fine reliefs.

Remarkable Sanctuary of Abusir

From the nature of the inscriptions relating to the last two dynasties, we must conclude that this period was peaceful. This condition of affairs soon changed after the beginning of the sixth dynasty, which originated in Memphis, according to Manetho, and comprised five kings, concluding with a queen. However, the evidence of the lists and monuments gives us at least eight different names of kings. Their pyramids are situated on the edge of the Sakkara district. In 1880–1881 they were investigated, and could be assigned to separate kings, as follows: Teta, his successor Ati, then Pepi I. Merira, Merenra, whose first name was Mehti-em-saf, and Pepi II. Nefer-ka-Ra. The texts discovered within the pyramid were entirely concerned with religious affairs, and the most interesting discovery was the mummy of Merenra, which had certainly been plundered and unwrapped, but was otherwise in good condition. An examination of the remains showed that the king died young, as he wears the plaited lock of hair or pigtail at one side of the head which Egyptian boys and youths always wore. Therefore, the four years' reign with which the Turin papyrus credits him rested upon a reliable basis of tradition.

Mansell

KING NE-UESER-RA

One of the most famous of the fifth dynasty, about 3500 B.C., who built the wonderful sanctuary of Abusir.

If the papyrus is also correct in the next case, we have for Pepi II. a reign of over ninety years, the longest known to history. Manetho relates that he ascended the throne as a boy of six years old, and continued to rule till the hundredth year of his life. In the spring of 1898 Victor Loret excavated near Memphis the tomb of the king's mother and of the queen Apu-it, which had been restored by one of the Hyksos, and still later by the Ramessides. With the exception of one or two doubtful queens of the first dynasty, she is believed to be the earliest queen of Egypt of whom we have mention, and to have shared the reigns either of Teta or of Pepi I. It is a significant fact in the internal history of the empire, which continued to expand to the south and the east during the sixth dynasty, that the village chiefs and other high officials began under the sixth dynasty to show an inclination to build their tombs in the district where their property was situated. Thus the burial-grounds of mastaba tombs ranged around a royal pyramid slowly go out of fashion; the court nobility is becoming transformed into a landed aristocracy, and becomes capable of developing a power of its own independently of the king.

Longest Reign in History

In two epitaphs of this period we find expressions of well-marked satisfaction upon the part played in life by the deceased. One from Abydos, the ancient necropolis, relating to Unas, tells how he began his official career as a boy under King Teta, and was honoured with the confidence of Pepi I. The inscription continues: "His Majesty resolved upon war against the Asiatics; an army of many myriads was assembled from the whole of the south, from Elephantine, from the Northland, &c., from the Negro countries Aartet, Metja, Amam, Wawat, Kaau, and Tataam; his majesty sent me forth at the head of his army. There stood the princes, the High Treasurers. the nearest friends of the Palace, the country chiefs and prefects of cities of the South and Northland, the

A WALL-PAINTING IN A TOMB OF THE FOURTH DYNASTY

friends, and the superintendents of the gold [perhaps bearers of golden tokens of honour], the chiefs of the prophets and the overseers of the temple property [each one] at the head of a troop of the South or of the Northland, of the cities and districts over which they ruled, and of the negroes of those lands." This account presents us with what is, comparatively speaking, the clearest picture we possess of the political constitution of Egypt and of its unwieldy military system toward the end of the Old Empire. The levies of negro troops, together with the motley array of national militia, were not made without reason. Five or six campaigns were necessary before Unas succeeded in scattering the enemy, who were in all probability the aggressors. Finally, the Egyptian commander went, by sea perhaps, to the coast of Palestine, where "he defeated and slaughtered them all." These Asiatics are called Heriu-sha, literally "Those who are on the sand."

A second and still more valuable inscription from Assouan, relating to Her-khuf, makes mention of campaigns against the countries of Nubia and the western oases. Her-khuf was governor of the Southland, an important post even at that time, under Merenra, the successor of Pepi I. A march of eight months far into the interior of Nubia seems to have been crowned with success. The next campaign is said to have been directed from Asyut against Tamehu-land, "the west of heaven"—the Libyan oasis El-Khargeh—which had been captured from the Nubian prince of Amam; this undertaking proved successful. Her-khuf was honoured by a royal rescript or personal letter from the young king Merenra, expressing the great satisfaction of the king with a dwarf, or "Deng," whom Her-khuf had brought from Nubia. Her-khuf seems to have got as far as Kordofan and Darfur, to judge from the fact that he brought back ivory and ebony to Egypt, as well as this pygmy. The kingdom had exhausted its strength in a constant succession of enterprises, and seems to have sunk into weakness under Pepi II., of whose presumably long reign we hear very little.

According to both Herodotus and Manetho, Menthesuphis, who must be a second Mehti-em-saf, was overthrown by a revolt after a reign of one year. His wife and sister Nitocris (or Neitakert) succeeded to the throne, and revenged herself by inviting the rebels to a feast in a subterranean chamber, into which she turned the waters of the Nile and drowned the entire assembly. Shortly afterward she was able to escape the consequences of this deed only by suicide of an equally desperate nature; she threw herself into a room filled with glowing ashes. This story, however, has certainly no historical value as an account of the extinction of the dynasty; on the contrary, it has been

proved that it was the twelfth dynasty that ended with a queen. The Nitocris legend, after furnishing the Greeks with material for use in all kinds of connections —for instance, in the legend of Rhodopis, afterwards transformed into a Cinderella tale—is still current as a ghost story among the Mohammedans living in the neighbourhood of the pyramids. Very possibly the name Nitocris is a confusion between that of the real queen of that name who belonged to the twenty-sixth dynasty, shortly before the time of Herodotus, and the name of a king named Neterkara, who reigned at the end of the sixth dynasty.

An Egyptian Cinderella

With the extinction of the sixth dynasty the unity of the Egyptian empire apparently comes to an end for a considerable period, or its restoration upon a permanent basis proved impossible for the moment. The configuration of the country requires, above all things, a central government, which should make the necessities of irrigation as they arise the guiding principles of its policy. These necessities kept the petty princes in a continual state of feud; a shortage of water in the north immediately occasioned complaints against the owners of canals in the south. It may have happened often enough that an imperial dynasty was overthrown simply because the Nile god, and therefore the other gods also, manifested their anger by denying the necessary floods. A passage in the decree of Canopus clearly shows the connection between the height of the floods and the security of the throne, and makes plain that as late as the Ptolemaic period it was thought desirable in official circles to speak in veiled language of these unpopular occurrences, even of such as had occurred in earlier times.

For the house of Pepi there can be no doubt that war also produced fatal effects. It is but rarely that we catch a glimpse of any events of real importance throughout the "history" of the Old Empire, which in truth was as yet no empire at all. The chronology of the period is in a similar state of obscurity. The earliest reliable date occurs in the period of the Middle Empire—the beginning of the twelfth dynasty, about 2000 B.C., though even this is uncertain. The period from the beginning of the twelfth to the end of the sixth dynasty may be considered 500 years, so that the latter dynasty lasted from 2700 to 2500 B.C., and the fifth from 2820 to 2700 B.C. On the other hand, the great pyramid builders of the fourth dynasty can hardly have been a burden to the land for more than a century in all. The supposition or tradition that Khufu lived to see the birth of the founder of the succeeding dynasty is perhaps supported by the epitaph of a certain prince Rasekhem-ka, who served five kings of the fifth dynasty. Hence the period occupied by the fourth dynasty may be well limited to the years 2920–2820 B.C. We have no means of ascertaining the duration of the first three dynasties, but the 769 years assigned must be too many. We shall be nearer the truth if we assume that the great kings of the first dynasty ruled about the year 3500 B.C., and that the originals of the traditional "Menes" (Aha and Narmer ?) reigned a century or so earlier. In view of recent discoveries, even earlier dates are by no means improbable. It is, for instance, difficult to reconcile the date of 2000 B.C. for the beginning of the twelfth dynasty with the apparent fact of the long duration of the thirteenth. On the other hand, the estimate of the period between the sixth and twelfth dynasties at 500 years may eventually prove to be too long. We can also say that the pyramids of Gizeh were built at the latest about 3000 B.C.

Kings Who Ruled 5,500 Years Ago

A DWELLING IN ANCIENT EGYPT 5,000 YEARS AGO

ONE OF THE COLUMNS IN THE TEMPLE OF HATHOR AT DENDERA

The general effect of a series of these splendid Hathoric columns is illustrated on page 2046.

AN ENTRANCE TO ANCIENT THEBES: THE GATE OF A TEMPLE AT KARNAK

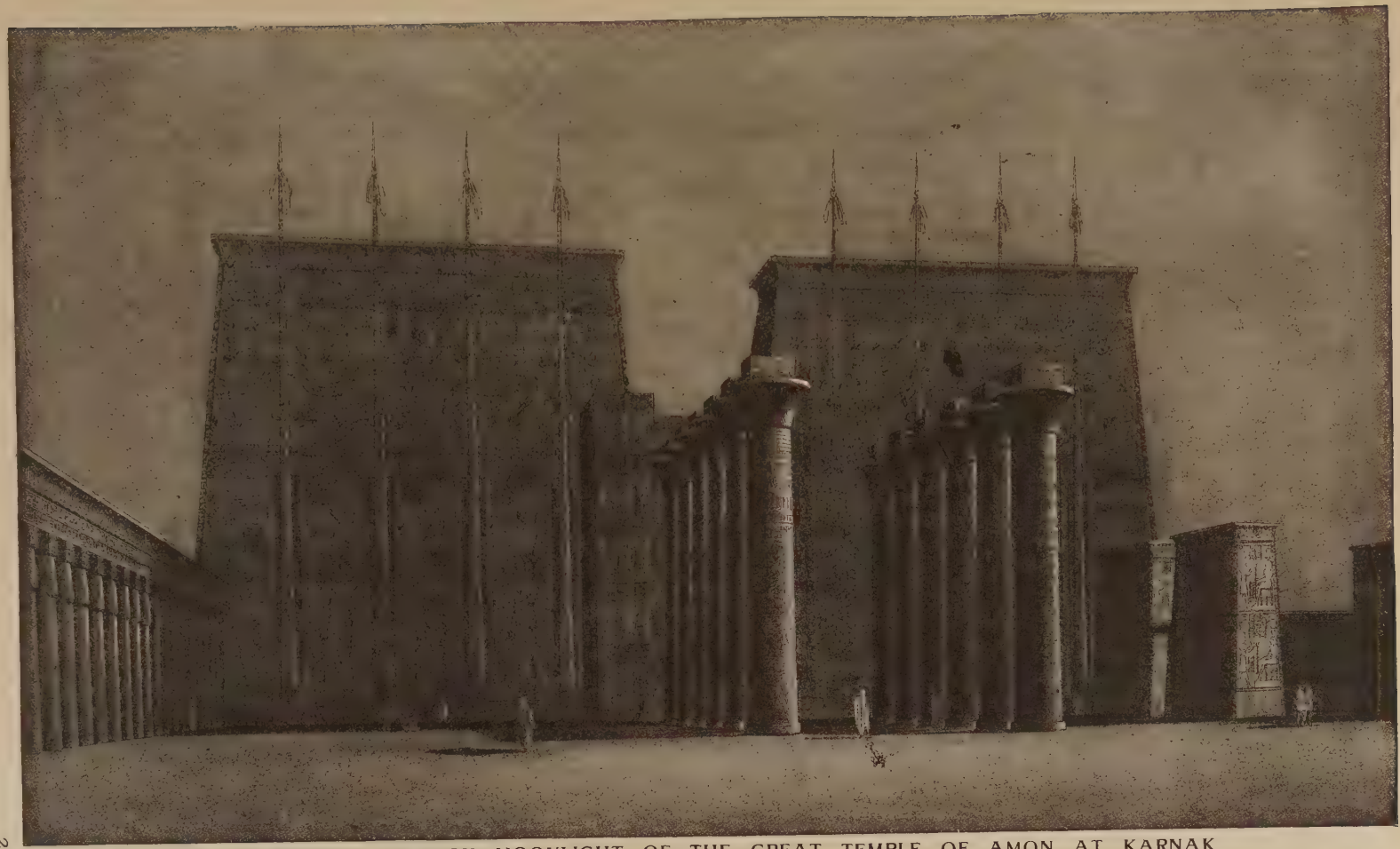
A faithful restoration of the immense gate, sixty-five feet high, of the temple of Khonsu, at Karnak, which stood at the end of a two-mile avenue of ram-headed sphinxes leading from the temple of Luxor. The procession seen in the picture is that of a Pharaoh, with his victorious army, entering Thebes, of which Karnak was a district.

ANOTHER OF THE WONDERFUL TEMPLE GATES OF ANCIENT EGYPT

This magnificent gate gave entrance to the ancient temple of Dendera, on the banks of the Nile, and it is represented by the artist during the festival of the Nile. The plate is reproduced from a work issued under the patronage of Napoleon, "Le Description de l'Egypte," and gives a vivid idea of how these gateways appeared in Egypt's prime.

THE WONDERFUL ROCK TOMBS OF THE KINGS OF EGYPT IN THE MOUNTAIN FASTNESSES OF THEBES

For thousands of years the Pharaohs of the eighteenth to the twenty-second dynasties lay here, in glorious sculptured tombs cut deep in solid rock; until, in our own time, this resting-place of the Pharaohs was revealed. The Valley of the Tombs of the Kings has been the scene of the most remarkable discoveries, and the passing of dead Pharaohs, conveyed in state vessels down the Nile to Cairo, amid the lamentations of the natives, was one of the most moving spectacles in the modern world.

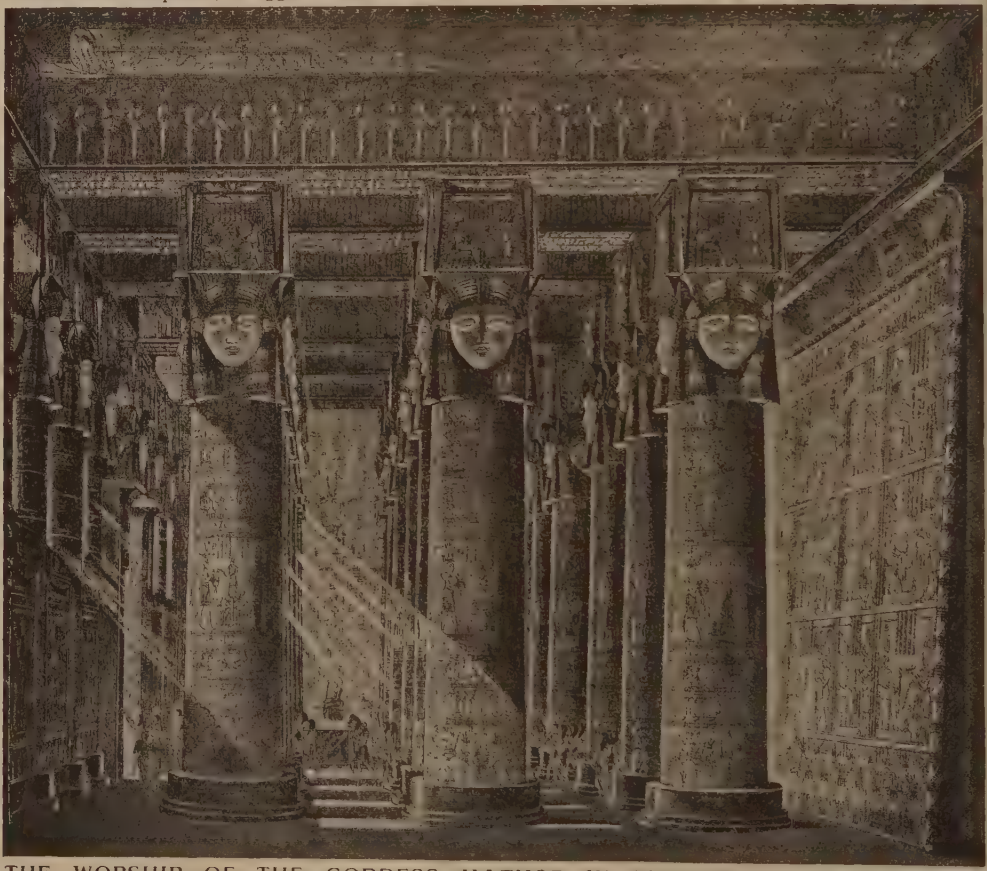


AN INTERIOR VIEW BY MOONLIGHT OF THE GREAT TEMPLE OF AMON AT KARNAK

A restoration of the largest and finest of the great temples at Karnak, once part of the ancient city of Thebes. Amon, "the Unrevealed," was an Egyptian deity who corresponds to the Greek Zeus, and Thebes, or No-Amon, was the principal seat of his worship. The great pyramidal towers at the entrance served defensive as well as architectural purposes.

THE PORTICO OF THE GREAT TEMPLE OF ISIS AT TENTYRA

This temple, built in the Libyan desert, probably in the time of the early Ptolemies, is remarkable for the richness of its sculptures, a suggestion of which is conveyed in this fine drawing by one of Napoleon's savants.



THE WORSHIP OF THE GODDESS HATHOR IN THE TEMPLE OF DENDERA

This restoration of the portico of this beautiful temple shows a procession of priests entering for worship. Each column of the portico bears at the top the head of Hathor, and scenes of her worship are sculptured on the walls.

INTERIOR OF THE BEAUTIFUL TEMPLE OF PTOLEMY IV. AT DER EL-MEDINEH

A reconstruction of the splendid temple dedicated to Hathor, built by Ptolemy Philopator, a little earlier than 200 B.C., on the site of a more ancient temple built in the reign of Amenhotep III., about 1500 B.C., which had fallen into ruins.

THE COLOSSI OF MEMNON, BUILT BY AMENHOTEP III. AT THEBES, AS SEEN AT THE OVERFLOWING OF THE NILE

GREAT DAYS OF THE OLD EMPIRE

AND THE RULE OF THE SHEPHERD KINGS

A FRAGMENT of the Turin papyrus gives a summary of the reigns of the "Old Kingdom," to the effect that 1,755 years had elapsed since the reign of Menes. This would agree roughly with the estimate already given. Further calculation makes it clear that Manetho computed the period between Menes and the end of the sixth dynasty as about 250 years less than the number above stated. A mere list of the dynasties computed by Manetho is all the information to be obtained from him upon the very obscure period dividing the sixth from the twelfth dynasty. Remarkably enough, the seventh dynasty is said to have had "seventy kings in seventy days." In view of the more independent position of the landed aristocracy under Pepi, it has been thought to recognise in the seventy monarchs of a day a wholly unsuccessful attempt on the part of the aristocracy to replace the monarchy by a government of nobles holding the power in rotation. At an early period an epitomiser read or amended the statement as "five kings in seventy-five years," perhaps in order to avoid lending his support to a tradition of such historical absurdity.

70 Kings in 70 Days

Like the preceding rulers, the 27 kings of the eighth dynasty—146 years—are said to have sprung from Memphis. They were followed by two dynasties from Herakleopolis. Of these the ninth consisted of 17 kings, who reigned 409 years, and a tenth, likewise of 17 kings, reigning 185 years. Their place of origin was Herakleopolis—Khenensu of the Egyptians—in Upper Egypt.

This lack of information is partly met by Manetho's statement, which can also be supported by the evidence of inscriptions, that the founder of the ninth dynasty, Akhthoes, was the most tyrannical ruler that the country had yet known. After committing many evil deeds he went mad, and was finally eaten by a crocodile, which reptile seems in ancient Egypt to have been specially supplied by Providence for such purposes. From this instructive story many deductions have been drawn in modern times. The Herakleopolites are supposed to have been foreign conquerors, who broke into the pyramids and destroyed the mummies. A number of sculptures found in the Delta, the style of which is certainly foreign, have been supposed to belong to their time. But so small a body of evidence is hardly sufficient basis for such extensive conclusions. The sculptures and their strange style should more probably be ascribed to the later kings of the twelfth dynasty, perhaps to Amenemhat III. Akhthoes is certainly himself an historical character, though the tales of his cruelty may well be apocryphal. His name in the hieroglyphs is conventionally read Kheti, and was probably pronounced Ekhtai. He also bore the name Ab-meri-Ra. Of another Herakleopolite king, named Ka-meri-Ra, we have a monument in the inscriptions of Tefaba, prince of Asyut, which record the wars with Tefaba waged on behalf of Ka-meri-Ra against the princes of Thebes, who were now for the first time aspiring to the sovereignty of all Egypt.

The Pyramids Ravaged

According to Manetho, the eleventh dynasty included 16 kings of Thebes, who ruled 43 years. This is the first appearance in history of the "southern residence" of the kings of Egypt, although it was not till the beginning of the New Empire that Thebes attained its full importance. As early as the Roman period the city had again become nothing more than an area of gigantic ruins interspersed with villages. Four main groups of ruins still indicate the approximate area of the ancient city: on the east of the river, Karnak to the north and Luxor to the south; on the west of the river, Medinet Habu to the south and Kurnah to the north, both named after

Kings of Thebes

neighbouring fellahin villages. On the west the slopes of the hills are honeycombed by numerous tombs, among which those of Shekh Abd el Kurnah and the Assasif, with the terraced temples of Der el-Bahari are the best known. The celebrated "valley of the kings' tombs," Biban el-Muluk, winds far into the chain of hills behind Der el-Bahari. At Thebes is the Ramesseum, incorrectly called the "Memnonium" by classical authors subsequent to Strabo. Between it and the great temple of Medinet Habu tower the two statues of Memnon. Three miles away, on the opposite bank of the river, rises the great temple of Karnak. The sanctuary of Luxor together with the obelisk is situated close to the river. The "city of the living," once a populous metropolis called Uaset by the Egyptians, extended from Karnak to the mountain range; the temple precincts of Karnak proper were named "Apet"; the quays for the river traffic were at "Southern Apet," or Luxor. On the western bank of the Nile lies the great necropolis, the corresponding "city of the dead." The "dwellings rich in possessions" and the one hundred gates, which are mentioned with admiration in the Iliad—unless these are really, as seems most probable, the great pylons of the temples—even the fortress of the kings, known as "Ka-em-khut"—literally, "high on the horizon"—during the time of Amenophis III., have totally disappeared. The great artificial lake of Tjarukha, where Amenhotep III. (or Amenophis III.) and Queen Tii sailed in their state barge, the "Tehen-Aten" (the Sun-disk glitters), is a mere field surrounded by mounds. Of the huge funerary temple erected by the same king nothing but the mighty twin Colossi remain.

Tombs of the Kings

Memphis, or Hikuptah, the northern capital, has also disappeared, together with its more durable pyramids and rows of mastabas. We are unable to discover even the situation of the chief sanctuary, the temple of Ptah; the "white fortress" has also vanished. According to Arab testimony the low hill of rubbish near Mit-Rahine, south of Gizeh, was covered with stately ruins about six hundred years ago; in all probability it served even then as a stone quarry for the growing city of Cairo. The rapid disappearance of the last edifices at Memphis is to be accounted for in the same way.

Memphis Rebuilt in Cairo

The time from the beginning of the seventh to the end of the eleventh dynasty according to Manetho's reckoning would amount to far more than the five hundred years allotted to the period of transition. This number, however, is apparently capable of reduction. It has been thought that the twelfth dynasty ruled Egypt from 2000 to 1788 B.C., though the evidence for this is as yet by no means universally accepted as conclusive, and it has long been known that about the year 1580 B.C. the eighteenth dynasty freed the land from the Hyksos. Thus there remains a period of little more than two hundred years in which to place the era of the foreign supremacy of the Hyksos, during which the Egyptian polity and society underwent a steady process of change, although many decades must have elapsed before the complete subjugation of the land by the Hyksos. But when Manetho proceeds to insert into this narrow period his thirteenth, or Theban, dynasty of sixty kings reigning for 453 years, and the fourteenth dynasty, which originated in Xoïs—that is, Sakha, in the centre of the Delta, where apparently no ruins remain—consisting of 76 kings ruling for 484 years, all attempts to satisfy the demands of consistency are baffled. Up to the present time the Turin papyrus has always been considered the chief support of Manetho's account, because the kings of the thirteenth and fourteenth dynasties are there enumerated in full and with much greater detail, comparatively speaking, than in any other account. However, while on the one hand it is possible that the Turin papyrus repeated an erroneous tradition reproduced by Manetho at a later period, on the other hand we have to take into account the condition in which this manuscript was found; the fragments of the papyrus when first pieced together were arranged in accordance with Manetho's list. Of the lists contained in inscriptions, one only, the chronologically worthless one at Karnak, contributes a series of names of kings which could correctly be assigned to this period. Of the Xoïtes, a provincial dynasty, no monuments have as yet been discovered.

Muddle of the Dynasties

In like manner the various monuments provide no connected account of the period of transition. Two or three names

may perhaps be assigned with some certainty to the period between the seventh and tenth dynasties. Among these is King Kherti, who appears upon the monuments and whose deeds of prowess against Syrian enemies are mentioned in a papyrus. Some graves of dignitaries at Sakkara are considered to belong to the Herakleopolites—as, for example, that of Apa-ankhu, who lived under King Merikera, and was "not only of true royal blood, but was indeed the favourite of his master and governor of the lands."

Antef and Mentuhotep are the royal names which occur most frequently in the eleventh dynasty. As provincial governors of the fertile and extensive valley of Thebes, the first members of this house attained to great importance, while the tenth dynasty gradually exhausted itself in

AN EXAMPLE OF EGYPTIAN SCULPTURE 4,500 YEARS AGO
A fine bas-relief, remarkable for its accuracy of outline, showing the sacred ox.

struggles, details of which are unknown to us. This family soon began to expand; one branch settled in the neighbouring Hermonthis, where an Antef sought to connect himself with the earlier rulers by repairing the ruined pyramid of Nekhtiaker.

The acquisition of Abydos, the religious importance of which town was closely connected with its early political claims, seems to have immediately followed the proclamation of the head of the family as "lord of the upper and the lower land." Probably the future royal residence was also transferred to Abydos. Hence a provincial governor, named Antef, again appears in Thebes with special titles, showing the importance of the city of Amon at that time. This Antef is at the same time warder of the frontier and a "pillar of the south." Of the five or six Antefs and the three Mentuhoteps who are enumerated as being Pharaohs, it is hardly probable that the first ruled the whole country; the moderate estimate of forty-three years given to the whole line by Manetho is therefore certainly incorrect. Mentuhotep II. alone at least reigned for forty-six years, and was supreme over Egypt from Assouan to the coast. On the other hand, this reign was not able to recover Ethiopia, which had apparently long since been lost to the kingdom. The date of Antef IV. Uahankh is given by the stele erected in his fiftieth year, which forms part of a larger scene, where the ruler is represented surrounded by his four favourite dogs. From a papyrus report of an investigation into the tombs of the Theban kings, which took place about 1130 B.C., we learn of the existence of the pyramid of Antef IV., which "lies to the north of the outer court of the temple of Amenhotep, and before which the stele has been erected. Here is to be seen the figure of the king, with his dog named Behukaa between his feet." King Uahankh Antef is known to belong to the eleventh dynasty, because a twelfth dynasty official traces his descent back to a contemporary of Uahankh; but other Antefs, who formerly were considered to belong to this period, are now known to be posterior to the thirteenth dynasty. Seankhkara seems to have been the last ruler of the eleventh dynasty; he entrusted his official Henu with the fitting out of an expedition to Punt, which advanced eastward through the valley of Hammamat, and then proceeded by sea. Although Henu only accompanied the expedition to the coast of the Red Sea, he caused a remarkably boastful description of the undertaking to be carved at Hammamat, which dates from the eighth year of Seankhkara, and perhaps was not set up until after the king's death. Considerable additions have been made to our knowledge of the eleventh dynasty of recent years. Many new names of kings have been found: a new Antef, who

The Eleventh Dynasty

Expedition to the Land of Frankincense

bore the Horus name Nekht-neb-tep-nefer, a Mentuhotep with the Horus name Sankh-ab-tani, and a duplicate of Mentuhotep II., with the prenomen Neb-hapet-Ra, like Mentuhotep II., but spelt in a different manner. This last new king is known to us from the latest excavations made at Der el-Bahari, which have revealed to us the funerary temple of Mentuhotep I., to which additions were apparently made by Mentuhotep III. (Neb-hapet-Ra II.). This building, which was known as Akh-asut-Neb-hapet-Ra, "Glorious are the seats of Neb-hapet-Ra," lies to the south of the great temple of Queen Hatshepsu at Der el-Bahari, in the necropolis of Thebes. It consists of a square platform artificially hewn out of the rock, on which stood a small pyramid, surrounded by an ambulatory or colonnade. This was approached from the east by a ramp of ascent, on either side of which is a small colonnade, on the level of the ground. On each side of the platform is a deeply cast court. At the back of the pyramid is the descending dromos of what is either the actual tomb of King Neb-hapet-Ra I. or a cenotaph, an "empty tomb," made not to contain the actual mummy of the king, but the statue of his ka, or double. Thus it is rather a sanctuary than a tomb, properly speaking. Of the two views, the latter is considered to be the more probable by the discoverer, Prof. Naville. The gallery of this "tomb-sanctuary" is 400 feet in length; at the end of it is a chamber, made in all respects like the tomb-chamber of a pyramid, which contains an alabaster shrine, in which, in all probability, once stood an image of the king. (Not far off, in 1898, a great royal tomb was found which contained nothing but the statue of another king, Mentuhotep —this is perhaps the analogous "tomb-sanctuary" of Neb-hapet-Ra II.) At the back of the colonnaded court which contains the dromos, is a hypostyle hall, in which immediately beneath the towering cliffs of Der el-Bahari is a small sanctuary, containing an altar placed before a niche cut in the rock. The whole of this temple was decorated with painted reliefs of the highest excellence, which have given us a totally new idea of the art of the eleventh dynasty. This building is the only temple of the Middle Empire which is at all well preserved, and is the most ancient building at Thebes.

The Latest Excavations

From the fact that Uahankh Antef was separated in time by less than a century from Senusret I. we see that the eleventh dynasty immediately preceded the twelfth, as has been usually supposed. In order, however, to reconcile the undoubted length of the thirteenth dynasty with the short period of 300 years allowed between the twelfth and eighteenth dynasties, if we accept the Kahun date for Senusret III., it has been proposed to place the thirteenth dynasty before the twelfth. But to intercalate it between the eleventh and twelfth is impossible, and it is equally impossible to place it before the eleventh. For one thing, the scarab designs of the thirteenth dynasty are obviously intermediate between those of the twelfth and those of the eighteenth dynasty. Here is a case in which practical archæology comes forward with definite evidence to correct ill-considered and hasty historical theories. From the inscriptions, too, of Asyut it is quite evident that the Theban kings of the eleventh dynasty rose to power by war against the Herakleopolite princes of the tenth. There is no room for the thirteenth dynasty before the eleventh or twelfth. We have, at any rate, the definite fact that Senusret I. reigned less than a century after Antef IV., so that Seankhkara must have been almost the immediate predecessor of Amenemhat I., the first king of the twelfth dynasty.

A NOMARCH OF ANCIENT EGYPT
The provincial governors introduced by Amenemhat I. about 2700 B.C. were called nomarchs and replaced a landed nobility.

Value of Archæology

When King Amenemhat I., the founder of the twelfth dynasty, appointed his son Senusret I. co-regent in his old age, he is said to have presented him with a book of profound "instructions." Several long fragments of this work still remain. From them, and from inscriptions on the tomb of a provincial lord, Khnumhotep, at Beni-Hassan, we gather that it was not

until after a severe struggle that Amenemhat raised himself to the Egyptian throne, and that the grandfather of Khnumhotep rose to greatness as the result of a general change in the provincial governorship. He became lord of the Nome of the Goat, with a residence at Menat-Khufu, to which was later added the neighbouring Nome of the Gazelle. It was here in Central Egypt that the new dynasty seems to have specially secured its position, for, like the previous line, it undoubtedly originated in Thebes, and apparently removed the seat of power to the Fayyum.

Mansell

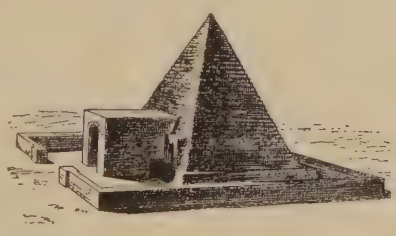
SENUSRET III.

Part of a black granite portrait statue, now in the British Museum, of one of the most successful kings of the 12th dynasty.

We learn from inscriptions—especially from those in the tombs of the provincial governors at Asyut, Bersheh, and Beni-Hasan—that Amenemhat I. introduced far-reaching changes into the administration, and that in this respect at least he must be looked upon as a great reformer. He set aside or entirely abolished the old aristocracy of the provincial rulers, and introduced new laws defining the authority of their successors. The new governors, or nomarchs, were placed on an equality with their predecessors, in so far as the landed property vacated by the latter was for the most part handed over to them; thus they still remained the most powerful landed proprietors in any one district, with the exception of the interest represented by the temple property and the royal domains. But from a landed nobility they became an official class, and were transformed from petty princes into prefects. This change again made a simplification of the government possible as regarded the highest authorities. During the Old Empire the division of the country into "the south" and "the north" formed the basis of the administrative machinery, the king, as "lord of both lands," forming the connecting link. Now, under the twelfth dynasty, the personal tie gives place to a union of political reality. Nevertheless, the historical distinction between north and south, resting as it did upon racial differences, was too deeply rooted to disappear entirely.

Side by side with the king, the high treasurer now appears with authority over the whole of Egypt. Under the Old Empire the importance of this official had steadily increased until he took precedence over all others. Among other titles of this highest official were "greatest of the great, prince, overseer of the human race, who advises the king, and to whom the entire land renders account." His responsibility was appropriately expressed in the title "overseer of all that exists and of all that does not." Next in rank stood the "treasurer of the god," or "chief warden of the silver house," whose chief duty seems to have been to prepare estimates for the general expenditure; while the "chief judge and head of the

THE MODERN VILLAGE OF ABYDOS, ONE OF THE OLDEST SITES OF ANCIENT EGYPT



FUNERARY PYRAMID OF ABYDOS

A reconstruction of one of the smaller pyramids of the Middle Kingdom, possibly the tomb of a court official, built about 5,000 years ago.

overseers," the vizir of the Old Empire, received the post of prefect of the capital, a position of great splendour but of limited authority. Officials of middle and lower rank now appear in large numbers. They also were chiefly concerned with the treasury, and looked up with awe to the high treasurer, "who nourishes the people." He also made provision for the sacrifices to the gods and the dead—that is, so far as the customary offerings of the king to the distinguished dead were concerned—and attended to the repair and decoration of the temples.

Officials of the Old Empire

The Old Empire, with its bewildering profusion of high offices, dignities, and titles of honour, bore the character of an oligarchy of court nobles moderated by the despotism of the king, and in some respects reminds us of the mandarin system; whereas the state of Amenemhat and Senusret was governed upon principles of administration closely resembling the economic system of the eighteenth century of our era on the continent of Europe — that is, a kind of "modernised" feudalism. The dependence of the temples upon the royal treasury is plainly marked, although the colleges of priests controlled their own incomes, derived from a mortmain possession of lands sufficient to support them. But the state not only controlled the sacrifices by means of the ingenious edict that the nomarch must receive his appointed share, but the colleges themselves also found it advantageous to place at their head the chief authority in the nome. It was rarely a matter of great difficulty to make such an authority eligible for inclusion in the legitimate families by means of fabricated genealogies.

THE OBELISK OF ON
All that remains of Heliopolis, the ancient city of the Sun.

The salary of such an official, holding at the same time the lucrative position of chief priest and prophet, when added to the revenue of his private estates and official lands, rose to an amount enabling him to support a princely establishment. It is certain, however, that his outgoings and expenses were not small. The government, in the person of its highest administrator, the high treasurer, was very exacting in its demand that a good profit should be forthcoming from the nome when the accounts were balanced.

The treasury expenditure was not to exceed the income; on the contrary, the nomarch was to arrange the average imposition of taxes so as to have a credit balance of taxation in reserve which could be drawn upon in bad years. In many nomes this was an easy matter, in others it was more difficult. Possibly, also, the great financial adviser, who stood so close to the king's ear, was none too ready to grant assistance in the time of want. "When years of famine came," writes Ameni, the prefect of the Nome of the Gazelle under Senusret I., "I ploughed the fields of the province to its frontiers on the south and on the north" — a religious rite originally incumbent upon the king. "I preserved the lives of the inhabitants of the province, and gave them sustenance, so that there were none starving therein. I gave the same portion to the widow as to the married woman, and never preferred the great before the small in granting my assistance. And afterward the river rose high, wheat and barley throve, and there was abundance in the land, but I did not oppress the peasant because of his arrears." Although years of drought were the most severe test of the capacities of a nomarch for administration, yet his current expenses at other times were of very considerable amount. It was necessary to exceed the expectations of the court by paying a carefully calculated surplus in excess of the regular demands. In order to carry on the business of his own little centre, the nomarch was obliged to keep an office with a comparatively large number of scribes. Should the Pharaoh set out "to make the foreign countries tremble before his majesty," the nomarch was obliged to call out his contingent—Ameni provides 400 to 600 men—and to take the field with his sovereign. The chief treasury officials had also to be conducted to the quarries and mines in the land of the Trogodytes or in

Finances of the Nomarchs

the Sinaitic peninsula, or the nomarch himself was despatched upon royal commissions. If successful, he was the recipient of high praise, as well as of material rewards on his return to court.

The nomarch greatly cherished the right of journeying to the quarries on his own account, there to order the stone decorations for his future tomb or to have his statue carved in heroic size. What he valued most, however, was the royal assurance that the governorship of the nome should become the hereditary possession of his house. When this assurance was received, the tomb within the cliffs truly became a place of consolation in view of the period after his death. His family would never be threatened by want, and there would be no interruption to the sacrifices to the ancestors.

The reign of Amenemhat I. began about 2000 B.C., at the very latest — possibly in reality a century or two earlier; ten years later he appointed his son Senusret, or Usertsen I., co-regent, and died on the seventh day of the Egyptian month Phaophi, after a reign of thirty years. Apparently the old king's chief motive in appointing his successor as co-regent at such an early date was, above all things, to secure the crown to his own house; in all other respects he himself remained at the head of affairs. The decade of the co-regency was occupied by foreign wars. A poetical inscription of the twenty-fourth year of Amenemhat's reign, now in the Louvre, refers to wars against the Nubians, the Bedouins of the Sinaitic desert, the Trogodytes, and even against Punt. We have an undoubted reference to a campaign in the twenty-ninth year of the reign against the Nubian land Wawat; and when the king died within his palace, Senusret was abroad upon an expedition against one of the northern oases.

Wars Against the Nubians

NEGRO CAPTIVES OF THE EGYPTIANS

Everything possible had been done to ensure that this change in the government should be carried through without difficulty. A gleam of light is thrown upon the process by a story of adventure, which certainly rests upon a basis of fact. Sanehat, a near relation and court official of Amenemhat I., who is also said to have been "high in the queen's favour," was at that time in the capital. As soon as "the god had ascended to heaven," and the palace was closed, the chief court dignitary despatched couriers to Senusret I. Sanehat had either committed himself to the support of another claimant to the throne, or he had been on ill terms with Senusret at an earlier period; at any rate, he went out a stage from the town to meet the returning couriers, and was not a little terrified on seeing Senusret approach with a small company of followers. Trembling, he crawled into a bush until the king had passed, and in the conviction that a revolt would break out in the capital he fled southward, crossed the Nile, and finally reached the eastern desert near the Bitter Lakes, after creeping through the frontier entrenchments of the so-called "prince's wall" by night. The Bedouins treated him with great respect. Ultimately he becomes chief of a tribe, wins fame in war, and sees his sons grow up around him. But in his old age a letter of pardon is sent to him by Senusret granting him free return to Egypt. He calls for hymns of praise to be sung, and utters not a word of sorrow at parting from his adopted home. In fact, to a description of the comfort which once again surrounded him at the court he adds the remark: "The filth was left to the desert, the coarse clothing to the sand-dwellers. I was clothed in fine linen and anointed with the oil of the land. I slept in a bed.

Romance of a Court Official

Thus I grudge not the sand to those who dwell upon it, nor the oil of the tree to him that hath no better."

Senusret I. reigned forty-four years. He, too, must apparently be included among the great builders. Three stone sculptures of him have been found at Tanis, which must have been for many years the first city of the Delta. At Heliopolis he erected a temple, where one of two obelisks is still standing. The temples of Osiris at Abydos, of Amon at Karnak, and that of Koptos were all repaired by the care of Senusret. The primitive temple at Hierakonpolis, which had already been repaired by the kings of the sixth dynasty, was again restored. Inscriptions of Senusret I. have come to light at Wady Halfa at the second cataract, one of which mentions the eighteenth year of his reign and speaks of victories over Nubian tribes. We have also a narrative of this event from Ameni, mentioned above, dating from the king's forty-third year.

Senusret a Great Builder

Two years before his death Senusret followed his father's example and appointed his son Amenemhat II. co-regent. The monuments erected during the reign of this king seem to have been of less architectural importance than those of his father, We have no mention of war during his reign. With the accession of Amenemhat II. the period begins when the dynasty could enjoy in peace the fruits of the labour of the first two kings. In this reign Khnumhotep succeeded his father as governor of the Nome of the Goat; and all the other changes in the officials of which we hear seem in like manner to have been directed to secure the succession to this family. According to Manetho, Amenemhat II. lost his life in a palace revolution; he had appointed his son Senusret II. as co-regent. The pyramid of Illahun has been identified as the tomb of this king, and an interesting seated statue of his wife, Nefert, wearing a padded wig that falls over her breast in two spiral curls, has been found in Tanis.

The reign of Senusret III., which follows, is characterised by important incidents of another kind. The first third of his reign was occupied chiefly in war: the king directed his main efforts against the Nubian peoples. The southern frontier of the Egyptian kingdom was again pushed forward beyond the second cataract—that is, almost to the limit of the extension which it reached later under the Sebekhotep kings. At Semneh and at Kummeh on the opposite bank of the Nile, about latitude 21° N., Senusret III. erected two great barrier forts, the remains of which are still of sufficient size to afford an idea of ancient Egyptian methods of fortification. Even at this early period the device was employed of curving back the upper parts of the great brick bastions, in order to prevent the use of scaling-ladders. An inscription set up at Semneh in the eighth year of the king says: "This is the southern boundary. No negro or his cattle may pass north of this line either by land or by water. Should they appear in the land of Aken for purposes of trade, or if they have any business there, nothing shall be done to them; but their boats may never pass beyond Heh." Nevertheless in the sixteenth and nineteenth years of Senusret's reign fresh campaigns became necessary. The first is commemorated by another inscription at Semneh, which contains contemptuous reference to the negroes. The king warns his descendants never to be driven back from this frontier; any one who should retreat was not to be called his descendant.

Further Nubian Wars

THE COMING OF THE SEMITES INTO EGYPT

In the reign of Senusret II., about 1895 B.C., the first tribe of Semites appeared in Egypt, bearing objects of barter and possibly desiring to settle in the land as the family of Jacob did. From a painting in Khnumhotep's tomb.

There were good reasons for this exhortation. In the Osiris town of Abydos the king's high treasurer, named Ikhernefer, erected a monument to commemorate the completion of an important commission for glorifying and presenting gifts to the god, on which he had been sent by Senusret III.: "The royal order to . . . the nearest friend, the superintendent of the houses of gold and silver, the high treasurer, Ikhernefer. My Majesty commands that thou be guided to Abydos, to erect a memorial to my father Osiris [the king speaks as the incarnation of the god Horus on the earth], the overlord of the West, and to adorn the secret places [the adytum of the temple] with the gold that my Majesty brought forth from Nubia with victory and honour." Thus it is probable that the two fortresses in the Nubian Nile valley defended the entrance to the gold-mines of the south.

FORERUNNERS OF THE HYKSOS PRESENTED TO THE EGYPTIAN GOVERNOR

Continuation from opposite page of the painting depicting presentation of the Semites to the governor Khnumhotep. About 1800 B.C. the native dynasty was overthrown by the Hyksos, who were probably the Hebrews of the Exodus.

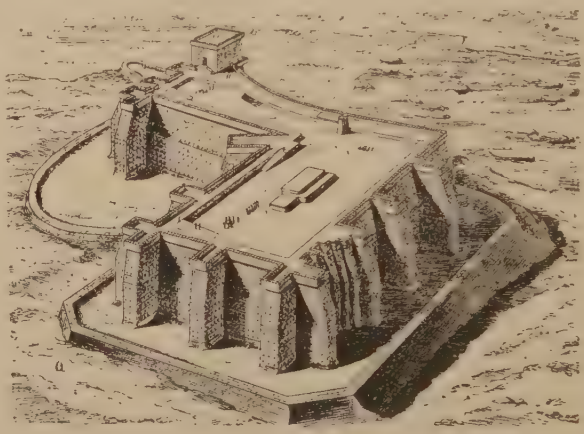
Of great importance, however, to history would be the supposed discovery of the first Egyptian date of real chronological value in this reign, could it be accepted without reserve. The ancient city at the entrance of the Fayyum, now known as Kahun, has yielded a comparatively large number of papyri of the twelfth dynasty. In a kind of diary discovered among the "Kahun" papyri is found a notice to the effect that on the twenty-fifth day of the seventh month of the seventh year of Senusret III. the superintendent of the temple informed the governor that he proposed to make preparations for the festival for the rise of Sirius, which occurred on the sixteenth day of the following month; in fact, we find on the day following the date thus stated a list of "the festival offerings for the rise of the star Sirius." As two similar dates in the history of the New Empire were already known, it was possible to calculate by means of the astronomical data thus given that Senusret's seventh year lay between 1876 and 1873 B.C. This discovery would have made an end of the various hypotheses regarding the chronology of the Middle Kingdom, the beginning of which had been variously dated 2130, 2778, or 3315, were it absolutely certain that this date is really correct. But, as a matter of fact, this date has many grave objections to contend against. For one thing, the computers are by no means agreed on this date. Mr. Nicklin places it some fifty or sixty years earlier than 1875 B.C. And even this revised estimate leaves us no more than 300 years for the rest of the twelfth dynasty, the assured long duration of the thirteenth, and the period necessary for the domination of the Hyksos, till we reach the certain date of the beginning of the eighteenth dynasty, about 1580 B.C. To try to simplify matters by transferring the Sebekhotep kings of the thirteenth dynasty to the age before the eleventh dynasty is impossible for archæological reasons. To reduce the duration of the thirteenth dynasty is impossible, for we have certain evidence of many important reigns in that dynasty. To transfer the twelfth dynasty a whole Sothis period, or Sirius cycle (1461 years), back into time is equally against reason. So that we must suspend judgment on the matter for the present.

Fixing Egyptian Dates

The First Certain Dates

Under Amenemhat III. the greatness of this powerful dynasty begins to wane. This king had two pyramids. One is at Dahohur, the other rises in the inner border of the Fayyum to the east near Hawara. His solicitude for the worship of the crocodile-god, Sebek, is evidenced by several monuments and by the great

temple at Hawara, the fame of which, as one of the wonders of the world, was continued by its name of "Labyrinth." This was evidently the funerary temple attached to the pyramid of Amenemhat. Some statues and busts of Amenemhat III. are remarkable for the obvious pains that have been taken to produce a likeness: the cheek bones are prominent, and the mouth shows a characteristic wrinkle. Accurate portraiture of this kind is characteristic of the art of the twelfth dynasty, and is not confined to statues of this king. At Der el-Bahari has been discovered a series of portrait statues of Senusret III., representing him at various periods of his life from youth to old age. Three of these are in the British Museum, and one is at Cairo. Two other equally good portraits of the same king have been found at Abydos and Karnak. Equally faithful portraits of Senusret I. have been found at Koptos and elsewhere.



AN ANCIENT EGYPTIAN FORTIFICATION

A reconstruction, by MM. Perrot and Chipiez, of the great barrier fort at Semneh erected by Senusret III. on the Nubian frontier of his kingdom in the early part of the third millennium B.C.

Accuracy of the Portrait Statues

The heads of Senusret III. and Amenemhat III. present curiously marked and angular features, like those of the supposed Hyksos statues from Tanis. It has therefore been supposed that the Hyksos blood already existed in Egypt under the twelfth dynasty, and that the later kings of this line had Hyksos, or "Hittite," blood in their veins. But this is a very doubtful speculation, and it is much more probable that the Tanis and Bubastis portraits formerly assigned to the Hyksos or to the Herakleopolites really represent kings of the twelfth dynasty, some of them in a peculiar costume of which we do not know the precise signification. Certain pieces of evidence go to show that Amenemhat III. had peculiar religious ideas, to which these curious figures may owe their origin. Shortly before his death the king appointed his successor Amenemhat IV. as co-regent. He is said to have reigned nine years in all, six of which can now be verified by evidence. He was succeeded by his wife, who was perhaps his sister, Sebeknofru, who also continued the building operations at Hawara; but the dynasty came to an end, according to Manetho, with her death four years later. The length of her predecessor's reigns has led to a doubt whether the succession was invariably from father to son or may have been transferred to the son-in-law, that is to say, to the female line.

After Amenemhat III., we are not again on firm ground until we reach a series of kings, most of whom bore the name of Sebekhotep, showing that they energetically maintained the cult of Sebek, the crocodile-god of the Fayyum, which had come into prominence in the later years of the twelfth dynasty. These kings seem, indeed, to have ruled from Crocodilopolis, as the later kings of the twelfth dynasty had ruled, not from Thebes, but from a royal burg called Itht-taui, "Seizing the Two Lands," which was situated somewhere in the neighbourhood of Lisht, on the Nile, a little northward of the Fayyum. The tradition of royal residence in this part of Egypt seems to have been handed down from the Herakleopolite kings.

The Crocodile Kings

The Sebekhoteps were powerful monarchs who ruled for a considerable length of time over a united and peaceful country, whose bounds were even more extended than at the present day, ranging from the Mediterranean in the north to beyond the third cataract in the south. A statue of a Sebekhotep has been found in the island of Arko, north of Dongola, and it is known that the grey granite quarries of Tombos were worked at this time. That the thirteenth dynasty was a period of peace is evident in spite of

the fact that a king, Smenkhkara, of whom two enormous statues of Tombos granite were erected at Tanis in the Delta, calls himself by the resounding title of Mermenfatiu, "General of the Soldiers." The succession of the kings was regulated apparently by descent in the female line: "the blood of Ra" was handed on by the queens, who raised their consorts to the position of Pharaoh. It is noticeable that in the case of private persons female descent is unusually emphasised under the Middle Kingdom. Thus the father of Sebekhotep II. was merely a priest named Mentuhetep, who held quite a subordinate position. Sebekhotep III. and Neferhotep, who were brothers, were the offspring of the marriage of another princess with a certain Haankhf. Neferhotep restored the temple at Abydos in accordance with information regarding the original plan derived from the sacred books. The remaining kings of this line form a long list, but the monuments tell us little or nothing about them; evidently prolonged peace and undisturbed comfortable possession had resulted, as usual, in general slackness and weakness, so that the proud kingdom of the Senusrets fell an easy prey to an invading horde of Asiatics from the north, who are known to us by the name of the Hyksos, or "shepherd kings," not earlier than about 1800 B.C.

End of the Native Dynasty

"There ruled in our land," relates Manetho (quoted by Josephus), "a king named Timaios. In his time it happened, I do not know why, that a god was angry with us. And from the east there appeared unexpectedly people of low origin who defiantly invaded our land and took forcible possession of it, meeting with no serious resistance. After taking captive the rulers they burnt our cities, destroyed the dwellings of the gods, and inflicted all manner of cruelties upon the inhabitants; some were massacred, the wives and children of others were enslaved."

EGYPTIAN PORTRAITS OF ASIATICS

Contemporary pictures, from a wall-painting in an Egyptian tomb, of people of Asiatic race. The native fourteenth dynasty was displaced by an invasion of Asiatics known as the Hyksos.

This description of the rapid victory of the Asiatics is evidence for the fact that the excellence of military equipment must have fully compensated for the disadvantages of "low origin"; in all probability they were the first people to acquaint the Egyptians with the use of horses and chariots in battle. Until this time great heroes—for example, Senusret I.—were praised for their swiftness of foot, but after the liberation of Egypt the Pharaohs drove out to battle in their chariots.

Victory of the Asiatics

With the arrival of the foreigners, the so-called Hyksos, the valley of the Nile was overrun by a people who possibly came from Arabia; whether their appearance in Egypt was connected with the conquest of Babylon by the Kassites, or Kash-shu, which either began or was completed about 1700 B.C., is doubtful. According to Manetho's account it would appear as if the conquest of Egypt at first implied the dependence of the country upon some Asiatic empire. "Finally they made one of their leaders king, who was called Salatis. He went to Memphis and levied tribute from Upper and Lower Egypt. He also placed garrisons at suitable points." His attention was, however, directed chiefly to securing the eastern frontier in view of a possible attack from the growing Assyrian power. The term "Assyrians" is here employed to denote the empire for the time being on the Tigris and Euphrates. It is significant that Salatis, whose name recalls in many respects the Egyptian title "Shallit," which the Joseph of the Bible received from Pharaoh, immediately sought to fortify his kingdom in the direction from which his own nation had come.

"Salatis died after ruling nineteen years. After him another, named Beon or Bnon, reigned forty-four years. He was succeeded by Apakhnas, who reigned thirty-six years and seven months.

After him came Apophis with a reign of sixty-one years, and Ianias with fifty years and one month. Finally came Assis with a reign of forty-nine years and two months. These six were the first of their rulers, and during their days there was continual war with the Egyptians, whom they endeavoured to annihilate. The people as a whole were called Hyksos, or Shepherd Kings; for 'Hyk' means king in the sacred language and 'Sos' a shepherd, so also in the popular tongue, and hence was 'Hyksos' compounded. By some they were considered to be Arabs. Thus this people is called the shepherd kings; they and their descendants held possession of Egypt for 511 years." Thus far Manetho's very ordinary account, which Josephus probably quotes from the original narrative.

AN EGYPTIAN SOUL HOUSE
A resting-place for the soul of a dead Egyptian, placed above his grave so that his wandering spirit could rest within it.

This Hyksos conquest (Hiku-Shasu, "Princes of the Shasu" = Bedouins) was an irruption on the grand scale, like the Arab invasion under Omar, 2,000 years later. There is no proof that among the Hyksos proper, the leaders of the invaders, there may have been non-Semitic elements from Northern Syria or Asia Minor, of the blood of the Khatti or "Hittites." Still less is there any proof of a racial or cultural connection between the Hyksos and the Minoan Greeks of Crete.

The period of the rule of the Hyksos has been exaggerated in the same manner as were the periods ascribed to the eighth, ninth, and tenth, and in part to the thirteenth dynasty. Instead of five centuries the supremacy of the Hyksos in the Nile valley probably lasted little more than two hundred years. The first six rulers mentioned above form Manetho's fifteenth dynasty. They are followed by the sixteen "other shepherds" without names or dates. Manetho gives a seventeenth dynasty as consisting of forty-three Theban kings, who ruled contemporaneously with forty-three Hyksos during a period of 151 or 221 years. This is probably correct, for the supremacy of the Hyksos did not always extend much further than their stronghold Avaris, the Egyptian Hauar or Hatuar, in the Wadi Tumilat, though it seems later to have reached into Palestine and to have lost ground in Egypt itself. Wherever the Asiatics retreated and allowed the natives to supplant them, their monuments were also exposed to destruction.

Of the six kings, Apophis alone has left any historic traces behind him in the Delta and in the region of Memphis. From these it has been shown that at least three Hyksos bore his name in the form Apepi. "Ianias," however, may be identified with the king Khian, of whom the base of a stone statue has been discovered in Bubastis, a lion marked with his signet in Bagdad, and an alabastrum-lid bearing his name at Cnossos in Crete. As a statuette of an Egyptian of the Hyksos period, called Abnub, has also been found at Cnossos, we have in these two objects valuable evidence as to connection between Egypt and Greece at this period. The Hyksos kings, ruling in the Delta, naturally came into close contact with the Minoan "Thalassocrats" of Cnossos. The fact that objects bearing the name of Khian

AN EGYPTIAN MODEL BOAT MADE 4,000 YEARS AGO
This fine model of a boat, from a tomb of the Middle Kingdom, is probably an accurate representation of the boats used on the Nile about 2000 B.C.

have been found in places so far apart as Cnossos and Bagdad is an interesting comment on a title borne by Khian: *ank adebu*, "embracing territories," though of course we cannot assume that he exercised any kind of authority over Crete or Babylonia. The names, not only of Khian, but of several other Hyksos kings, are found on signet cylinders and scarabs —reproductions of the sacred dung-beetle in stone or porcelain — bearing these non-Egyptian titles, engraved in a primitive style. Scarabs of a similar primitive style have been found with the inscriptions "Uazed" and "Yapekhar." Khian and the Apepi kings belong to a time when the Hyksos court, and also methods of government, had become entirely Egyptian. Apepi Ra-neb-khepesh even restored the tomb of Queen Apuit of the sixth dynasty at Memphis, thus showing that he professed himself a lineal descendant of the ancient families. Under Apepi Ra-aa-user, who left behind him some short dedicatory inscriptions, a papyrus was written treating of mathematical problems. Finally the name of Apepi Ra-aa-kenen has been found on the well-wrought base of an altar which he set up to the god Set of Hauar. He also appears to have attempted to immortalise his name by inscribing it on several statues of earlier kings—as, for example, on that of Mermenfatiu, where he calls himself "the life-giving son of the sun, Apepi, beloved of Set." On the other hand, Amenhotep III. has replaced this name with his own on another statue. Generally speaking, this custom of appropriating earlier memorials began in the Hyksos period, and increased greatly in later times. The eastern Delta, especially at Tanis, has remained hitherto the chief source for monuments relating to the Hyksos. Examples of unique interest in the history of art are the two standing figures of the "fish sacrificers," a sphinx, a king's head from Bubastis, and the upper part of a statue from Mit-Faris in the Fayyum.

A SO-CALLED "HYKSOS" SPHINX FROM TANIS

If these figures, with their bony, broad-nosed faces and thick hair, are fully representative of the style of portraiture which the Hyksos brought into the country, this people were certainly not a pure Semitic type. These monuments, however, like the Bubastite colossi and the sphinxes of Amenemhat III. at Tanis, which used to be assigned to the Hyksos, may really date from the time of the twelfth dynasty and be connected in some way with the worship of Sebek as lord of the fish-producing province of the Fayyum. Their peculiar facial type, whether it be Egyptian or foreign, is, as we have seen, probably that of the later kings of the twelfth dynasty, not of the Hyksos.

Upper Egypt was undoubtedly for a time subjected to the Hyksos. It would seem that at the end of the thirteenth dynasty a family of kings bearing the name of Sebekemsaf ruled at Thebes in succession to a series of Mentuhoteps. Probably the last Mentuhoteps and the Sebekemsafs were tributary to the Hyksos. Later on, under a family who bore the name of Antef, the people of Upper Egypt seem to have become more or less independent of the Semitic conquerors, though they still paid tribute to them. Finally, under a series of kings who bore the name of Taa, and are reckoned as belonging to the seventeenth dynasty, a regular war of liberation was undertaken, and the Hyksos king and nation were expelled by the Egyptians after a series of desperate conflicts. These Asiatics were not absorbed; their ruling family was not assimilated to the native race either by marriage or adoption.

The rise of the Theban kings, who were mere nomarchs, or provincial governors, before the coming of the Hyksos, was described by a writer of later years as follows. It happened that Egypt had no lawful rulers. Sekenen-Ra Taa was prince of the south, Apepi was sovereign in Hauar; the latter, however, had control of the land and its rich products. Behold,

Apepi chose Sutekh, that is, Set, for his god. He built him a permanent temple and served none of the other gods of the land. Apepi sent an urgent message to Sekenen-Ra in which the position of Amon-Ra in the Egyptian system of worship was discussed. Sekenen-Ra, however, was seized with great consternation.

A Holy War

"The prince of the south called his great and wise men about him and told them all the words of the King Apepi. They, however, remained silent in perplexity and found no answer for good or bad. The King Apepi sent——" And here the manuscript breaks off. The struggles of the seventeenth dynasty ostensibly appear as a holy war. Sekenen-Ra is apparently the third of that name. His mummy, together with many others, was discovered in 1881 in a hiding-place in the cliffs near Thebes. When it was unwrapped it was clear that the prince had come to a violent end in the prime of life. The skull had been split by a blow, and the body had been hastily embalmed after putrefaction had already set in. From this discovery we may conclude that Sekenen-Ra fell in a battle or in flight at a date somewhere about 1600 B.C., and that the enemy left his body unburied. His successor is supposed to have been Kames. The war with the Hyksos probably continued, though not uninterruptedly.

About the year 1580 King Aahmes, perhaps the brother of Kames, succeeded to the throne of Thebes, and prepared to put an end to the Hyksos supremacy. An official under this king, also named Aahmes, the son of Baba, caused the story of his life to be inscribed upon his tomb at Nekheb. This is the earliest known attempt made by an Egyptian to inform posterity of the great events of his age; and though clumsy in style, it furnishes a striking clue to the transformation which had taken place in the Egyptian national feeling during the Hyksos period. Aahmes first saw active service as a youth on board the boat "Sacrificial Bull"; after his marriage he served on the ship "North." "And when the king rode forth in his war-chariot—[this is the first notice we have of the use of chariots in Egypt]—I followed him on foot. And we laid siege to the town of Hauar; I showed bravery under the eyes of his majesty. Then I was appointed to the ship 'Appearing in Memphis'—[a name of importance for the development of affairs, as chronicling a formal coronation of the king in Memphis, after the capture of that city]. We fought on water in the lake Tjedku of Hauar. There I won a hand which was mentioned by the royal scribe, and gained me the golden necklace for bravery."

First Historical Inscriptions

Hauar was taken apparently about the year 1560, but the Hyksos still retained their Asiatic possessions; and even after Sharuhen, in the south of Palestine, was also taken the position of King Aahmes was still sufficiently difficult. His efforts in the north had encouraged the Nubian tribes to rise against him.

After a campaign in the south, one "Aata advanced into the upper country; but to his own destruction, for the gods of the south laid hands upon him." The hostile forces met at Tenta-a, and Aata was taken alive by King Aahmes. From the captain Aahmes's mode of expression, it appears probable that this was a Hyksos king from whom the Egyptians thus freed themselves. But the gallant captain does not tell us whether Aata invaded Egypt from beyond the frontier, or whether it was in the Delta that his rising began. The victories gained for Aahmes not only a number of slaves, but also a considerable increase of his landed property in Nekheb. His supremacy over the empire was definitely assured.

War Against the Hyksos

Compared with the account of Aahmes, the narrative given by Josephus, according to Manetho, of the expulsion of the Hyksos displays the Egyptians in a decidedly unfavourable light. "After all these things," he writes, "the kings of the Thebais and other Egyptian nomes rose against the Shepherds, when a long and difficult war broke out between them, until the Shepherds were overcome by a king named Misphragmuthosis, who drove them out of the other parts of Egypt and confined them to a place called Avaris, which has an area of 10,000 arures of land. The Shepherds surrounded this entire district with a strong wall in order that with all their forces they might there protect their property and plunder. However, Thummosis, the son of Misphragmuthosis, attempted to reduce them by siege, and advanced upon the place with 480,000 men. When he was beginning to despair

ISRAEL IN EGYPT UNDER THE PHARAOH WHO KNEW NOT JOSEPH

The oppression of the Hebrews in Egypt probably represents a phase in the Egyptian war of expulsion against the Hyksos, which ended in the exodus, according to Manetho and Josephus, of 240,000 men with their families and possessions through the desert to Syria. From the painting by Sir Edward J. Poynter by permission of the Autotype Co.

of success, they themselves offered to surrender on condition that they should evacuate Egypt and depart in whatever direction they might choose without let or hindrance. These terms were accepted, and they marched away, no fewer than 240,000 men, with their families and all their possessions, through the desert to Syria. As, however, they feared the Assyrians, who then ruled Asia, they built a city in the land now called Judæa, large enough to accommodate their numbers, and gave it the name of Jerusalem." It is clear that we have here a description of the Biblical Exodus of Israel from Egypt, as seen from another point of view. Criticism is as yet unable to decide whether Manetho related the story as it stands, or is responsible for that part of Josephus's version which identifies the Shasu with the Israelites. Some modern German scholars have come to the conclusion that the Israelites were never in Egypt at all, but in another country of the same name —Musri or Mitsraim—in Northern Arabia. The Musri theory and its pendant, the Jeahmeel theory of Professor Cheyne, have already passed in the minds of the archæologists and historians, if not yet entirely in those of the textual critics of the Old Testament, to the limbo of exploded fallacies. That the Misraim to which the Israelites went was Egypt, the Nile valley, is evident from the Biblical description, and we cannot doubt that the account of the Exodus, though of course written from the Jewish standpoint alone, and therefore open to criticism, also describes an historical event, an exodus from Egypt. Modern opinion seems to be veering most decidedly in the direction of accepting the statement of Manetho as given by Josephus, and regarding the identification of the Hebrews with the Shepherds of Manetho as correct in its main features. This was the conclusion arrived at by the patristic writers in accordance with the general testimony of tradition. It seems highly probable that the Pharaohs who were favourable to Joseph and the Israelites were Hyksos, and that after the expulsion of the latter by Aahmes, the "Pharaoh who knew not Joseph," followed the Oppression and finally the Exodus, probably in the reign of Thothmes I., or Thummosis. The occurrence of the name "Raamses" as one of the store-cities built during the oppression may be ascribed to a later stratum of the story, derived from knowledge of the "land of Goshen" in the time of the nineteenth dynasty B.C. when the Rameses ruled. Israel as a national name has as yet been found only once in an Egyptian inscription, and that belonging to the reign of Meneptah, who was till lately considered by some authorities to be the "Pharaoh of the Exodus." However, as we shall see later, the inscription in question implies that the Israelites were already settled in Palestine during the reign of this king. To assume that they were a branch of the race already in Palestine before the main Exodus is unnecessary if we identify the Exodus with the expulsion of the Hyksos.

The Exodus to Judæa

Israel in Egypt

With the expulsion of the Hyksos Manetho brings the seventeenth dynasty to an end. According to his table Aahmes figures as the last king of the Middle and the first king of the New Empire.

A CONTEMPORARY MODEL OF A COMPANY OF ANCIENT EGYPTIAN INFANTRY

THE NEW EMPIRE

THE RISE OF EGYPT AS A MILITARY POWER

WHAT the Asiatic inroads and immigrations of earlier ages had failed to accomplish was brought to pass by the Hyksos. After their expulsion the kingdom of Egypt for centuries assumed a military character, which for a time it was able to maintain. Probably the kings of the Middle Empire who extended their supremacy over Nubia and the oases had not hesitated to invade the land of Canaan, nothwithstanding its greater power of resistance. Even during the days of the Old Empire fortresses of that country had been stormed and captured by Egyptian troops. But it was only under exceptionally favourable circumstances that the Egyptians could permanently overawe foreign powers, for their military forces consisted of the nucleus formed by the king's feeble palace guards, the contingents levied by the various nomarchs and the auxiliaries obtained from Nubian subject tribes who had been employed at an earlier period, but could be sent into battle only under the strictest supervision. The contingents of the nomes were never more than armed peasants, whose sole incitement of bravery was the knowledge that if they broke and fled in the midst of a foreign country they would never see their homes again. On the other hand, a hostile army, when once it had crossed the Egyptian frontier, could safely count upon a sudden attack of homesickness among the native militia—an affection which was apt to become uncontrollable at the beginning of a battle. Now, however, about the year 1580, the monarchy of the restored empire possessed a new weapon in the war chariot and a professional soldiery composed of a class, for the moment numerous, who had lost their possessions and their means of livelihood during the long war of liberation; to these were to be added emancipated slaves who had lost their masters. The stronger, however, the New Empire became, the more rapidly did this last class of soldiers diminish. It was, moreover, impossible to replace them by native recruits, to the extent of maintaining a strong standing army. The agricultural character of the Egyptian state, which in earlier centuries had necessitated recourse to Nubian auxiliaries in time of war, was incompatible with such a system of organisation. The tribes of the south of Wadi Halfa, the "Nine bows," were incorporated by Thutmosis III., and soon became the only true regiments of the line. About the year 1400 the soldiers of the Pharaoh were known to the Syrian subjects of the empire simply as "archers," or *pidati*. The *pidati* and war chariots were the king's sole material for any display of force.

The New Soldiery

Agriculture Versus Militarism

If, however, the Pharaoh wished more particularly to spread the terror of his name, he sent out the "Shardana"—apparently the people who gave their name to Sardinia. Possibly their main settlements lay even then on the African coast opposite. They were soldiers of fortune who had been enlisted in detachments under the eighteenth dynasty. The Ramessides made no attempt to conceal the fact at a later period that these mercenaries were really Egypt's best soldiers. This reputation they can be proved to have gained among the Asiatics as early as the reign of Amenhotep III., and probably earlier under Thothmes III., or even before his time. Armed with long swords and great round shields with double handles, heavy coats of mail and large metal helmets, decorated with the crescent of the moon and the ball of the sun, sometimes also bearing dagger and javelin, the favourite tactics of the Shardana were to scatter the enemy by charging in close formation. That such an effect could be produced by an infantry attack was, even to a late period, unknown to the tacticians of Oriental armies. Of less reputation during the eighteenth dynasty were the Libyan auxiliaries. It was not until a

The Regular Army

later period that the Libyan tribes of the Kehak and the Mashawasha entered the service of the Pharaohs in any great number. As long as the New Empire was secure the rulers were cautious about employing the services of these border neighbours. The increased numbers of Libyans in the armies of King Rameses II. is a certain sign of weakness; in fact, the time was then by no means far distant when Libyan mercenary commanders were to usurp the Egyptian throne. The prisoners of war and their descendants, called "Matjoi," after a Nubian tribe, also deserve mention. The organisation of the national forces would naturally have continued on a separate basis in war as well as in peace. It is obvious, however, that the formation of combined bodies of troops was frequently ordered in battle to meet a sudden necessity. It may be gathered from the best of the official reports that it was not considered desirable to make mention of victories won by the national militia. Similarly, when the king was present at a victory, there is one chariot only, his own, the advance of which puts the enemy to flight.

The reign of King Aahmes, who lived to be about forty years of age, is, in other

THE CHARGE OF THE CHARIOTS OF WAR IN ANCIENT EGYPT

Until the days of the New Empire Egypt had no army worthy of its importance, but about 1560 B.C. a professional soldiery was organised, and a new and important weapon, the war-chariot, introduced. From a temple painting.

THE MERCENARY SOLDIERS WHO SPREAD THE TERROR OF PHARAOH'S NAME
The most formidable soldiers of the organised army of the New Empire were the Shardana mercenaries, armed with long swords, shields, coats of mail, and metal helmets, sometimes also bearing dagger and javelin.

respects, not very rich in memorials. His mummy was discovered in the shaft of Der el-Bahari. Like that of Seknen-Ra his head was not shaven, as was usual among civilians and priests, but has long curls, as befitted a warrior; on campaigns the Egyptians seem to have let their hair grow, and professional soldiers no doubt "wore their own hair," in eighteenth century phrase, and not wigs like the civilians.

The relations of Aahmes to the members of his family seem to have differed from those of the other Pharaohs. It appears that in the second half of his reign a change in the succession was introduced to the disadvantage of the king's brothers and sisters and their descendants. This dated from the time when Aahmes shared the throne with the queen Aahmes-Nefertari, when she and her children were shown special preference. The ecclesiastical dignity of a "woman of god" of Amon at Thebes was in all probability created specially for her. Finally, she and her son Amenhotep I. (or Amenophis) became objects of worship, and were practically canonised, as Neb-hapet-Ra Mentahotep had been before; he with Aahmes Nefertari and her son Amenhotep were regarded as gods of the dead in the Theban necropolis. This, not Ethiopian blood, is the reason why they are often represented in tombs with black or greenish-blue faces, like the god Osiris. Amenhotep I. (also rendered Amenophis),

Early Days of the New Empire

about 1560 B.C., began his reign with a campaign against Kush, "in order to extend the boundaries of Egypt." Of this undertaking we have an account on the walls of the tomb of Aahmes of Nekheb.

Little information has come down to us regarding the life of Amenhotep I. Neither the civilisation nor the traditions of a new empire had attained their coming development in his days. The first attempts were even then being made, starting from the basis of twelfth dynasty civilisation, to develop upon Egyptian lines the new habits and progress introduced by the Hyksos. Perhaps it was his success in this direction which raised the memory of Amenhotep I. to the high honour in which it was held in later times, an honour really due to his father. He was probably a very pious person like his mother, and assiduous in venerating the gods; we can well imagine that it was he who founded the fortunes of the mighty priesthood of Amon at Thebes, and received in return the honour of a very special apotheosis after his death. We know that he began the magnificent buildings which have been made the great temple of Amon at Karnak, the wonder of the world. His successor, Thothmes I., has left us two copies, one supplementing the other, of the formal announcement of his accession, sent to the "Prince of Kush," the Egyptian viceroy of Nubia. It runs as follows: "Royal command to Turo, the prince and governor of the south land. Behold this royal command is brought to thee, telling thee that my Majesty, who lives in happiness and health, is to be crowned king eternal and without equal on the Horus throne of the living. But my names shall be: (1) Horus, the strong bull, beloved of the god [of truth] Maat; (2) the uniter of both lands [Upper and Lower Egypt], crowned with the royal snake, the powerful one; (3) the golden Horus, with years of plenty [that is, the future years of his reign] cheering all hearts; (4) the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Aakheperkara; (5) the son of the god Ra, Thothmes [the first], who lives omnipresent and eternal. Now bring offerings to the gods (of Kush), with votive sacrifices for the life, welfare, and health of the king Aakheperkara, the

A Pious King

one inspired with life; let oaths be taken by the name of my Majesty, who lives in happiness and health, born of the royal mother Senseneb, with whom all is well. This is written for thine instruction; know that the house of the king is prosperous and secure. Given on the twenty-first day of the third winter month in the year 1, on the day of the coronation feast." Of the five names here assumed by the new ruler, Thothmes I., the first three were probably employed only in connection with the ritual; the fourth is the official fore-name as king used in correspondence with foreign powers; finally, the fifth is the personal name, which chiefly occurs on the monuments, and has consequently remained the historical designation for this as for all other kings. In cases of identical names, which are rather the rule than the exception, the Egyptians were accustomed to avoid confusion by the addition of the fore-name. The fore-name of Thothmes I., Aakheperkara, was probably pronounced something like "Okhpirkeria." His own name, Thothmes, was probably pronounced "Thutmases," and that of his father, Amenhotep (Greek, Amenothes), "Amanhatpe." That Amenhotep I. had already invaded Asia at the head of an army more than once may be concluded from various historical representations. The presence of Thothmes I. was, however, first demanded in Nubia, where the chiefs refused to take the required oaths. The king then turned upon the enemy in Asia. It seems that the tribute due to Egypt had not been paid. Two short references of King Thothmes III. to this war contain among other things the proof that his predecessor advanced almost to the Euphrates.

An Accession Proclamation

AMENHOTEP THE PIOUS
One of the early kings of the New Empire, who was afterwards worshipped as divine.

It was probably with the Iranian kingdom of Mitani, between Euphrates and Tigris, that the dynasty carried on its struggle for Syria. The blow dealt by Thothmes I. in this region apparently led to the conclusion of a peace in terms favourable to himself. The Kushites were more obstinate; before he had reigned three years the king was again forced to set out "to crush the miserable Kush." On this occasion the value of his greater military experience made itself manifest. The measures taken by the great conqueror of the Ethiopians, Senusret III., were resumed, for Thothmes I. not only reinforced the frontier garrisons of Semneh and Kummeh, but also reopened to navigation the canal through the first cataract.

Thothmes I., who, like Amenhotep I., added to the buildings of Karnak and raised on the western side of Thebes the oldest parts of the temple of Medinet Habu, reigned only thirteen years. As if he had had some premonition of his premature death, he made arrangements for the succession which he hoped would satisfy the most varied claims that could be raised. Sethe, Professors Naville, and Breasted have thoroughly investigated the special questions arising out of these regulations. However, the genealogy and order of succession from the death of Amenhotep I. to the beginning of the sole rule of Thothmes III. is still somewhat obscure. In the first place, it is unknown whether Thothmes I. was the son or son-in-law of Amenhotep I.; in the latter case, his right to the succession was probably derived from his marriage with Queen Aahmes, or Amensat, the heiress to the kingdom. Thothmes I. was succeeded by Thothmes II., whose half-sister Hatshepsut was first co-regent with him during their father's life, then queen-consort, and then again queen-consort with the successor Thothmes III.—who was probably their half-brother, but possibly their son.

Succession of the Thothmes

Our information concerning Thothmes II. is but scanty. If the obscure but boastful testimony of a rock inscription

near Assouan can be trusted, he gained brilliant victories over both the Nubian Khentnefer and also over the Asiatics. The fact of a war against the Ethiopian races is indirectly confirmed by our knowledge of improvements made in the fortress at Semneh and elsewhere. The most ancient parts of the temple of Der el-Bahari were also begun by this king. His activities, however, were brought to a close by his premature death. The mummy of Thothmes II. gives the impression that the king had succumbed to a severe illness. Though he was but thirty years of age, the head is almost entirely bald, and the features are strangely sunken. He cannot have reigned longer than ten years (1513 to 1503 B.C.).

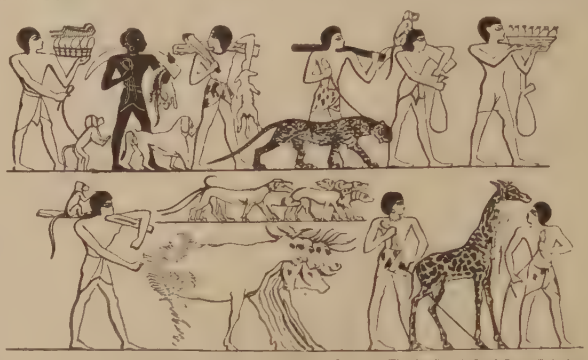
THOTHMES I.
His campaigns in Nubia, Asia and Ethiopia were most successful. From a wall-painting at Der el-Bahari, by permission of the Egypt Exploration Fund.

Hatshepsut, as sole real ruler, in effect completed the temple of Der el-Bahari—Thothmes III. was a mere boy—where the wall-paintings are of much importance both for the history of the period and for the development of its art. The most interesting of these designs has for its subject the great expedition which Hatshepsut sent out in the ninth year of her reign to Punt. Eight ships sailed through the Red Sea and returned loaded to the yards. The arrival of the treasures of the land of incense, which had been gained by bartering Egyptian metal products, and especially weapons, gave occasion to festivities and military displays at Thebes, at which Thothmes III. modestly appeared as a priest of Amon. The queen, who preferred her portraits drawn with a beard and in male costume, showed a decided preference for all public ceremonies calculated to display the greatness of her power.

THOTHMES II.
From a photograph of the head of his mummy, now 2,400 years old.

Under Hatshepsut we also find traces of favouritism. "The grand nurse"—that is, the tutor of the Princess Nefrura, a certain Senmut—was made "great in both countries" though of humble origin. The queen erected two massive obelisks in Karnak in the sixteenth year of her reign, and died about 1491 B.C. She was originally buried in an extraordinary tomb excavated to a great depth in the cliffs of the Biban el-Muluk. It descends into the mountain in the form of a corkscrew, the excavators having sought in vain to find rock hard enough for a good tomb-chamber to be made. The masonry had disappeared, nothing being found but the sarcophagi of the queen and of Thothmes I. and II. Whether they had originally been buried here with her, and not in their own tombs, is uncertain. The work of excavating this tomb, carried out by Mr. Howard Carter, then chief inspector of antiquities at Thebes, for Mr. Theodore M. Davis, of Newport, R.I., was of the most arduous character, the air, owing to the great depth and confined area of the tunnel, having been very bad. We hear nothing more of the Princess Nefrura, whom she destined for her successor, and Senmut also disappears from history. The names of both Hatshepsut and Senmut were effaced from the monuments by Thothmes III. These measures, however, were unable to hide the fact that the change

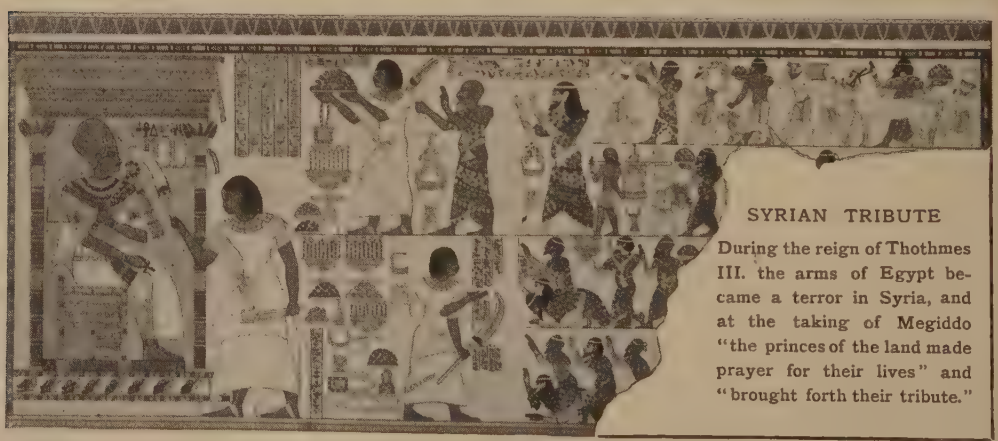
in the succession had been accompanied by violence. The power of the empire must have declined in the foreign provinces, especially in Syria, and could be restored only by the removal of the queen. The existence of a victorious commander, whether Thothmes or another, would have been a constant menace to her power.



KUSHITE TRIBUTE TO THE EGYPTIAN CONQUEROR

Thothmes III. was one of that rare class of sovereigns whose successes are due to a temperate conception of their duties and to a capacity for energetic action at the proper moment. He had been obliged from his earliest youth to submit in silence to all governmental measures, whether he approved of them or not. His task as a politician, the restoration of Egyptian prestige abroad, was clearly marked out before him; but a less tenacious character would probably have been well content with the frontiers which were found sufficient by Rameses II. in later years. This little man with the coarse features—as we know them from his mummy—until now the stepchild of his house, may well have been the hope of the military leaders, old and young, who during the last years of Hatshepsut must have counted on his antipathy to the empty splendours of her rule. Nor were they deceived. It is certain that Thothmes III., who at first may have had little or no knowledge of war, depended greatly upon the advice of experienced leaders. On the monuments the king is naturally represented as guiding all things by himself alone. But, on the other hand, the Harris papyrus in London, a collection of legends and fairy tales, begins among other tales the story of the general, Thutia, who is said to have captured the city of Jaffa for his king, Thothmes III., in a marvellous manner. He is represented as having made use of the king's magic wand, and by its spells to have enclosed 200 Egyptian warriors within earthen jars. These were then taken into Jaffa without suspicion and placed in the magazines. The Egyptians left their hiding-place, bound the Syrian garrison with cords, and handed over the place to the king. However, the general, Thutia, was a historical personage, and can be proved to have served under Thothmes III.; valuable objects from his tomb have been transferred to various museums.

The arms of Egypt were a terror in Asia long after the period of Thothmes III., and Syria at length became convinced that the military power of the Nile countries under the terrible "Manakhpirria" (Men-kheper-Ra Thothmes) was not lightly to be withstood. On the northern wall of the wing added by the king to the temple of Amon at Karnak was set up a



SYRIAN TRIBUTE

During the reign of Thothmes III. the arms of Egypt became a terror in Syria, and at the taking of Megiddo "the princes of the land made prayer for their lives" and "brought forth their tribute."

connected narrative of his campaigns and of the tribute which he levied. This monumental history of the campaigns of Thothmes III. is usually known as his "annals"—an appropriate term, in so far as it is designed or written on the model of the annals of the Babylonian kings. The events of the king's twenty-third year are related in the dry manner of an annalist, but the first campaign forms a connected literary whole, in which the course of events is clearly developed.

THOTHMES III.
A sovereign of rare capacity and character. From a colossal statue of the king.

It records the advance to Megiddo. In sight of the town order was given for the troops to draw up in line of battle. "His Majesty, in the panoply of war, ascended the chariot of gold and silver. Like was he unto Horus the dispenser of power, and to Month of Thebes [the god of war]; his father Amon gave him strength. The right wing of the army rested on a hill south of the brook Kina; the left wing extended to the north, west of Megiddo. His Majesty remained in the centre; at the head of his army he stood high above all. When thus the enemy saw him, they made all speed to fly to Megiddo, and left behind them their horses and their chariots ornamented with silver and gold." An account of the siege of Megiddo follows. "His Majesty made poclamation to the army: 'If ye take Megiddo speedily, I shall be beneficent as Ra; for therein are the chiefs of all the rebellious towns, and to conquer Megiddo will be to conquer a thousand towns at once." Finally, "the princes of this land came forth with their followers. They kissed the earth before his Majesty, and made prayer for their lives. They brought forth their tribute [which they had previously refused], and the king ordered the government anew." The military equipment of the Syrians was excellent; among other spoils 924 chariots and more than 200 shirts of mail of the best workmanship are mentioned.

TRIBUTE FROM THE PHŒNICIAN ARVADITES
Thothmes III. made two great campaigns in Syria, and in the second captured Arvad, which, however, rebelled, and had to be reconquered.

The description of the terror with which Thothmes III. inspired his enemies when he appeared in battle is representative of the typical method of conceiving such events in Egyptian art. The capture of Megiddo was a signal success, and must have entirely changed the low esteem in which the power and self-reliance of the Egyptian king had hitherto been held. The king's assertion that the capture of that town, in which the majority of Assyrian rebels were gathered, would cause the fall of thousands of others was not altogether an exaggerated statement. A list of towns in Karnak contains several hundred names. The neutral Asiatic princes also came over by degrees. The prince of Assur, or Assyria, then a ruler of no particular importance, was the first to introduce the custom of exchanging gifts with Egypt. The first mention of the Assyrians in an Egyptian document dates to the preceding reign, that of Hatshepsut, when the name of an Assyrian slave was recorded at Der el-Bahari. Fresh campaigns were necessary to convince the districts south of Lebanon of their obligations of obedience to Egypt. In the twenty-ninth year of the king, a date that can be fixed by the Karnak inscriptions, it appears that a great war against the Iranian kingdom of Naharina, or Mitani, situated athwart the Euphrates, from the Orontes to the Tigris, was the result of these expeditions. The fortress of Tunip, north of Damascus, was conquered and

dedicated to the sun-god. Subsequently the Phœnician Arvad or Aradus was captured, and treated with such severity that the inhabitants immediately revolted. Consequently, in the following year operations became necessary for the reconquest of Arvad and of Sumur, which was situated to the south of this town. This victory had been preceded by the fall of Kadesh, on the Orontes, which, however, shortly afterward again became a centre of resistance. On this occasion Amenemheb, a young comrade of the king, who became a general at a later period, appears for the first time. On this campaign he made two prisoners, and was decorated in consequence. His tomb in Thebes is ornamented with an abstract of his recollections of war, which, although somewhat confused, contain interesting references to several minor campaigns, of which, however, the dates are unknown. In the course of the next few years Thothmes made only a few short visits to Thebes in order to pay his thanks to Amon, his father's god, for the wealth which flowed to him from the spoils and the tribute of the conquered. Most of his time was spent in long, and not always successful, campaigns, in the prosecution of which he displayed a rare constancy of purpose. In the thirty-third year of his reign the Egyptians advanced to the Euphrates, to the point where Thothmes I. had set up his memorial stone, and erected a new monument in the same place. The city of Nii, situated somewhat to the north of Aleppo, surrendered, after a Phœnician army sent to its relief had been defeated beneath its walls. Thothmes III. made this town his headquarters for a time and erected another inscription. From the names of those countries which sent tribute and presents at the end of the year it can be inferred that an armistice had been entered into by Thothmes and the kingdom of Naharina. The king imposed such conditions upon his conquered enemies that any show of hesitation on the part of the governor of a town or district, no matter how loyal he might seem, might be construed as indicative of double dealing. This vigorous prosecution of operations within his own sphere of interests proved so objectionable to the neighbouring ruler of the Mesopotamian lands that two years later he sent out another army to prevent the capitulation of Araana. But the Egyptians were finally successful, and peace was at last made in the king's fortieth year, about 1460 B.C.

"CLEOPATRA'S" NEEDLE
Erected by Thothmes III. at Heliopolis, removed to Alexandria by Cæsar, and finally set up in London on the Thames Embankment.

The enemy beyond the Euphrates at once began carefully to consider whether some spark was not to be found which might be fanned into a conflagration. In the forty-second year of his reign Thothmes III. once more, and for the last time, appeared in Asia with an army. First "his Majesty took the way along the coast in order to chastise the town of Irkata," a community in the north of Phœnicia. Tunip also seems to have been in a state of revolt. Kadesh, on the Orontes, however, was the centre of resistance. The siege was interrupted by a battle and a victory over a relief force from Naharina, and ended with the crossing of the moats and storming of the city. The king presented large scarabs, bearing inscriptions in his honour as conqueror of Kadesh, to all who were present at the siege or took part in the festival of victory held in Thebes. At this

THE MUMMY OF THOTHMES III. AFTER 3,300 YEARS
Thothmes III., a little man of coarse features, as we know from his mummy, was a ruler whose successes were due to a temperate conception of his duties and energetic action at the right moment.

point the Karnak inscriptions come to an end. We know only that Thothmes visited Nubia once again in his fiftieth year and terrified some dissatisfied tribes into submission. An extremely fine monument to commemorate this victory, inscribed with the indispensable poetical formulæ of adulation, was set up in a special position in Karnak. Amon-Ra is here represented as addressing the king: "I give to thee power and victory over all peoples. I set thy spirit and the fear of thee over all countries, and the dread of thee goeth to the four pillars of the heaven. I make thy power great in all bodies. I make thy shout to pursue the people of the nine bows. The great of all lands are joined together in thy hand. I, even I, raise my arm and bind them for thee. I

Influence of Sea-power on History

III.) at Thebes. In these tomb-paintings we see the Minoan chiefs of Crete marching in procession, carrying precious vases as gifts, just as they are represented in their own fresco-paintings in the palace of Cnossos in Crete, excavated by Dr. Arthur Evans. They appear as tall slim-waisted, dark men with long, wavy black hair hanging below their waists or knotted on the top of their heads, like their successors the "long-haired Achaians," just as they represented themselves on the frescoes of Cnossos, the steatite vases from Agia Triada, or the golden cups of Vaphio. Crete escaped real tribute because the Egyptians had as yet no seagoing fleet; we have here one of the earliest instances of the "influence of sea-

A LONELY VALLEY OF THE DEAD: THE TOMBS OF THE KINGS AT BIBAN EL-MULUK

Thothmes I. abandoned the use of small pyramids and introduced a new royal sepulchre, causing his tomb to be tunnelled into the cliffs in the desert valley west of Thebes. Similar burial places were constructed there by his successors.

gather together the Ethiopian nomads for thee as living prisoners by tens of thousands and the inhabitants of the north by hundreds of thousands." And so on for ten symmetrical stanzas, which tell us, among other things, how the renown of the king had spread even to the isles of the Mediterranean, which may well have feared lest the attention of the great conqueror should be turned in their direction. But though Cyprus (Yantinay or Yatnan) sent tribute, being too near Palestine to escape wholly, Crete (Kefti) did no more than send complimentary embassies with presents, as it had done in the peaceful days of Hatshepsut. We have representations of these embassies of the Cretan "Keftiu" in the tombs of Senmut (reign of Hatshepsut) and Rekhmara (reign of Thothmes

Tribute from Cyprus

power on history." The land of Asya, or Alasya, sometimes considered to be Cyprus, but more probably on the Cilician coast, sent regular tribute as a subject ally.

Egypt had now for the first time become so nearly a military state that the learned classes were alarmed. It would have been neither wise nor grateful for them to have complained during the lifetime of the great conqueror. The wealth of Asia was distributed with great liberality by Thothmes III., but Amon, the god of Thebes and of the royal house, was favoured above all other recipients. With a premonition of the danger liable to result from such excess of favour, the king turned his attention to the other temples upon the conclusion of his campaigns—as, for instance, at Heliopolis.

A RECONSTRUCTION OF THE GREAT TEMPLES AND SACRED ENCLOSURES OF THEBES BUILT DURING TEN DYNASTIES

Nevertheless, the dislike of the learned classes of Egypt to their soldier king may have found expression lasting into after years; it seems that the recollection of him as a popular hero was carefully discouraged. At any rate, it can be demonstrated that the priests designedly avoided all mention of the name of Thothmes in later years. When Germanicus visited Karnak, in the year 19 A.D., an aged priest translated the annals to him literally, and named as their author "King Rameses."

Besides caring for Thebes and Heliopolis, Thothmes erected new buildings at Memphis and Dendera, the seat of Hathor. At Elephantine also an extensive sanctuary, the ruins of which were levelled in 1832, was erected or restored by Thothmes III. A few fragmentary inscriptions, rescued in later times, are of chronological importance for the calendar information they contain.

Much was done for Nubia, especially in Amada and Wadi Halfa. The tomb of the conqueror was not discovered until the year 1898, though his mummy had been found fifteen years earlier in its hiding-place at Der el-Bahari. So far as has yet been determined, it seems that Thothmes I. had introduced a new style of royal tomb; abandoning the use of the small detached pyramid with its vestibule, and a tunnel in the rock behind it, leading to the tomb-chamber, he caused his tomb to be tunnelled into the cliffs in the desert valley to the west of the Theban necropolis. Similar sepulchres communicating with the upper world by one door alone, without a pyramid or external chapel, were also constructed there by his successors, so that this lonely valley of the dead still bears the name of the "tombs of the kings" (Biban el-Muluk). Although the neighbouring subterranean tombs of the Ramessides were explored

long since, M. Loret discovered, in 1898, at a point then untouched, the shaft, sixty or seventy feet long, which led into the sepulchral chamber of Thothmes III. The walls of the innermost room, in which the sarcophagus stood, were covered with a painted tapestry of texts from the Book of the Dead. The entrance chamber was also ornamented with more than 700 images of the gods.

Very little is known of Aakheperura Amenhotep II., about 1450 to 1425 B.C. From the fragmentary remains of his inscriptions, and the biographical details given by his general, Amenemheb, we can only conclude that, as a warrior, Amenhotep II. ("Okhpruria") was no unworthy successor to the terrible "Manakhpirria." Hardly had he been crowned in Thebes when the news came that several of the Syrian provinces refused to send him the presents betokening their homage. The king suddenly appeared in Galilee, crossed the Orontes, utterly defeated a division of the enemy, and appeared before Nii, the gates of which town were immediately opened to him. At the conclusion of a campaign against the land of Takhisa, Amenhotep sent to Thebes the bodies of seven princes of that district, which were hanged by the legs from the bow of the king's ship, in accordance with the triumphal customs of the period; six of them were subsequently exposed upon the city walls, and the seventh corpse was sent on to Napata, or Gebel Barkal, in the Sudan.

Mansell

AMENHOTEP III., THE LION
Amenhotep III. worshipped himself, choosing the lion as his symbol

A movement of the Nubian tribes forced Amenhotep to advance as far south as the modern Khartum. No trace of Egyptian supremacy at this time has been found further south than Gebel Barkal, where two small figures of stone belonging to this period—Amenhotep is represented as presenting offerings of wine on his knees to the god Khnum—were dedicated. They were actually found much further south, in the Roman-Ethiopian temple of Ben-Naga, south of Shendi, to which they had been removed in later times. The tomb of Amenhotep II. is somewhat poor both in design and elaboration. In it were found the mummies of a man, a child, and a woman bound fast to wooden boats, apparently intended as companions of the king on his journey to the nether world — unless they were judicial victims of the privy court of the following king, Thothmes IV. They were placed in the tomb before the process of drying was completed, and one of them received in consequence a deep cleft in the skull, though this may possibly have been inflicted by a thief in later times. The mummy of Amenhotep II. was also found in the tomb, and with it the remains of seven other kings, which were laid in a side chamber about 1100 B.C., that they might escape the raids of plunderers, while the others were deposited in the shaft of Der el-Bahari.

Triumph in Syria

In the Tomb of Amenhotep II.

With the accession of Menkheperura Thothmes IV., about 1425 to 1415, the reaction, which the non-military grandees had long desired and prepared, began to make itself felt. The class of "scribes" succeeded in making a change which had certainly not existed under Thothmes III. All the high positions of military command became their monopoly, and indeed were given to officials who were already in occupation of other posts. Thus, at the time of the Ramessides matters had come to such a pass that the "king's first charioteer," who also held the offices of ambassador and "chief of the foreign lands and peoples," proceeds in a poetical letter solemnly to dissuade his young subordinates from entering the "stable of the king" or the infantry. Officers of this type, who quite obviously thought only of the flesh-pots of Egypt in time of war, were certainly never willing to march to Syria, but preferred to open a career to foreign mercenaries on the Nile.

We find a similar phenomenon nowadays in China, where it is the man of books, who has passed the highest

examinations in learning, who rules, and though he may possess many military posts in title, in reality leaves the despised soldiering to the "Tartar generals" and the Manchus.

King Thothmes IV., who was not perhaps the chosen successor of his father, on ascending the throne immediately ordered the great sphinx at Gizeh to be cleared of the sand beneath which it had long been buried—the consequence of a dream of this pious monarch: vainly, however, since the monument was immediately covered again with the sand. The priestly class favoured the prince. But the time had not yet come for him to enjoy a peaceful reign. Thothmes IV. was first obliged to subdue the Ethiopian tribes, and also to reduce certain rebellious cities in Phœnicia to obedience; his campaigns, in fact, are said to have extended as far as Naharina on the north, and to the Nubian land of Kare on the south. Moreover, the generals of the old school of Thothmes III. and Amenhotep II. had not entirely passed away; to them belonged Menkhepru-Ra Meri-Amon, the "first of the commanders." The mummy of Thothmes IV., which was found in the tomb of his father, reveals him as a handsome young man, not thirty years old. We cannot divine the reason of his death at so early an age, after a reign of only nine years. His body shows no sign that he was murdered, so that in all probability he fell a victim to some sudden illness, which the Egyptian physicians had no real knowledge how to treat. Life in Oriental countries is often cut very short by ignorance both of sanitation and of therapeutics. Considering the shortness of his reign, many monuments to this king exist, and many scarabs bearing his name are found. His actual sepulchre, from which his body was removed to the tomb of Amenhotep II. in the time of the priest-kings, was discovered by Mr. Theodore M. Davis. The tomb was found to contain many remains of the royal funeral state; most especially worthy of notice being a chariot-body of embossed leather, decorated with representations of the sphinx trampling down Asiatic enemies; a piece of tapestry woven in colours, representing the royal cartouche on a ground, in heraldic language, *semée* of lilies and papyrus-flowers, like the fleurs-de-lis on the oriflamme of

The Sphinx Uncovered

Royal Funeral State

THE FAMOUS "SPEAKING STATUES" OF MEMNON AT THEBES

These two colossal statues of Amenhotep III., known as Memnon, were famous in classical days for the vocal sounds they were supposed to emit at sunrise. They were 70 feet high, and were erected as warders of a temple of which not the slightest trace now remains. Another view, during an inundation of the Nile, is given on page 2048.

RUINS OF THE TEMPLE OF AMON, BUILT BY THOTHMES III. AT KARNAK 3,300 YEARS AGO
Thothmes III. spent much of the wealth gained in his Asiatic campaigns on temple building, and Amon of Thebes was favoured above all other gods. He also erected great sanctuaries at Heliopolis, Memphis, Dendera and Elephantine.

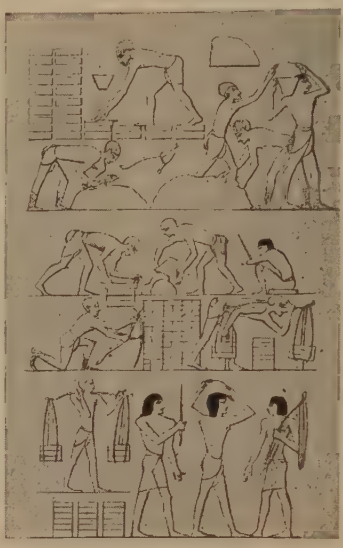
ancient France ; and a collection of vases of a most wonderfully brilliant blue glazed faience. An interesting point with regard to this tomb is that it had evidently been violated even in the short time between the reign of its owner and that of Horemheb, probably in the period of anarchy which prevailed at Thebes during the reign of the heretic Akhenaten (Amenhotep IV.), for in one of the chambers is a hieratic inscription recording the repair of the tomb in the eighth year of Horemheb by Maya, superintendent of works in the Tombs of the Kings.

Thothmes IV. inaugurated a practice novel in the house of the Pharaohs. He married a foreign princess, the daughter of Artatama, king of Mitani, the already mentioned Iranian kingdom of Northern Mesopotamia. This princess was the mother, in all probability, of Amenhotep III., who during his reign showed peculiarities probably due to his half-Iranian origin, and handed them on in an exaggerated form to his half-mad son Amenhotep IV., or Akhenaten.

On the fertile soil of the western bank of the Nile, at Thebes, which is overflowed by the river in autumn, rise the two famous colossal sitting statues, one of which was supposed in the Roman period to give out a ringing sound at sunrise, and was known as the statue of "Memnon," a name which it has retained. The name of "Memnon" is derived from that of the erector of these statues, Amenothes, or Amenhotep III (about 1415 to 1380), the son and successor of Thothmes IV., who ordered these stone images of himself, each of which is some seventy feet high, to be erected by his high official, Amenhotep, the son of Hapu, as warders of the gates of a new temple, which has now almost vanished. The legends of later times represent the king and his namesake, the wise son of Hapu, who "seemed to have a share in the divine being" by reason of his knowledge, almost as inseparable companions. The "prince and royal scribe," Amenhotep, who was subsequently permitted to build a private temple in the neighbourhood, and edified posterity as the author of magic litanies, was something more than a distinguished member of the circle of priests who assembled about the new king. We know of only one campaign undertaken

SCULPTURE OF QUEEN TEIE
The "Great Royal Consort" of Amenhotep III., who was worshipped for centuries as divine.

by Neb-maat-Ra—or "Nibmutria," evidently often pronounced "Nimmuria" or "Nimmuaria"—Amenhotep III. at the outset of his reign of thirty-six years; this was directed against Nubia. He posed as an Asiatic conqueror; probably he did not wish to allow this honourable claim to fall into disuse. The foreign policy of the kingdom was now directed to prevent any outbreak of war by paying over a portion of the money appropriated to military equipment in presents to the independent kings of the neighbouring states. There was, too, the further advantage that the custom enjoined the return of friendly gifts of this nature. Obviously, in times of peace intercourse of this kind between the courts had always existed. It is due only to chance that a large portion of the Egyptian archives recently brought to light, and known as the Tell el-Amarna tablets, should have belonged to the latter part of the reign of Amenhotep III., and to that of his successor. Nevertheless, in these clay tablets, written in cuneiform script and mostly in Babylonian Semitic, the general diplomatic language of that period, allusions have been found indicating the existence of less friendly relations in earlier reigns. King Tushratta of Mitani declares that a daughter of his grandfather, Artatama, had been given to Thothmes IV. only under compulsion, and in like manner his sister, Gilukhipa, had been sent to Amenhotep III. When, however, Tushratta himself gave his daughter, Tadukhipa, with a large dowry, to the ageing Egyptian king, he received a great quantity of gold in return, together with the assurance that a sufficiency of Egyptian gold would always be found in Mitani. The general connection shows that this hint was given with the object of obtaining a return of similar favours. However, contemporary letters from Assyria and the kingdom of Alashya prove that the great gifts of gold from Egypt to Mitani aroused the wonder and envy of all other nations. Consequently, Amenhotep III. must have abandoned the previous policy of intimidation in favour of an attempt to establish a community of interests. His mistake, however, soon became apparent. There is no doubt that the kings of Western Asia soon began to distrust one another as a result of their rivalry for the gold of the Pharaoh. Individual sovereigns immediately raised their demands higher and higher, so that toward the end of the reign of Amenhotep III. friendly relations, at any rate with Babylonia, had become somewhat strained. The drain upon the treasury caused by these continual gifts was probably the reason for the diminution in the presents received by the "brother" whose dominions were farthest from Egypt, Kadashmanbel of Babylonia. A pretext for this reduction was provided by his demand that the Egyptian king, who desired a Babylonian princess for his harem, should give one of his own daughters in return. The answer, that never yet had a royal princess of Egypt been given to anybody, quickly put a stop to this scheme of alliance by marriage. But the insulted ruler of Babylonia now demanded to know what had become of his sister who



CAPTIVES MAKING BRICKS
From the tomb of the chief architect of Thothmes III., showing foreign slaves making bricks for the temple at Thebes.

THE DIVINE QUEEN TEIE
Teie, the consort of Amenhotep III., was honoured as few queens before her, though, apparently, not of royal birth. Her name was always associated with the king's, and a temple was erected to her in her lifetime.

had previously been given in marriage to Amenhotep. The "reassuring" answer of the Pharaoh has been preserved in the original text. It is characterised throughout by a tone of derision and contempt, and no doubt the royal chief scribe at Thebes obtained his master's approval to the terms of his reply.

There are other letters of the time of Amenhotep III. preserved among these archives which came from Tarkhundaraush, king of Cilicia, and from the princes of the Khatti, or Hittites, who were now pressing southwards into Palestine. Tushratta refers to his wars with them when they helped his rebellious brother, Artashumara, against him. In all these letters the Egyptian king is referred to in terms of great deference, for he claimed to be what no Semitic ruler ever was considered—a living deity on earth. The "good god," as the Pharaohs had long been known to their subjects, made an advance toward deification under Amenhotep III., who began to worship himself, or more correctly his own soul in bodily shape; indeed, an extremely stately temple at Soleb, in Nubia, was specially devoted to the worship of its builder, who introduced himself in this case as the god of the country of Kush. As his symbol, the king chose the figures of lions couchant; their majestic expression and the artistic skill displayed in their execution aroused even then such general admiration that they were carried away by the Ethiopian king Amonasru to his residence, Napata. That the imagination of Amenhotep III. ran continually upon lions is shown by his preference for the lion-headed goddess Sekhmet, and also by a scarabæus of frequent occurrence bearing an inscription to the effect that the king had killed 102 lions in the first ten years of his reign. One of the figures at Soleb was named "Amenhotep III., the Strong Lion." Hitherto the bull had been regarded as a symbol of bodily strength. Buildings erected by King Amenhotep III. are numerous also in Egypt. In Memphis he built the oldest part of the Serapeum and entombed therein an Apis bull. Thebes, however, was chiefly benefited by his efforts. He enlarged the temple of Karnak on all sides, and first gave it the massive character it now bears. From the sacred lake Asher, constructed by Thothmes III. near Luxor, for a distance of over three-fourths of a mile northward he erected a series of new edifices connected by alleys of sphinxes. A road of sphinxes was also laid out from Karnak to Luxor. The main part of the temple of Amon at that spot, with its finely ornamented columns, was also built by this king. In one of the chambers the birth of the god-king is represented as an event which was accomplished only by virtue of the greatest exertions on the part of the gods. The tombs of many officials and private individuals who lived under the long reign of Amenhotep III. have been preserved. They supply no information of value beyond indicating that the art of ancient Egypt entered upon a really flourishing period under the eighteenth dynasty.

A LADY'S WIG
Worn about 3,500 years ago, when the Egyptians did not dress their own hair.

NECKLACE OF AN EGYPTIAN LADY OF THE TIME OF THOTHMES, 1500 B.C.
A fine example of ancient Egyptian jewellery, made of gold, carnelian, lapis lazuli, and felspar beads.

A TOILET TABLE 3,500 YEARS AGO
Containing vases of unguents, eye-paint, a comb, a bronze "shell" on which to mix the unguents, cushions, and a pair of sandals.

Princess Giiukhipa of Mitani, in spite of her royal birth, did not receive the rank of a "great royal consort"—that is, the rank of a reigning queen—and

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STOOLS USED AT THE TIME OF THE 18TH DYNASTY

The stool on the left is of ebony inlaid with ivory, while that on the right, with the legs ending in ducks' heads, was a folding stool and had a leather cover. Now in the British Museum.

her niece Tadukhipa fared no better at a later time; both found this position already occupied. Tii, or Teie, the daughter of one entitled Iuaa and his wife Tuyu, had anticipated all competitors, and was moreover honoured as few queens before her. Whenever there was a ceremony to be performed, the king associates the name of Teie with his own. She even shared in the increased divinity of the son of the sun, and a temple was erected to her at Sedeinga, not far from Soleb, in Nubia. The fact that her worship after death was continued under the Ramessides and at a later period, enables us to gain some idea of her popularity during her life. Mr. Theodore N. Davis, of Newport, R.I., has for several years been exploring the valley of the tombs of the kings and has there discovered the tombs of Hatshepsut and Thothmes IV.; he found also in 1905 the tomb of Iuaa and Tuyu, and in 1907 that of Teie. The queen's body was not found in the tomb, but instead of it the remains of a young man, who is quite possibly Akhenaten, her son, to whom the coffin certainly belonged. Evidently the burials of mother and son had been confused in the hurry of a probably secret removal. But we have compensation for the loss of the queen's body in the beautiful portraits and busts of her which formed the tops of some alabaster "canopic jars" found in the tomb, which show us a very beautiful face. Far different was the condition in which were found the mummies of her parents. The bodies of Iuaa and Tuyu are perfectly preserved, exhibiting very interesting Egyptian types. There is no real proof that Queen Teie and her parents were of non-Egyptian blood, though it has often been supposed that they were Mitanians. Whatever foreign blood there was in the royal family came, not from Teie, but from Amenhotep III. himself, who was probably half-Iranian in blood.

As in the tomb of Teie, gold was freely used on the objects discovered with the mummies of Iuaa and Tuyu. These consisted chiefly of most magnificent and beautiful examples of Egyptian cabinet-work—chairs, beds, and so forth. Many of the chairs remind us strongly of those of the period of the "First Empire" in France.

Soon after the arrival in Thebes of the young princess Tadukhipa, the king's health began to fail. He sent a request to his old friend Tushratta to send a statue of the goddess Ishtar of Nineveh to Egypt, probably to heal him. The "day of departure" apparently came upon him in the thirty-sixth year of his reign, about 1380 B.C., and his mummy remained for about three hundred years in the silent "valley of the kings."

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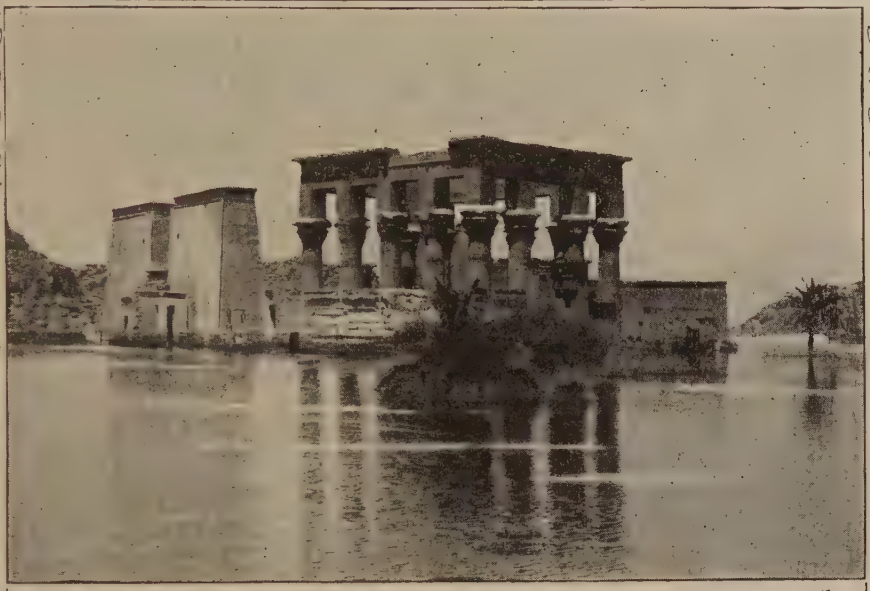
EGYPTIAN CHAIR OF 3,500 YEARS AGO

There is little in modern furniture showing any great advance on this remarkable chair made about 1500 B.C.

EGYPT MAGNIFICENT IN RUIN



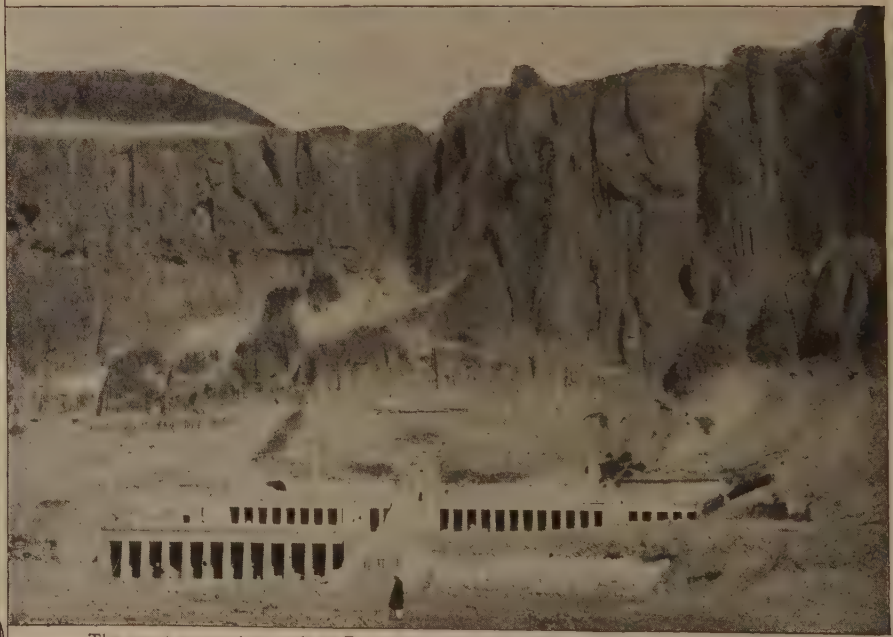
The past sacrificed to the present: Temples partly submerged as a result of damming the Nile.

The magnificent Ptolemaic pylones as they appeared before the construction of the Nile Dam.

A TRIUMPH OF PTOLEMAIC ARCHITECTURE: THE TEMPLES OF PHILÆ

Nowhere in the world is there such a wealth of antiquities and well-preserved ruins of great age as in Egypt, owing to the dryness and invariability of the climate. In the following pages the difficult task has been attempted of selecting some of the more striking monuments of Egypt's ancient splendour.

A marvel of the classical world : the "speaking" colossi of Memnon as seen at low Nile.



The great mountain temple at Der-el-Bahari built by Hatepshut, the woman Pharaoh.

THE GREAT COLOSSI AND THE ROCK-BUILT TEMPLES

Colossal sculptures of Rameses' temple at Abu Simbel, cut in the living rock of the mountain side.

An entrance to the temple guarded by colossal statues of Rameses II., the builder.

EGYPT'S GREATEST TEMPLE, BUILT BY RAMESES II. AT ABU SIMBEL

A hall of enormous carved pillars in the Ramesseum, showing the fragments of a colossal statue.

A general view of the ruins of the Ramesseum as seen from the north-west.

THE RAMESSEUM : RAMESES THE GREAT'S MONUMENT AT THEBES

Remains of a magnificent pillared portico guarded by colossi. An outer view of the same is given below.

The temple from the west as seen during the overflowing of the Nile.

TWO ASPECTS OF THE SPLENDID PILLARED TEMPLE AT LUXOR

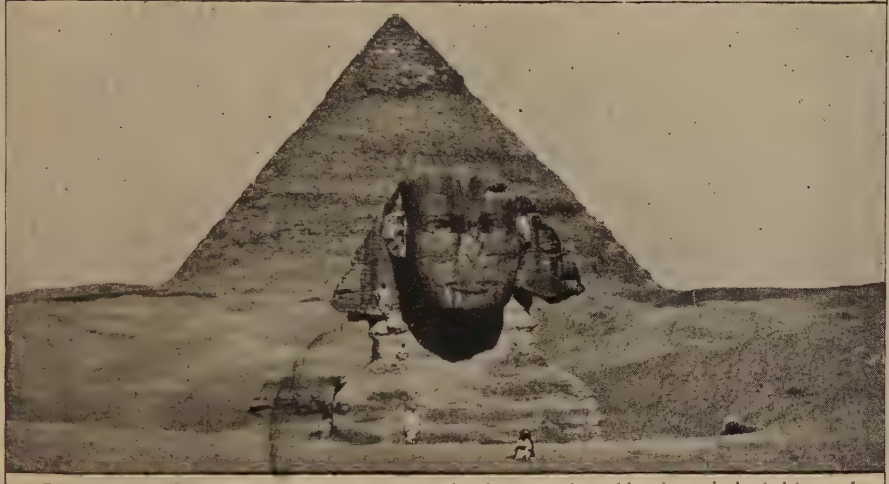
An inner corridor of massive sculptured pillars.

Gateway of the temple, built by a Ptolemy.

An interior view of the second court of the temple, showing the proportions of the immense stone pillars.

LATER ARCHITECTURE OF ANCIENT EGYPT: TEMPLE OF MEDINET HABU

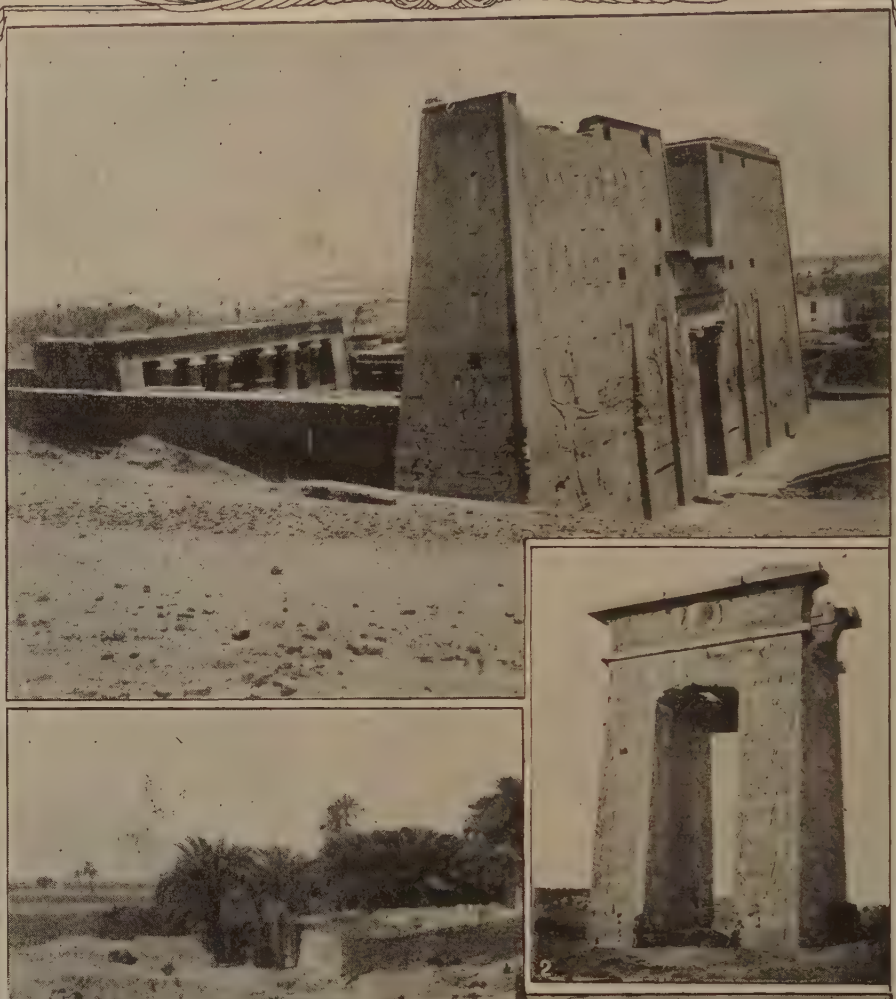
The sphinx, partly excavated, showing remains of a temple between its paws, now covered with sand.



The sphinx and the great pyramid of Khafra showing how the sphinx is again buried in sand.

Ruins of the half-buried temple of the sphinx, built in the reign of Pharaoh Khafra.

THE GREAT SPHINX, ONE OF EGYPT'S MIGHTIEST MONUMENTS



RICHNESS AND VARIETY OF EGYPTIAN ARCHITECTURE

The temple of Edfu (1) is one of the most impressive ruins in Egypt, and hardly less striking is the solitary pylone at Karnak (2), while the view of part of the remarkable Avenue of Sphinxes (3), one mile long, which ran from Luxor to Karnak, gives some idea of ancient Egypt's prodigality of sculpture.

This fine series of photographs is reproduced chiefly from the well-known originals of A. Beato, Luxor, and Bonfils, Beyrut.

THE REIGN OF THE HERETIC KING

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF EGYPT'S RELIGIONS

ON the death of Amenhotep III. the accession of Amenhotep IV., the son of Teie, whose first name was Nefer-khepru-Ra—in the Amarna letters "Napkhuria" or "Napkhururia"—seems to have met with no serious opposition. The successor to his throne had apparently reached the age of manhood, and had long been fully prepared for this event. From the letters of foreign kings of the period it appears that it was not customary to take cognisance of the existence of a crown prince; hence Amenhotep III. cannot have promoted his son to the co-regency.

Equally scanty mention is made of Teie in previous correspondence with foreign powers. However, the lack of foresight displayed by Tushratta of Mitani in designating his daughter Tadukhipa as "mistress of Egypt" when he sent her to Amenhotep III. was now remedied on the occasion of this succession; Tushratta addresses Teie by this title, and is careful to recognise the subordinate position of Tadukhipa, who seems to have been handed on to the new king as a subordinate wife. The ill-will of the queen mother may have been aroused by difficulties in the harem excited by the pretensions of the daughter of the king of Naharina, and her displeasure may have been increased by Tushratta's importunate demands for gold. When this monarch attempted to extort money from the new Pharaoh on the doubtful pretext of an old promise given by the late Amenhotep, he received a refusal couched in unusually blunt terms. The ridiculous manner in which Tushratta subsequently sought to make it appear that nothing had occurred to disturb the relations of himself and his "dear brother" in Egypt forms one of the most entertaining comedies in the world's history. The Tell el-Amarna letters, which contain other amusing material, reached their highest point of literary skill in their references to this incident. Teie was personally requested by Tushratta to mediate in his favour, but seems to have taken no action in the matter, while the replies of Amenhotep IV. became more and more discourteous; at any rate, the old friendship between the two courts was almost a thing of the past at the date of the last letter which has come down to us.

A Comedy of Ancient Egypt

Quarrels With Babylonia

A similar quarrel took place with King Burnaburiash, the successor of Kadashman-Bel in Babylonia. Amenhotep IV. neglected to send his wishes for the recovery of this king, who had been ill for some time.

The Egyptian officials and tributary princes in Canaan also seem to have considered that nothing was to be feared from the Babylonians. They plundered Babylonian embassies and caravans of merchants in the most barefaced manner. Although this in itself was a sufficient ground of complaint, the reception of an Assyrian embassy in Thebes induced the Babylonians to make serious remonstrances. It was represented that the Assyrian prince Assur-uballit was a Babylonian vassal, that his people could have no business in Egypt, and that it would be well for Amenhotep to remember that the father of Burnaburiash had once suppressed the beginnings of a Canaanite revolt against Egypt.

None the less, relations with the Assyrians were continued, although Egypt gained no advantage thereby. The Egyptian envoy Hai appears at the court of Burnaburiash to fetch one of his daughters or relatives to Egypt, in exchange for whom an Egyptian princess must have been given. A short and unfortunately mutilated letter of the "king's daughter" to "her master," which was delivered by Kidin-Ramman, expresses the hope that the gods of Burnaburiash will protect him on his journey. The manner in which "thy city and thy

Exchange of Princesses

house" are further spoken of is probably to be explained as a reference to the removal to the new residence of Amenhotep.

The king of the Hittites and his modest neighbour, the petty king of Alashya, soon had reason to be dissatisfied with the change of rulers in Egypt. Shubbiluliuma, the former of these kings, was offended by Amenhotep IV., who addressed him in a manner involving a breach of etiquette, and received as good as he gave. The king of Alashya was obliged to defend himself against the accusation that his subjects had been in alliance with Lycian pirates. It is uncertain whether the Lycians landed in the Delta, or whether they had made a raid upon some Egyptian settlement in Alashya. At any rate, the people of Alashya were probably justified in complaining that the commercial relations between the two countries had been injured by the aggressions of the Egyptian customs officials. Not only the king, but also his chief official, "the Rabisu," issued edicts warning the "Pakeri" not to interfere with merchants, envoys, and ships from Alashya. But anyone who passed through Lower Egypt in order to transact business at the court of Amenhotep IV. found, so to speak, a dragon in his path in the person of the viceroy of the Delta (Yarimuta). From the Amarna letters we learn that, at that time at least, the power of this official was as absolute as that of the "prince of Kush"; thus Egypt proper was guarded on the south as on the north.

Viceroy of the Delta

The governor of Syria-Palestine had a wholesome respect for the "Rabisu of the king," who "is in the land of Yarimuta" —that is, the Delta. Two very amiable communications accompanied by gifts were also sent to this personage by the Rabisu of Alashya; consequently his name Yankhamu was one of the best known in the country. It apparently depended entirely upon the pleasure of this man whether the measures ordered by the Pharaoh should be executed slowly or promptly, sternly or with forbearance, and whether the pretexts or remonstrances of vassals should be seriously considered or be treated as deserving of punishment. Yankhamu accepted backsheesh, but at the same time he was apparently upright enough to act in entire accordance with the orders of his superiors and not to yield to the counter claims of his own personal inclinations. None the less, the prestige of the Egyptian supremacy in the Asiatic provinces rapidly declined.

The Power Behind the Throne

In the meantime, events were taking place in Thebes such as the Egyptian people had never before heard of, and, indeed, were never again to hear of, after the period of their occurrence. The king became involved in a quarrel with the priesthood of Amon, which had been steadily increasing in wealth and power. Amon, at first the god only of his own house, had gradually been raised to the head of the Egyptian pantheon. And now Amenhotep became the champion of a new heresy.

It is certain that long before this time a new creed had been formulated by the society of priests connected with the temple of the Sun at Heliopolis, which was extended to exalt above all the hybrid deities of the Nile the visible sun in the sky, "Aten," as the sole creative and preservative deity. This doctrine had probably become more or less fashionable at the court of Amenhotep III., which prided itself on its intellectual atmosphere and lent a ready ear to any new theory. What, however, was but a pastime to his predecessor, Amenhotep IV. considered as the serious business of his life. For whatever reason, relations between Amon and the new king were strained to breaking point, and an open rupture took place between the fourth and sixth years of his reign. The court left Thebes, and a religious reform on the lines of the Aten doctrine was begun with severity and zeal.

The Egyptian Pantheon

Now the system of the Egyptian pantheon is obscure. The various conquests of a much-conquered country had their usual effect here as elsewhere. The captured territory is considered by the new arrivals as a gift of the gods who accompanied them thither; and to these the previous possessors, deities as well as men, must first be subjected, and with them ultimately be incorporated. Thus is explained the great antiquity of such of the purely Egyptian conceptions as originated in the configuration of the country. To these belong the divinities of the water and the desert, as well as the simple harvest gods. The first movement recognisable as such among the gods of Egypt begins with the rise of Horus and his

struggle to break down the obstinacy of Set. In Nubia, as a rule, the conquering Horus received the offerings of the kings of Egypt, who erected temples and dedicatory inscriptions. But he did not have the field to himself. Under the Ramessides, Amon, Ptah, and Ra also appeared in company with Horus with earlier divinities such as Merula, Didun (the Tithonos of the Greeks), and He.

Min of Coptos, a deity who had fallen into obscurity as early as the period of the Middle Empire, was rediscovered in Nubia by the kings of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties, worshipped there with the greatest enthusiasm, and, in consequence, eventually restored to importance in Egypt also. Min, however, was an ideal rustic deity, who must have once been worshipped throughout a wide district, extending far beyond the frontiers of Egypt to the south, and perhaps also to the south-east. As a result, Coptos, the point of junction of several desert roads from the south, continued for a long time to be a secure stronghold for the worship of Min, even after he had been supplanted elsewhere by deities of later origin. In the god Khem of Achmim (north of Coptos), who was originally the counterpart of Min, the Greeks immediately recognised their own Pan ; accounts of the primitive rustic character of his festivals have been preserved. But though Horus, who usually intruded upon such occasions under the most extraordinary disguises, was unable to prevail against Min, the ape god Bes, a rival from the southernmost part of Nubia, was more successful. This kobold-like dwarf with his bushy crown of feathers seems to have been closely connected with the goddess Thoueris (Egyptian Ta-ueret), whose image was an erect hippopotamus with the breasts of a woman. She may indeed have accompanied him upon his first arrival from Ethiopia, and have taken the place of the corresponding deity Apet, who was worshipped in Thebes at a comparatively late period. At any rate, Bes and Thoueris played a very important part in the Eygptian pantheon after they had deprived Min and Apet of their important office as patron deities of midwifery.

Egypt's Rural Deities

The subsequent introduction of Bes and Thoueris into the circle of sun divinities and their ritual companions, the gods of the dead, ended their advancement. However, such an instance of the overthrow of primitive Egyptian deities by gods of yet earlier origin from the south is absolutely unique. As a rule, the ancient Egyptian gods were only in part replaced by deities introduced from the north, who failed to eject them completely. Thus the ancient capital of the first or southernmost nome of Upper Egypt was Ombos, on the eastern bank of the Nile, the temple of which was sacred to the crocodile god Sebek. The worshippers of Horus were late in establishing themselves in the nome, and were restricted for a time to the island of Elephantine, which was not consecrated to Horus but to Khunm ; he, as creator of the world in the age preceding the birth of Osiris, and as the father of Horus himself, was a god eminently suitable for a region so exposed, where he bears the title "defender against the Nubians." When, at a later time, Ombos opened its gates to the new cult Horus had become humbler, and contented himself with one half of the Sebek temple. The result was that, together with his neighbour "great Horus," Sebek also assumed the attributes of a sun-god, and from this time forth was known as Sebek-Ra, one of the most extraordinary of the many mythological fusions which took place in Egypt. Unfortunately, little has remained to us of the myths in connection with the temple at Ombos. A fragmentary account from this source indicates that Osiris was there born to Apet, the hippopotamus goddess.

Strange Fusion of Myths

It is certain that Sebek was one of the chief divinities of the Nile valley prior to the Negada period, and also suffered less than any other primitive god from the antagonism of later times. In the age of the Old Empire the crocodile god was generally worshipped, and at the time of the Middle Empire he rose to great distinction, and possessed temples in various parts of Egypt, though more especially in the Fayyum, until the final disappearance of the native beliefs. Their inalienable characteristics as deities of the water may have proved a valuable support both to him and to the hippopotamus goddesses ; but between the desert god Set and the religion of the historical period a relation of armed neutrality invariably persisted. All,

Worship of the Crocodile

however, that is known about Set is intimately connected with his mythological struggle with Horus.

Horus never lost his traditional character as a champion and conqueror of the land; his name signified sovereignty, and was assumed by every Pharaoh. The mythic story of the wars fought by Horus against Set and his allies throughout the whole of Egypt has been preserved to us in two versions in connection with each other. The earlier of these represents Horus as a son of the beneficent god Osiris, who appeared as a human king and refined the bestial manners of Egyptian life by teaching the duties of cultivating the soil, worshipping the gods, etc. But Osiris was entrapped by his evil brother Set, who enticed him into a great coffer, which he immediately closed and set adrift on the sea. During the despotic rule of Set the adherents of Osiris either left the country or withdrew into hiding-places; but when the body of Osiris was recovered by his sister and wife Isis in the Phœnician seaport Gebal—first mentioned in the time of the twelfth dynasty—their son Horus arose and conquered Set after a long struggle. During the war with Set, Isis and Horus were assisted by Thoth, the ibis-headed god of wisdom, and Anubis, the jackal-headed deity.

Horus the Champion

Although we are indebted to no earlier authority than Plutarch for this myth, and although in Plutarch's original the Delta only is represented as the Egyptian scene of action, nevertheless numerous versions of and allusions to the story in ancient Egyptian texts prove not only its genuineness but also the fact that it was equally current in Upper Egypt. A calendarian list, in which horoscopes and rules of conduct for favourable or unlucky days are given, states that on the 17th of Athyr, the day of Osiris's death, the lamentations of the goddesses Isis and Nephthys at Saïs could be heard as far as Abydos, the final resting-place of Osiris. The length to which the process of mythological transformation could be carried among the Egyptians is well shown in a later version of the myth, which may have been remodelled during the New Empire, and met with ready acceptance by the priesthood of the temple of Horus at Edfu. In this adaptation Osiris has entirely disappeared, his place being taken by the sun-god Ra of Heliopolis, whose annihilation was indeed neither possible nor desirable. Consequently Horus appears as the son of the Sun in the form of the winged solar disc. His struggle with Set and his brood of crocodiles is represented as a chastisement inflicted upon conspirators, whose crime consisted simply in their rebellion against Ra. Nevertheless, even from this greatly altered variant of the myth several valuable additions can be obtained which supplement the account of Plutarch. Thus one passage reads: "Hereupon the enemies of Ra went into the river. They metamorphosed themselves into crocodiles and hippopotami. But Ra entered a boat, and when he came within reach of the animals they opened wide their mouths in order to injure the majesty of the god. Then came Horus—that is, the Edfu Horus—and the servants of his train—Shemsu-Hor—bearing weapons of bronze; each carried a lance of iron and a chain in his hands. Then they smote the crocodiles and hippopotami. And they dragged forth 381 enemies and put them to death in sight of the city of Edfu." These words take us back to the period of Negada, which marks the beginning of the bronze age in Egypt, when the Horus people perhaps invaded the land.

Death of Osiris

Likeness of Horus and Marduk

Not Ra, but Osiris, was the original deity who opposed Set and assisted Horus to victory. There is some ground for tracing back Osiris and the Babylonian god Marduk to a common origin; but if this identity ever existed it must have early disappeared, for in the comparatively late period during which we first hear of Babel and its Marduk this deity was a warlike hero, world-creator, and at the same time father of Nabu, the god of wisdom. Osiris, on the other hand, appears as early as the Ancient Empire as the inoperative god of the dead, and his merit must be considered as resting chiefly upon his former sufferings. The resemblance of Horus to Marduk, however, becomes so striking that it is difficult not to believe that this part of the genealogy of the Egyptian deities must once have undergone a fundamental change.

The opposing god, Set, who was represented symbolically in an extraordinary animal form resembling nothing so much

THE PRINCIPAL DEITIES OF THE EGYPTIAN PANTHEON

Osiris (1), the god of the dead, was the chief of the gods, and husband and brother of Isis (8 and 11), the queen of the gods; their son Horus (9) carried on great mythical wars with the evil desert-god Set (4), who had murdered Osiris. In this struggle Horus was assisted by Thoth (2), the ibis-headed god of wisdom, and Anubis (6), the jackal-headed assistant of Osiris in the judgment of the dead. The dwarf ape-god Bes (3 and 7) and the erect hippopotamus goddess Thoueris (5) were two primitive Nubian deities who displaced the native primitive gods Min and Apet They, and Sebek (10), the crocodile god, were admitted to the circle of the sun divinities.

Photos by Mansell

as the okapi, but who was also in the habit of transforming himself into a snake in combat, was recognised quite as much as Horus as a deity of the empire. The kings of Egypt wear the uræus serpent above their foreheads as a badge of dignity, and are the favourites not only of Horus but of Set. Not until the end of the empire was the conclusion drawn from the legend of Osiris that Set, who, as "Sutekh," had begun to assume the attributes of the Phœnician Baal, was an object of worship unworthy of a truly pious Egyptian. Thus the ancient deity finally fell from his high estate, after a sudden and vain attempt to disguise himself as a sun-god at his principal residence in Tanis. Nevertheless, as a local deity at Ombos, and to a still greater extent in the western frontier nome Oxyrynchus, where his worship had been preserved in its greatest purity, he survived all hostility. As a son of Nut, the goddess of heaven and tutelary divinity of the Nile, Set seems to be the most purely Egyptian of the deities who retained their general characteristics during historical times.

HOW THE EGYPTIAN DEAD WERE BURIED
The Egyptian belief in the resurrection of the body was limited to those bodies that remained intact; thus extraordinary care was taken in embalming and bandaging the body, as may be seen in this mummy and its case.

No information as to the origin, growth, and development of the Egyptian doctrines of a future life is obtainable from the myths of Osiris. We can only give a short account of ancient Egyptian conceptions of a future life as they appeared in historical times. It was necessary that the bodies of the dead should be preserved. This fundamental condition was satisfied by the process of mummifying. An additional safeguard in the case of the wealthy classes was the construction of tombs of masonry, the forms of which varied with the religious idea of different periods. The mummy was looked upon as the home of the "spiritual parts" of the deceased, which could leave the body at will. There were several of these spiritual parts, chief among which was the Ka, or dream-soul. Even during a man's life his Ka showed a tendency to wander. Whoever made journeys during

A CHAPTER HEADING FROM THE BOOK OF THE DEAD: THE JUDGMENT OF THE SOUL
The Books of the Dead consisted largely of formulæ to plead for the dead in the judgment court of Osiris.

his dreams and experienced good or evil while his body lay in sleep knew that his Ka had been active. The Ka proved its power of free movement still more definitely by appearing as a physical being to others in their dreams whether its unconscious owner were alive or dead. Two further spiritual elements, the Khu—that is, the "shining one"—and the Ba, which had the form of a human-headed bird, seem to have represented one and the same conception—that is, the renown of the deceased. In all probability the same was the case with the Sahu and the Sekhem, which are depicted as wrapped mummies or free figures; the difference of form and name was due to local variation of doctrine. It is strange that the shadow of men was included among the spiritual elements; possibly it was a later parasitic conception, for the kingdom of the dead of Osiris was by no means an abiding place of shadows. Consequently it was entirely opposed to Egyptian piety to supply their departed with shadow pictures of bread, meat, dishes, etc. During the Negada period it appears that the sacrifices—that is to say, the repasts for the dead—were still offered *in natura*. In later times, imitations made of stone, clay, or wood, which were supposed to become permanently endowed with nourishing qualities by the recital of magical formulæ, were employed. Other formulæ of this kind, of which the tedious literature of the "Books of the Dead" is largely composed, were thought to assist the deceased to overcome the difficulties and dangers of the way to the throne of Osiris, to plead for him before the court of judgment in the nether world, and even to influence the turn of the scales in which the gods Thoth and Horus weighed every heart against a feather, the symbol of truth. What happened to those found wanting at this final judgment was an obscure and apparently a forbidden subject, although a vicious-looking female animal resembling a pig, with the head of a crocodile, called the "devourer," always sat before or close to Osiris. But on and after the interment the dead man was called "true to his word," his righteousness and consequent salvation being thus presupposed. Thus blessed, he was straightway sent to Osiris and led by the god to the fields of Aalu, where all was well. There was room for everyone at the richly-decked table of Osiris, and whoever desired more had but to go to the tree of life close at hand, from which the goddess of heaven freely dispensed her gifts to the dead.

IMAGES OF THE DEAD
Such realistic statuettes of the deceased were frequently placed in tombs of the ancient Egyptians.

The offerings of food, etc., were also intended to secure to the deceased, at least so long as he remained in the tomb, that welfare which he could not have enjoyed in any other way. It is a striking fact that even the kings fully shared the general desire of their subjects to be buried, if possible, in the Osiris city Abydos. They could not, however, well be actually buried there, but commanded their bodies to be interred in Thebes, like those of their great nobles. But probably the popular custom of sending the mummies of the deceased to Abydos, whence they were transported back to the starting point, where their graves awaited them, was considered necessary by the kings. The kings of the first dynasty, some of whom were buried

AN EGYPTIAN FUNERAL SLEDGE
In sledges of this type the bodies were drawn to the tomb.

probably at Negada, others at Hierakonpolis, had a series of imitation tombs, or commemorative "Houses of the Ka," built for them at Abydos. These cenotaphs were provided with all the requisites for the continued life of the Ka in the other world, even including actual slaves, who were killed and buried with the kings. That is to say, the commemorative "Ka-houses" at Abydos were complete tombs, with all the necessary appurtenances, except the corpse. With the exception of Ra, it is seldom that any information of importance can be extracted respecting the gods of Ancient Egypt. Overladen as they were with changing attributes, their original forms are now unrecognisable; their myths also are still unknown. Ptah, the ancient god of Memphis, is now only to be found—except when he is identified with the god Tatenen—represented as garbed in the swathing of mummies; therefore he must have adopted the character of Osiris, or vice versa Herodotus considered Ptah as the Egyptian Hephæstus; in fact, he was often represented surrounded by dwarf gods, his assistants in the creation of the world. Ptah may have been in some way connected with the Nile god Hapi, who possessed an unusually magnificent temple in Memphis, and was subsequently worshipped in Rome as the classic "father of the waters"; he was also accompanied by gnomes, who, though they signified the proper height of the Nile in ells, resemble the kobolds of Ptah. Memphis was also the scene of worship of the Apis bulls, whose divine attributes had been recognised as early as the Ancient Empire. A connection between Ptah and Apis can scarcely be proved. During his lifetime the bull seems to have formed a part of the Ra cult, and after his death to have belonged to that of Osiris. Thus it is possible that the soul of the bull was finally transformed into an independent deity, Osiris-Apis, who, after personification under Greek influence, received the name of Serapis, supplanted Osiris, and became associated with Isis as deity of the dead. The great mausoleum of Apis bulls discovered by Mariette at Sakkara still contained the heavy stone sarcophagi in which the mummified remains of the animals had been successively laid from the time of the eighteenth dynasty, in order somewhat parallel to the succession of mummies of the Egyptian kings. Pharaoh and Apis possessed the attributes of personal divinity in death as well as in life. The other sacred animals found in the temples are merely incarnations of the various gods, such as the Suchos-crocodile in the Fayyum, the Mendesian ram, and the bull Mnevis of Heliopolis, whose worship fell into decay at different times. Together with Mnevis, a fabulous creature known as the bird Bennu—the "Phœnix" of the Greeks—had his headquarters at Heliopolis. Perhaps a rare species of heron was bred there. Finally, on arriving at the stone sphinxes—for the most part the heads of kings set upon the bodies of animals, an inversion of the conception of gods with animal heads—we find ourselves within the domain of sculpture and architecture.

Mansell

KING MAKING AN OFFERING TO THE APIS BULL

Memphis was the scene of the worship of the Apis bulls, considered divine, while other animals were merely incarnations of various gods.

EGYPTIAN CARE FOR THE DEAD

On the left is a canopic jar, sets of four of which, containing various organs of the deceased dedicated to particular gods, were always placed in tombs. On the right is a beautifully cast bronze situla, which contained votive offerings on behalf of the departed.

THE PASSING OF A PHARAOH: FUNERAL CEREMONIES OF A KING OF ANCIENT EGYPT

At Dendera a temple of the goddess Hathor, inscribed with accounts of the worship as well as with the history of its building, still remains in a good state of preservation. From this we learn that at the beginning of the third summer month this Egyptian Aphrodite was accustomed to set out upon a ceremonial journey to the god Horus in Edfu, which was not far distant. After or within five days she then returned home in her boat "The Greatness of Love." This custom is in complete correspondence with the name of the goddess, which signifies "the house of Horus." Curiously, there was a group of seven Hathors, who presided over births, who in their turn are connected with Nekhebet, the goddess of births, worshipped in El-Kab; and they appear also in the form of vultures hovering about the king, protecting him during his lifetime. Hathor herself, on the other hand, is often represented with the head of a cow, and even when pictured as a woman she retains the cow's horns and often the ears. The Greeks identified their own Leto with Buto, the oracle goddess in the Delta town of Buto, and Athene with the goddess Neith, worshipped at Saïs. The symbol of Neith, originally a square shield with two arrows crossed behind it, was transformed into a shuttle, in later times worn as a national token by the Libyans, who appear in Egyptian

drawings. This points to a Libyan origin for her; but she, together with Hathor, Buto, the cat-headed Bast of Bubastis, and almost all the female divinities of the ancient Egyptian pantheon, subsequently lost all traces of their original character under the influence of the Isis myth. A closer examination makes it plain that even those divinities which appear to have an individuality of their own are mere variants of Isis, "great in enchantment" (Ueret-hekau). The exception to this rule is Maat, the goddess of truth and justice; for she, as an abstraction, was above all influences of mythological transformation. She is sometimes represented wearing the well-known bandage over her eyes, "for justice decides without regard of persons." Of the god Khuns, or Khonsu, who perhaps represented the new moon and formed a counterpart to Ioh or Aah, the god of the full moon, nothing need here be said, except that he, like so many other divinities, was ultimately merged in the "sun." Under the twentieth dynasty a vain attempt seems to have been made to restore him to his proper dignity. War-gods appear in increasing numbers under the New Empire. The valiant Month (Mentu) was often summoned by the kings from Thebes to inspire them with bravery in battle equal to his own. The worship of Month in the nome of Thebes was perhaps even more ancient than that of Amon, for the chief sanctuaries of both were in local opposition. The goddess Sekhmet, the destroyer of degenerate mankind in the Ra myth, obtained a certain degree of preference from Amenhotep III., and appears in the papyrus literature as the lion-headed spreader of panic who marches in the vanguard of armies. In other respects she belongs to the family of Ptah. In later times, however, it was said of the Isis-Hathor at Philæ that she was "kind as Bast, terrible as Sekhmet," so that this divinity also was deprived of her original characteristics. The Syrian divinities also acquired a certain standing in Egypt, especially under the Ramessides. The chief of these were Baal and Astarte, Reshef and Anath.

SUN-GOD, RA

AMON-RA

Ra, the Sun-god, was, after Amenhotep III., combined with Amon as Amon-Ra, king of the gods.

The sun-god Ra, as is plain from his myths, had his first centre in Heliopolis as early as the period of the Ancient Empire. None the less he was the youngest of all the greater divinities. This fact is proved by the comprehensiveness of his nature, as compared with the Hades nature of Osiris and the solar conception of the sun offered by Horus. Before Ra came to Egypt he had attained a certain mythological maturity within the imagination of another people, and hence the rapidity of his success. But apart from this, he possessed all the attributes which make for popularity. The new sun-god is the absolute lord of creation; he traverses the entire heaven and the nether world in his narrow boat within twenty-four hours, annihilates all that is evil, or at any rate makes it inoperative so long as he is present, and so compels every other god who is desirous of being termed "good" to enter his company. Thus within a comparatively short time the solar disc of Ra becomes the predominating symbol among the other gods; indeed, this same symbol was unconsciously accepted as the sign of divinity in general, and was ultimately borne even by those gods who, from their very nature, were and remained opponents to Ra. Conversely, the sparrow-hawk of Horus became an emblem of the true sun-gods; Ra himself was represented with a bird's head. He also appropriated to himself many other external marks borrowed from earlier rites and conceptions. However, he clung all the more tenaciously to his main office. He who had been the friend of Ra during life had the right to claim in death a place on his boat when it passed through the heaven during the day. Thus the deceased arrived in the nether world under the auspices of a powerful protector, and far more easily than by the solitary and dangerous way of the Osiris doctrine. When Ra had arrived at his territory in the nether

DEATH IN THE MIDST OF LIFE: PROCESSION OF THE CORPSE AT AN EGYPTIAN FEAST

The care and reverence of the ancient Egyptians for their dead, and the detail and number of their funeral ceremonies, amounted to actual worship; and though there was an unorthodox section which did not accept the doctrines of immortality, the bulk of the people did, and were accustomed to be reminded of the shortness of life by the presence of a corpse at their feasts. This reproduction is made from an engraving of the picture by Edwin Long, by permission of the Fine Art Society, 148, New Bond Street, London.

regions (which implies that Osiris and other deities of darkness had a considerable domain) he disembarked the souls in the fruitful field, where they continued an existence resembling their earthly life. In consequence of the division of Ra's subterranean dominions into twelve sections of one hour's journey each, divided from one another by "doors," the dead under his protection could unfortunately enjoy the sight of the god, the sun, for only one hour, and were left in darkness for the rest of the time. However, during this short period of light the greatest activity prevailed, for the protégés of Ra had also to labour in the land beyond the grave; they sowed, they ploughed, irrigated their land and gathered their harvest, in order not to suffer the pangs of hunger.

Life Beyond the Grave

It is interesting to remark that members of the wealthy classes made provision for both the Ra and the Osiris theories of the future life. Near the mummies, together with their Book of the Dead, and their supply of food for the next life, on the Osiris theory, are found small figures of wood, called "Shawabti," or Ushabti, that is, answerers, equipped for the most part as slaves or field labourers, and in many cases inscribed with the name of the dead man to whom they belonged, whose duty was to answer for the deceased and to act as his substitutes if he should happen to arrive at the fields of Ra and there be called upon to work.

At what period of the early history of Egypt the sun-god Ra secured the chief position in the popular beliefs cannot be determined with certainty. If the legend concerning the origin of the fifth dynasty can be trusted, the characteristic title of the kings, "sons of Ra," which was invariably emphasised in subsequent times must have originated at that period. This, however, would only roughly indicate the close of the first stage of development. During the long and obscure period of transition from the Ancient to the Middle Empire many a convulsion must have shaken the existing body of religious belief. A result of the conclusion of peace between Horus and Ra was undoubtedly the appearance of the popular mixed deity Ra-Harmachis, which was associated in the legends with the winged solar disc, flanked on each side by a small uræus snake. This token, which was to be seen over the entrance of every temple, possessed the significance of a symbol of union, which was ultimately extended over all the gods of the country. Nevertheless, in the Tell el-Amarna period the letters of the Syrian officials to the Pharaoh almost invariably employ a form of address which represents him only as the son of Ra, while Rib-Adda of Gebal employs another, and perhaps older, set of titles, in which no mention whatever is made of the sun.

Rise of the Sun-god

In view of the difference of opinion among the Egyptians concerning the life after death, and the increasing confusion in the mythology, together with the slight efficacy of the formulæ of enchantment, a spirit of scepticism could not have failed to arise. Whether traces of a belief that the dead ascended to the stars are to be included among the evidence for this spirit is still a matter of uncertainty; at any rate, such a conception does not seem to be of Egyptian origin. A stronger piece of evidence is, however, the fact that occasionally, though not on the memorial stones, we seem to find doubts of, at any rate, the happiness of a future life. Side by side with all the priestly doctrines of the adventures which the dead undergo in the next world before fully attaining felicity among the followers of Ra, we meet with the idea that the deceased lay rigid in eternal darkness, yearning for the delights of earthly life. For this reason man was to make the best use of his existence, to seek joy and pleasure, and to cast away all sorrow. Generally popular under the new kingdom was the "Song from the tomb of King Antef," composed by the harper.

A Creed of Cheerful Paganism

This minstrel appeals in turn to ancient sages who taught: "Ruined are the dwellings of ancestors; they are as if they had never been, and no one returns from the beyond to tell us what has become of them." To the living the advice is given: "Adorn thyself as beautifully as may be, and let not thine heart fail thee so long as thou remainest upon earth. Trouble not thyself until the day of mourning breaks. For he whose heart has ceased to beat hears no lamentation; he who rests in the grave shares not thy grief. Therefore, let your days be glad, your countenance joyful, and be not idle; for no man takes his possessions with him, nor does he ever return."

A FUNERAL RITE OF ANCIENT EGYPT: THE TRIAL OF THE DEAD

Before the body of an Egyptian could be borne to the caverns of the dead it had to undergo trial by the judges of the dead, before whom any man might accuse the departed, burial in sacred ground being denied if the charges were proved.

The poetical "dialogue of one weary of life, with his soul," is, as regards its fundamental conception, a precursor of the Book of Job. Moreover, its fate seems to have been similar to that of the Biblical work, in so far as a recapitulation is added establishing a connection with the current religious belief, although the book was doubtless composed with the object of exposing the illogical nature of the orthodox creed.

The "one weary of life," ill and feeble, deceived by the world and abandoned by his relatives and friends, entreats his soul to follow him into death. But at this prospect even this last companion desires to abandon him, and is with great difficulty persuaded to agree to a compromise. In the course of the argument it becomes clear that the Egyptians were not only inclined to scepticism, but also that some of them regarded the useless pyramids and the worship of the dead with mockery and contempt. The soul expresses the opinion in no measured terms that precisely the same prospect awaited the most carefully preserved mummy and the body devoured by fishes of "a weary one who died on the river embankment leaving no posterity."

In all probability this remarkable composition was considered by its readers as belonging to the class of popular productions, the possession of which was not to be proclaimed aloud before the guardians of public morals and manners. The later addition of a short deprecatory hymn to Ra as the giver of happiness was intended to secure a measure of toleration for the work.

Two affecting songs of the man tired of life—a complaint against the world that indefatigably persecutes the tender-hearted but opens its arms to the insolent, and a salutation to death, the deliverer—give the work a high place in the literature of the world, and incline us to regard more charitably many of those features of ancient Egyptian life which we are inclined to consider with aversion. Even the refractory soul makes the admission when the deserted one has shown it that the earth is full of evil-doers: "Death stands before me to-day like the near fulfilment of the longing which a man has for his home after many years of imprisonment."

The soul then promises to accompany him: "Thy body shall return to the earth, and where thou abidest I also will abide; we two will make our abode together."

Thoughts such as these were certainly of themselves incapable of initiating a reform in the national religion in Egypt. Nevertheless they are evidence that an intellectual movement had begun, and that a small number of educated men had cast away their fears of the unknown and their belief in the enchantments and "protections" which were to ensure to them an orthodox heaven; that they were beginning to direct their more rational praise to the sun-god, as the obvious author of all life and fertility on the living globe. Most of the epitaphs belonging to the decade immediately preceding the reform appealed separately to Osiris, the god of the dead, and Ra, the god of the living, and the hymns addressed to the sun-god increase in fervour. Amon himself comes to be invoked in monotheistic terms as Amon-Ra. The tendency increased under the eighteenth dynasty. Constantly we find worshippers referring to Osiris, Ra, or Amon, as if he was the only deity existing in the universe. The conception of pure divinity is often met with, and this often savours of pure monotheism.

Beginnings of Religious Reform

Under Amenhotep IV. (Akhenaten) the worship of Ra, or rather of Harmach, was—in his actual visible form of the Aten—exalted by royal favour into a real monotheistic cult. The symbol of the Aten cult was the simple solar disc pouring down its rays. Each ray was represented as ending in a little hand. Some of these hands are open, while others hold the emblem of life, the well-known ringed cross. Whenever the king, or, as was now customary, the assembled royal family, performed a public ceremony the sun's disc stood immediately above their heads, so that, if possible, every person might be struck by one of these emblems at the end of the rays. The "doctrine" itself was formulated in a long hymn, of which one passage must suffice for our quotation: "Thou didst create the seasons for the completion of thy work, the cool winter and the hot summer; thou alone didst build the vault of heaven, thy lofty path, whence thou surveyest all that thou hast made. Thou art Aten, the day of the world; my heart belongs to thee, but no one knoweth thee as doth thy son [the king] Nefer-khepru-Ra. Thou hast revealed to him the knowledge of thy mighty coming and going. On that very day when thou establishedst the world thou didst cause it to be created for thy son, who is the express image of thy glory, even for the king of Egypt, the truly living one, the lord of both lands, Nefer-khepru-Ra, the son of the sun that existeth in verity, Akhenaten, who liveth for ever. And with him the great, the beloved royal spouse, the mistress of both lands, Nefer-neferu-Aten, that is, the immortal and flourishing Nefertiti."

Monotheistic Worship of the Sun

The "doctrine" was thus established as the official religion, as had once been the case with the worship of Amon, only on a more comprehensive scale. The creed was inclined to monotheism in so far as no room is left for the existence of other deities, which indeed were not so much as mentioned, and soon were formally rejected. Thus, whenever the night was spoken of, any reference to the stars was carefully avoided, as it was not desired to refer to the stellar deities, the "host of heaven." The day had been generally considered to begin at sunset, whereas the new doctrine did not preach that the day consisted of "the evening and the morning," but that it began with the rising of the sun. Far from believing in any beneficent influences exerted by the star and moon deities, the sun doctrine hinted rather at the opposite. The wonders of Aten are the marvels of nature and not the result of enchantments. It was argued that if the king, like his predecessors, was a god and a son of the Sun, he must necessarily increase in majesty by the introduction of the new religion; hence the curious avowal of the natural conclusion that Aten created the world with the knowledge of his son, who reigned upon earth, and indeed for his especial benefit.

Strange New Doctrines

Thus it is indisputable that in the Aten worship of Amenhotep IV. we may see the germs of religious conceptions which have hitherto been attributed to a much later period. The king of Egypt, who was a god in virtue of his position during his life, who chooses for his father a unique god, the creator of the world, consequently becomes, at least historically, connected with this god as his associate from the very outset.

With Amon and his circle all the other (non-solar) deities were proscribed. The king permitted those who were weak in faith to consider Ra as the equal of Aten. Ptah, Osiris, Horus, and Isis fell from their high estate. But the various formulæ and rites belonging to the worship of the dead, even those pertaining to Osiris, continued without opposition. The beliefs of the mass of the people with regard to the life after death could not be lightly interfered with. Indeed, upon this delicate question the sun doctrine in general acquiesced in the legend of Ra's nightly journey. And since Aten was the god of the day and of the living, he had nothing to do with night and the dead, so that the "doctrine" had nothing to say on this subject. Amenhotep and his court were buried in tombs of the usual type, though no representations of the traditional wanderings of the soul in the underworld were inscribed on their walls—the subject was tacitly avoided—but Amon and the other gods were persecuted, and their names were erased from the temples.

THE PORTRAIT SCULPTURE OF EGYPT

Two very fine examples of ancient Egyptian sculpture. That on the left is the famous wood-carving known as the Sheikh el-Beled, and that on the right an alabaster head of a Pharaoh of Saïs, both obviously likenesses.

Amenhotep IV. probably died at the outset of the seventeenth year of his reign, thus occupying the throne from about 1380 to 1364 B.C. His children by his wife Nerfertiti, who seems to have been without a rival in his affections, were all daughters; hence the succession devolved upon some future son-in-law. For the moment, however, the attention of Amenhotep IV. was occupied chiefly by the opposition offered to the "doctrine" by the adherents of Amon in his capital at Thebes. Had the Pharaoh merely neglected the orthodox worship of Amon, such lack of piety might have been tolerated; but that which could not be forgotten or forgiven was his omission of the gifts customary on these occasions. Since the time of Thothmes III. these gifts had been an ever-increasing item, and had become a serious burden to the royal treasury during times of peace. Since the industrial population of Thebes was far more dependent upon the college of Amon than upon the court, the probable effect of the change is obvious. Finding his position in Thebes untenable, the king, who had begun to build a sanctuary of Aten in Thebes itself, decided to found a new sacred city on a more satisfactory spot, to be consecrated to the sole worship of the "solar disc" and of his son. The new residence "Khut-Aten"—that is, the horizon of the disc—was founded almost precisely midway between Memphis and Thebes, on the eastern bank of the river. This spot was then believed to be the centre of the world, and therefore well adapted to the requirements of the new religion.

The Unorthodox Pharaoh

A New Sacred City

All that remains to us to-day of the city of Khut-Aten is the mass of ruins at Tell el-Amarna. The tombs in the surrounding cliffs, together with their texts, which are of high importance as a source of information for the worship of the solar disc, have long been objects of attention. It was also known that the ground plan of the town could be clearly recognised and the sites of the most important buildings be determined. But it was not until the discovery, in the spring of 1888, of the archives, written in cuneiform characters on clay tablets, treating of the relations between Egypt and Asia that further excavations were undertaken, with the result that both the ruins of the king's palace and of the Aten temple were brought to light. This period was a time of reform in art as well as in religion. It is a remarkable fact that many of the sculptured bas-reliefs discovered in the tombs of Tell el-Amarna deal with the domestic life of Amenhotep IV. Intended primarily as tokens of homage, these scenes show very clearly how naturally the divine son of Aten lived and moved among the children of men. Hitherto there had been no more than half a dozen

poses in which the sculptor or designer was permitted to represent a king; he might be seated, for example, stiffly on his throne or no less stiffly in his war chariot, making offerings, etc. Now, however, we see him in the company of the queen and his family of little princesses, though always caressed by the hands terminating the rays of Aten, or distributing from a balcony golden decorations to deserving co-religionists. He goes forth in a chariot of gold and silver, with a bodyguard running at his side, or is shown in the act of performing ceremonies. The figures are naturally grouped and motion is naturally indicated. The traditional stiffness is replaced by an effort at correct portraiture, at any rate in the case of the king himself.

Domestic Life in Egypt

The personal appearance of Amenhotep IV. was by no means attractive. His face was disfigured by prominent cheek-bones, a protruding chin, and a wrinkled mouth; he had also thin legs and a large stomach. However, he insisted that all defects should be faithfully reproduced; and the whole court, the queen included, were depicted with the same physical peculiarities. One relief, for instance, represents the king with a particularly forbidding expression of countenance in the act of kissing his eldest daughter, with the queen and two other daughters sitting opposite.

The probability that foreign influences had led to the development of a new style of art has been confirmed by the discovery of a richly-painted stucco floor in the palace, representing a marshy landscape filled with animals, as well as by objects made of variously coloured glass and numerous vases and fragments closely resembling those of Mycenæ and Cyprus. A corresponding stucco floor and glazed pottery in the same style have been found in Amenhotep's palace. The stucco floor painting is, of course, purely Egyptian, but the imported foreign pottery is a mark of the extensive connection with lands over sea which is characteristic of the eighteenth dynasty. Traffic by sea with the Greek coast must, however, have begun much earlier, for we find pottery of the middle and early Minoan period—contemporary with the twelfth and sixth dynasties; and we have already seen that ambassadors from Minoan Crete visited the Egyptian court at the time of the eighteenth dynasty.

Foreign Artistic Influences

The command to build the city of the solar disc must have coincided with the removal of the court from Thebes. Possibly the king retired to Memphis pending the completion of his new residence. Nevertheless, the "Horizon of the Sun" was occupied before the city was half constructed. Not until the completion of this work, about the year 1374, did the sovereign feel himself entirely free; he then discarded the name of Amenhotep and chose the title of "Akhenaten"—that is, the spirit of the solar disc. His family and adherents followed his example, and named themselves after Aten.

This was practically a declaration of war against Amon. The refractory town of Thebes was finally compelled to submit and to tolerate the authority of a governor who believed in the "doctrine." The systematic effacement of the word "Amon" from inscriptions, even from those of the tombs, was only too thoroughly carried out. A measure of persecution was also directed against Mut and Khuns, the nearest relatives of Amon. King Akhenaten, as he is now styled, obviously desired to obliterate the memory of Amon throughout Egypt. As we learn from the stele of King Tutankhamon, recently discovered at Thebes, the priesthood of Amon was dispersed, and the goods of Amon were confiscated to the Aten. Not only at Thebes, but at Heliopolis and in the northern capital, Memphis, as well as in the "colonial" capitals of Napata in Nubia and Jerusalem (?) in Palestine (Khinatura), temples of the Aten were set up, bearing the same name, Dester-Aten ("Red is Aten") or Gem-Aten ("Found is Aten"), as the heretical shrine at Thebes. This last was probably never finished, and certainly the new worship could hardly be carried on for long safely in the city of Amon, dethroned and dispossessed though her great god might be. We know that for a time anarchy reigned at Thebes, and the royal sepulchres in the Biban el-Muluk were abandoned to the depredations of tomb-robbers. The temple of Amon was replaced by a magnificent new shrine of the solar disc at Khut-Aten, which was established as a national sanctuary. The high-priest bore the same title as the high-priest at Heliopolis. The king never wearied of the task of celebrating the various festivals of consecration. The

The Egyptian Reformation

queen-mother Teie did not appear at Khut-Aten until the court had already been settled there; she was then inducted by her son with great display of pomp. In the meanwhile, however, in spite of all the proofs of devotion and piety shown by the Aten worshippers under the eyes of the king, the fact remained that the new belief became more and more unpopular among the people. One of the new boundary stones of the precinct of Khut-Aten was even found one day to have been destroyed.

Akhenaten therefore considered it of all the more importance to strengthen his cause by a conversion of distinguished men. He seems therefore to have considered the conversion of the "divine father," Aï, who had apparently risen to this relatively modest hierarchical dignity in the temple of Amon, as an event of special significance. Aï was already fan-bearer at the king's right hand, chief master of the horse, and the "truly beloved royal scribe," when the king ordered the treasurer to "lay gold on his neck, on his back and on his feet, because he has hearkened unto the doctrine." And when Aï married the "king's nurse," who also bore the name of Teie, the couple became the recipients of still richer gifts of gold. Aï ordered "this beautiful event" to be immortalised in sculpture and described in detail on the walls of his tomb in Tell el-Amarna, which, however, he never occupied.

"Divine Father" Converted

The opposition between the beliefs of the Egyptians and those of Akhenaten was of itself sufficient to prevent the king from embarking upon such warlike enterprises as had been undertaken by Thothmes III.; the Pharaoh could not venture to leave his country. Nevertheless, at the time of his death the Egyptian possessions in Asia, though internally in a state of complete disruption, seem to have continued to recognise the supremacy of Egypt; they did not, at any rate, break into open revolt before the beginning of the struggles which put an end to the reformed doctrine. Our information concerning the destruction of the heresy and the consequent fall of the eighteenth dynasty is unusually scanty. Akhenaten himself seems to have been the last male representative of his line. Of his six daughters, Mekt-Aten died before her father, and was laid in a splendid tomb at Tell el-Amarna, which she seems to have shared with her father, the king, whose body must at some time, however, have been removed to Thebes, like that of his mother, Teie, for the mummy of the heretic was found with the other royal bodies in the tomb of Amenhotep II. Since he had been buried in the orthodox way, no formal destruction of the heretical king's body was attempted. Akhenaten was succeeded by Semenkh-ka-Ra, who a short time before had married his eldest daughter, Merit-Aten. Inscribed wine-jugs from the ruins of the palace at Tell el-Amarna show the seventeenth year of Akhenaten to be the earliest possible date for this event. The fact that there were several younger daughters, one of whom, Ankhs-en-pa-Aten, became the wife of a certain Tut-ankh-Aten, was soon turned to advantage by the oppressed Amon party. This latter couple laid claim to the throne on their own account, and recognised the faith of Amon. Both reappear in Thebes as King Tut-ankh-Amon and Queen Ankhs-en-Amon—apparently rival rulers either to Semenkhka-Ra or to a third brother-in-law.

Fall of the Eighteenth Dynasty

Buildings and restorations to the Theban temples, carried out by Tut-ankh-Amon, as well as a large representation of the reception of tribute from Syria and Ethiopia, discovered in the tomb of one Hui, point to the fact that the orthodox Pharaoh was for a time the absolute ruler of the whole kingdom of Amenhotep; on the other hand, indications of the continuation of the heresy during this period are not wanting. Marriage into the family descendants of Akhenaten probably enabled other ambitious lords to put forward pretexts to the throne. After Tutankhamon, the "divine father," Aï, was able to get possession of the throne. His wife, Teie, who was at most a very distant relative of Amenhotep IV., served to give him a claim to the succession. As before, in the days of his patron, Aï was once again able to adapt his views to altered circumstances. He occupied the royal castle at Thebes, abjured his former errors, and added the title of "divine father" to his official name. The length of Aï's reign is a matter of conjecture. He was followed by a more famous ruler from the heretical

Rule of the "Divine Father"

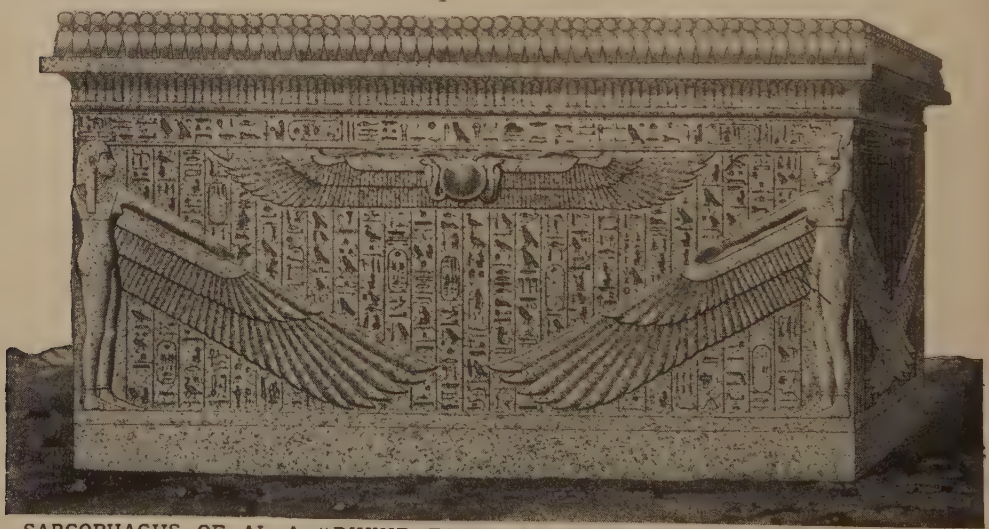
party. A certain Horemheb had risen to be commander-in-chief of the north under Akhenaten, who, on his tomb at Sakkara, was able to speak of himself as "chief of chiefs, greatest of the great . . . who had been sent forth by the king at the head of an army against the lands of the south and of the north. To him the king had entrusted the administration of both lands, and he caused them to rejoice, he, the companion of his master, on the day the Bedouins were defeated." The mention of campaigns against the east is of interest in spite of its brevity, for under the successors of Horemheb it appears that the empire had lost a portion of its Asiatic possessions. Aï gave Horemheb his full confidence. But the commander-in-chief was only waiting a fitting opportunity to seize the supremacy of Egypt for himself. It was first necessary to secure the support of the priesthood of Amon at Karnak by means of great promises, which were afterward performed. When the priesthood gave the signal, Horemheb appeared in Thebes at the head of his troops, and perhaps put an end to the government and even to the life of Aï, and received from Amon both the crown and the princess who was heir to it, about 1350 B.C. The princess was called Netjem-Mut. She may have been a sister of Nefertiti, although, as in the case of the younger Teie, there is probably here nothing more than a similarity of names and an intentional transference to the usurper of the claims necessary to his purpose. Rarely has the policy of a king been so clearly marked out before him as was that of Horemheb. His task was the ruthless persecution of the worshippers of the solar disc, and the destruction, so far as was possible, of all traces of the "doctrine." Wherever the name of Amon had been effaced, it was restored; but wherever that of Aten appeared upon tombs or elsewhere, there was immediate work for stonecutters and painters.

A Soldier Seizes the Throne

A new era of prosperity began for Thebes; the losses suffered by Amon were repaid with usury so far as circumstances permitted; in Karnak the king undertook the construction of large edifices. Of Horemheb's military operations we hear only by way of allusion. However, it is probable that he retained the approach to the Nubian gold-mines, and despatched marauding expeditions into Asia.

A remarkable inscription in the temple of Karnak complains of the general disorder in the country, and threatens the officials, and especially the troops, with severe corporal punishment unless they cease their robbery and embezzlement. Consequently Horemheb himself was obliged to march through the country in order to enforce his rights, as the indefatigable Thothmes III. had done before him. A period of dilettantism, of religious activity, and of new tendencies in art had been followed by the downfall. Now began the slow and difficult process of reconstruction.

Beginning of Reconstruction



SARCOPHAGUS OF AI, A "DIVINE FATHER" AND HERETIC PHARAOH OF EGYPT

UNDER THE SPLENDID DYNASTY

WE do not know how the question of the succession was settled on the death of Horemheb ; it seems, however, that the transition to the new dynasty was peacefully effected. The double crown descended to a new family. Rameses, or Ramses, I., the first king of the nineteenth dynasty, was a ruler of no historical importance, and almost immediately appointed his son, Seti I., or Sethos, to the co-regency.

Seti I., about 1320 to 1310 B.C., is chiefly remarkable for his name, which suggests Set, and opposition to the national Osiris-worship, and no doubt points to an origin in Lower Egypt for this dynasty. The predilection of Rameses II. for Tanis, in the Delta, points the same way. The king was alive to the fact that his name might be unpopular, and therefore styled himself "Osiri" in the inscription on his own temple of the dead and magnificent tomb in the necropolis at Thebes, in order to avoid the possibility of making an unfavourable impression upon the ruler of the next world by a mention of the name of his enemy Set. In later times, when the god Set became more nearly identical with the devil, the Egyptians attempted to efface the name of Set from all secular memorials.

Rule of Seti I.

The comparatively short reign of Seti was distinguished by the erection of many buildings, some of which are of considerable size. Thus, for example, he began the construction of the great hall of columns in the temple at Karnak, the completion of which was left to his successor ; he also undertook extensive restorations in Thebes, which continued to be the royal residence. Buildings were also erected by him in Memphis, and a palace in Heliopolis is said to have been his work. The attention of Seti, however, was chiefly directed to the south. Supported by Amen-en-apt, prince of Kush, he effected so many improvements in Nubia that in a short time the country was but little inferior to Egypt in respect of culture and density of population. His work was subsequently continued by his son Rameses II. Seti also undertook the systematic boring of wells in the desert of the Trogodytes ; these, together with their handsome temple in the desert east of Redesiya, opened up a trade route by which the traffic with the coast of the Red Sea could be guarded and controlled. These desert roads also served as routes for the convoys of gold and emeralds. A very rude papyrus map of the Ethiopian gold-mines at Akita, the Wady Olaki, which is the earliest Egyptian map yet discovered, dates from the reign of Seti.

Improvement of the Desert

The body of the king has also been preserved to us. Seti I. was a tall, thin man, with an intelligent countenance and fine teeth, although he had certainly reached the threshold of old age before his death. Of the high officials of this period other than Amen-en-apt we are acquainted with a certain Paser, who stood at the head of the administration of Egypt proper. He must have been a very pious person, for he dedicated memorials of himself almost in every shrine in Egypt.

The campaign in Palestine and Phœnicia undertaken by Seti I. at the beginning of his reign was obviously intended to check the southward expansion of the Hittite kingdom, which had taken advantage of the anarchy into which Akhenaten had allowed the Asiatic dominions of Egypt to fall. From the Tell el-Amarna letters we see that Akhenaten, absorbed in his religious reform, allowed Palestine to fall into complete confusion. The letters of Ribadda, governor of Byblos, beseeching the king to send him aid against the revolted sheikhs, are alternately pathetically pleading and indignant in tone. But the philosopher-king did nothing forcible, as is the wont of his kind, in such emergencies, and the wandering Khabiri, or Hebrews, and the Hittites waged war in the land as if Pharaoh was not. The Amorite princes, Abdashista and Aziru, his son, revolted in

Campaign in Palestine

Northern Palestine in concert with the Hittites and with Hakama, the Mitanian prince of Kadesh, on the Orontes, in spite of the efforts of Ribadda. In the south, Abdkhiba, the governor of Jerusalem, and Yankhamu, the viceroy of the Delta, were powerless against the Khabiri. The Egyptian general Bikhuru could do nothing: he did not know friend from foe, and his troops sacked Ribadda's city. It was about this time that the kingdom of Mitani came to an end. Shubbiluliuma, the Hittite, had taken from it the lands on the western side of the Euphrates, which since Thothmes III.'s day it had held under the suzerainty of Egypt. Tushratta, the king, was murdered, and his son, Mattinaza, as we learn from the documents lately discovered at Boghaz Köi, placed himself under the protection of Shubbiluliuma.

RAMESES I.
From a statue in the Turin Museum.

The pressure of the Hittite advance had already become perceptible on the Egyptian frontiers. The Bedouins, encamped along the eastern outworks, were speedily driven away by the army of Seti when, in his reign, the Egyptians deemed themselves sufficiently reorganised to reconquer their lost dominion; they also suffered a general defeat at an unknown stronghold in the south of Palestine by Seti I. All serious opposition seems then to have been overcome as far north as Carmel. Even Tyre delivered the customary tribute. While advancing northward in the direction of Galilee, Seti encountered a Hittite army, led by Mursilis, son of Shubbiluliuma, which he attacked and drove back, in the forest region Yenuam. The Pharaoh turned his victory to advantage by procuring a supply of wood for building purposes, which he commanded the petty chiefs of the neighbourhood to cut for him in all haste. After occupying two fortresses in the Lebanon mountains, and threatening Kadesh, he marched homeward. He was received with great demonstrations of homage by the high officials of Egypt assembled at the fortifications which guarded the entrance to Tjaru, near the modern Suez Canal. He had, in fact, successfully checked the Hittite advance. We also learn that Seti I. and his son began a war with the Libyans.

Mansell

RAMESES II.
Who made himself the most famous of the Ramessides, by appropriating credit for various achievements due to former Pharaohs.

The sharp contrast between the main characteristics of the Ramessides and those of the eighteenth dynasty first becomes definitely apparent in the son of Seti I. Rameses II. reigned sixty-seven years (about 1310–1243), much longer than any other Egyptian sovereign, if we except the ninety years of Pepi II. The account of his achievements set forth by his numerous and boastful proclamations was subsequently elaborated by legend. He was called by the Greeks, who obviously obtained their information from later Egyptian accounts, the great conqueror of the world, the law-giver and statesman, "Sesostris" by confusion with the Senusrets and Thothmes III., who vanquished the Scythians, Colchis, India, Arabia, and Libya. Rameses II. is now known to us as being nothing more than a ruler of average ability. He in no way deserves the title of "Great" which has been given to him, whereas Thothmes III. as certainly deserves it. Rameses II. was the first king to appropriate on an extensive scale the credit of building the monuments erected by former rulers, by erasing their names and substituting his own. In this case the motive was not hate, as with Akhenaten, but petty vanity.

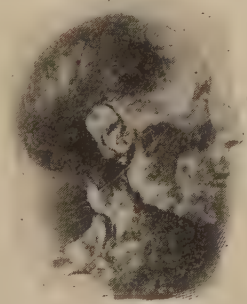
In all other respects Rameses II. pursued the policy of Seti I. The colonisation of

Nubia was continued, and at the end of his long reign there were prosperous towns where now remain only the ruined temples of Beit el-Walli, Wadi es-Sebua, and, above all, the celebrated structure of Abu Simbel. The Sesostris legend was first connected with this architectural wonder of Africa, which, with its numerous colossal statues, its graceful columns, and the perfection of its design and execution, marks the zenith of ancient Egyptian art, as far as rock-sculpture is concerned.

HEAD OF SETI I.
From a photograph of the mummy of this Pharaoh, who died over 3,200 years ago.

As is usually the case, the period of high achievement was followed by rapid decline. Side by side with edifices in Egypt proper, which in elegance of design are even superior to those of Abu Simbel, we find the remains of composite temples dating from the later years of the reign of Rameses II., which were hastily put together solely to create an effective impression from a distant point of view. The king's architectural zeal is mentioned both in the literature of classical antiquity and in the Old Testament. His activity in Thebes was almost boundless: the Ramesseum, dedicated as a temple of victory to Amon-Ra, and consequently of great value as an historical monument, was perhaps even excelled by the additions to the temple of Karnak, the state sanctuary, as well as by other improvements which the king made in his capital. Tanis and Memphis were equally rich in colossal edifices erected in his honour. Legend has also credited Rameses, and indeed other Egyptian rulers, with the temporary realisation of the old dream of a navigable canal from the Nile to the Red Sea. In short, Rameses II., on his own showing, was actually the sole creator of everything, and the Egypt which he left behind him bore throughout its length and breadth the impress of his usurping signet ring.

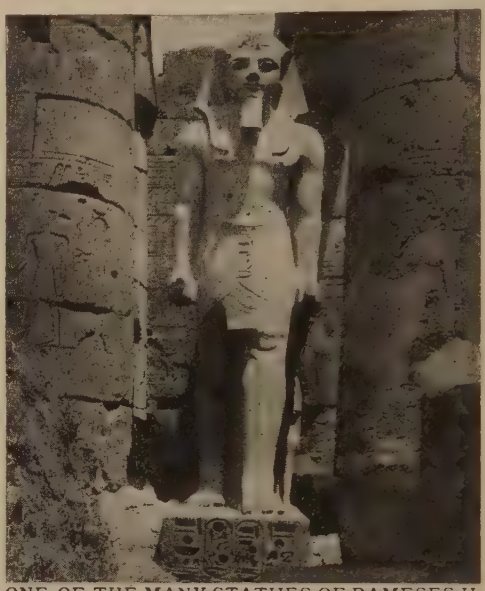
THE GOD HORUS GIVING LIFE TO SETI I.
Seti I., or Sethos, who ruled about ten years from 1310 B.C., was the first of the Ramessides of historical importance.



RAMESES II.
Who claimed to be the creator of everything Egyptian. Reproduced from the actual head of his mummy.

It was not unknown, however, even to his contemporaries, that the king had depended largely upon the wisdom of other men during his long reign. What Amenhotep the son of Hapu had been to Amenhotep III., Prince Kha-em-uaset was to his father, Rameses II. As legitimate son of the Pharaoh he occupied a number of high ecclesiastical offices, such as the high-priesthood of Ptah; he assisted his father in ceremonies connected with the ritual, and is said to have discovered sacred books—an impossibility at that time except for clever men—and in later times acquired the reputation of a mighty enchanter. In temporal affairs Setau, the viceroy of Kush, seems to have gained especial celebrity. On the other hand, Prince Meri-Atum, the son of the chief royal spouse Nefertari—called "Naptera" in the Boghaz Köi tablets—was provided with the position of high-priest of Heliopolis. He styles himself a judge over men, whom the king placed before both lands, and whose counsel would be found good. But inasmuch as the mother of Meri-Atum died long before Rameses, at which time Kha-em-uaset, the son of Queen Nefereset, may have risen to the height of his power, we may presume that the counsel of Meri-Atum, the judge over men, was not in every instance found good by Rameses.

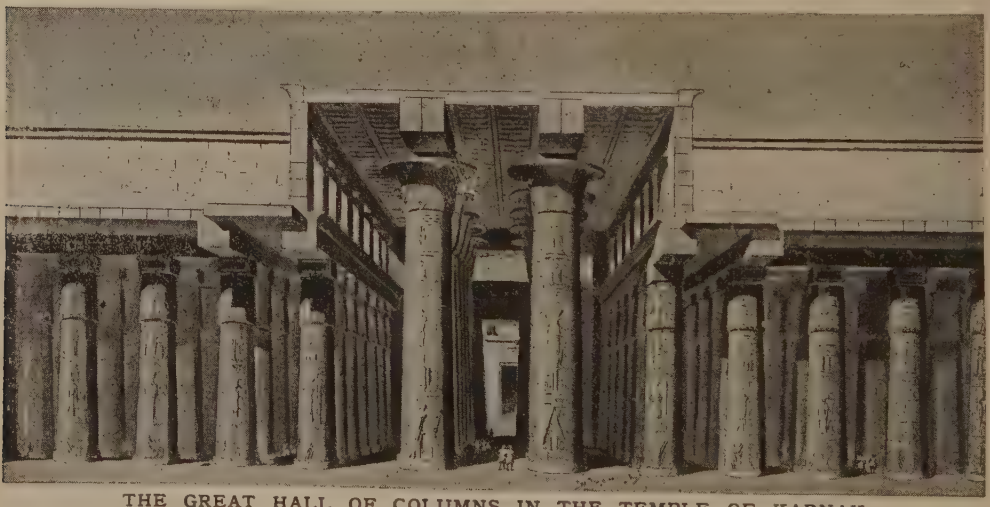
On the whole, it is probable that the leading personalities in the household and cabinet of Rameses were occasionally changed, in spite of the fact that they usually were his own sons. In an inscription at Abydos he credited himself with sixty sons, and in Wadi es-Sebua with as many as one hundred and eleven sons, together with thirty daughters. Toward the end of his reign his fourteenth son, Meneptah, was recognised as heir to the throne; no doubt the majority of the older princes had preceded the king to the grave. The mummy of Rameses has been recovered from Der el-Bahari. We are able to compare it with a statue representing him in the prime of life. The characteristic of these faces is the absence of that strained expression which betokens a vigorous intellectual activity in the features of men, for example, those of Seti; in this case we are rather reminded of a proud but kindly "serenissimus." The face of the mummy is that of a highly aristocratic, but not very intelligent, old man. The mummy of the prince-minister Kha-em-uaset was found in the tomb of Amen-hotep II.; and it has not yet been unrolled. There is a statue of him in the British Museum.



ONE OF THE MANY STATUES OF RAMESES II.

Rameses II. was the greatest forger in Egyptian history, for, though a man of but average ability, he acquired the title of "Great" by substituting on many monuments and inscriptions his own name for those of previous rulers.

What Rameses II. was unable to carry out in person was effected by the foundations which he established. The school for the future officials of state, conducted by the priesthood of the Theban Ramesseum, has left to us a considerable portion of its papyrus note-books, which were known almost one hundred years ago, "Select Papyri," which have now found a resting place in the museums of Europe. Boys who were destined for the higher offices of state were required to familiarise themselves with practical composition, writing, and with exercises in correspondence; hence our knowledge of the working of the state machinery under the Ramessides has



THE GREAT HALL OF COLUMNS IN THE TEMPLE OF KARNAK

The architectural zeal of Rameses II., apart from his dishonest claims to fame, was considerable, and this addition to the state sanctuary excelled perhaps all his other achievements. From a fine restoration by M. Charles Chipiez.

been greatly furthered by these papyri. They present us with the picture of a highly organised bureaucracy with all its corresponding disadvantages. The educated scribe considers himself a lord in the land; he looks upon the peasants, the sailors, and handicraftsmen as "asses," whom he had been appointed to drive. This overbearing superiority was naturally accompanied by strained relations between the officials themselves; disputes upon questions of salary are of constant occurrence.

The influence of foreigners steadily increased, and was already making itself felt in the written language, which begins to include words borrowed from the Semitic and other tongues. It was the court that

RAMESES II. STRIKING A NUBIAN CAPTIVE
From a painting in Rameses' temple at Abu Simbel.

SIEGE OF A MOUNTAIN FORT BY RAMESES II.
Rameses II. carried on many wars which, as in this painting from a Nubian temple, were always recorded as victorious.

set the fashion in language, where the mixed Egyptian of the favourite Syrian slaves of the Pharaoh, and the barbarisms of his foreign satellites, excited interest and were imitated accordingly. For the rest, the Egyptian scribes knew very well that they were only rendering homage to fashion by imitating the language and customs of the "hereditary enemy." Whenever the Pharaoh bent his terrible bow, to the dismay of the miserable Asiatics, the poets on the Nile proceeded to tune their lyres in expectation of the—invariably great—victory. A poem which has come down to us in a copy made by a certain Pentaueret, or Pentaur, describes how the king himself, in his chariot, begins the attack upon the Hittites with his troops drawn up in line of battle. Just as he had come to close quarters and was looking before him, he beheld 2,500 chariots of the enemy enclosing his own; but "there was with him no prince and no charioteer, no officer of the footman; they had abandoned him, and no one was there to fight beside him." Rameses II. escaped from his dangerous position by recalling to his father Amon the long list of his acts of piety toward him. Finally, the god in distant Thebes heard his prayer, and bethought him of the pylons, monuments, gifts, and honours which the pious king had enumerated. "I have called from the end of the land, and my voice has passed through Hermonthis. Ra hearkens

RAMESES ON AN ASIATIC CAMPAIGN
Rameses often "bent his bow to the terror of the miserable Asiatics,' a group of whom this painting depicts him in the act of striking

and appears, stretches forth his hand to me and says: 'Thou art not alone, for I am here, thy father; my hand is with thee. I am to thee more than hundreds of thousands, I the dispenser of victory, who loveth bravery!' Then I regained my courage, my heart rejoiced. Like Month I sent my arrows in all directions; like Baal, like the arrow of the plague, I came down upon them. And I found the 2,500 chariots laid low before my horses." The remainder of the enemy fled with great loss. Rameses long continued to tell the story of this brilliant exploit, and to hold it up before his troops as a shining example.

Amon Rescues Rameses

As a matter of fact, the Hittite struggle, which apparently broke out on his accession and continued with long intermissions until 1297-1296, ended in the practical result that Egypt was obliged to renounce whatever empire she had possessed in Syria. Rameses constantly gathered all his strength to give battle to the Hittites, whose military power was now far superior to his own. The poem above mentioned refers to a battle fought not far from the town of Kadesh in the fifth year of the king. In the previous year the Egyptian army had marched through Phœnicia. Evidence of this fact is an inscription of Rameses II. on the rocky bank of the Nahr el-Kelb, not far from Beirut, to which another was added in later times, perhaps in his tenth year.

The great engagement at Kadesh was probably the conclusion or the chief incident of an advance by which Rameses frustrated an attempt of the Hittites, under Mursitus, to push farther south. The Pharaoh's army was encamped in the south of the city, according to the inscriptions and reliefs in the temple at Luxor and in the Ramesseum; it was surrounded by a wall formed of the heavy shields of the infantry. But it does not appear to have been very well adapted for defence, owing to the disproportionate size of the baggage train. Amid the ox teams and sumpter asses were the king's tame lions. The battle ended with the defeat of the enemy's wing, which was driven across the Orontes. Many of the leaders and allies of the Hittite king were drowned or put to death in the flight. The Egyptians also must have suffered severe losses, which they were unable to conceal, and they soon set out on their homeward march.

The Battle of Kadesh

During the next two campaigns the advantage seems to have been on the side of the Hittites. Not until his eighth year did Rameses succeed in securing his occupation even of Palestine; he reconquered Askalon and several other fortified towns south of Lebanon, among them Dapur, situated in the highlands. The attitude of the Phœnician cities varied with the successes or failures of the Egyptians. Previously the Phœnicians had been among the most loyal of the Pharaoh's Asiatic subjects; however, the long duration of the war, together with the diminishing prospect of an ultimate Egyptian victory, no doubt weakened their fidelity.

When finally the Hittite king Khattusil succeeded to the throne on the death of his brother Mutallu, son of Mursilis, peace was made. Our knowledge of the terms is derived from an inscription upon the south wall of the great Hall of Columns in the Karnak temple. Unfortunately the copy is incomplete, owing to the omission of all paragraphs unfavourable to the Egyptians. Consequently we have in this copy not only the earliest instance of a treaty between nations, but also the results of a benevolent censorship, which passed over in silence that which it could not falsify. Numerous allusions are made to previous treaties which had been valid from ancient times until the reign of Mutallu and which Khattusil now renewed. The delimitation of the new frontier in Asia is missing, although the remainder of the agreement contains clauses which treat in detail of future support to be rendered by the contracting powers in the event of an attack upon either, and of the mode of dealing with deserters from both sides. It was also stipulated that in future the encroachments of individuals or communities upon the boundaries of either kingdom should not be permitted. Of her former Asiatic dominions, Egypt succeeded in retaining the cities of Phœnicia and Palestine south of the Lebanon. But the rise of the Palestinian kingdom of Judah deprived her, about a century later, of even this remnant of the conquests of Thothmes III. The last of the Ramesside Pharaohs seems to have had no possessions in Asia, except perhaps

Treaty With the Hittites

A PAGEANT OF ANCIENT EGYPT: RAMESES II., "THE GREAT," AND HIS LIONS IN PROCESSION THROUGH HIS ROYAL CITY

Gaza, beyond the eastern wall at the Bitter Lakes. The only subsequent reference to Egyptian dependencies in Asia is dated in the third year of Meneptah, about 1240; it is a short list of travellers who passed the frontier guard, in which mention is made of royal embassies to Tyre and of the work of Egyptian officials in Palestine. This important treaty ushered in a long period of peace. Khattusil and the king of Kode (the North Syrian coast) subsequently paid a formal visit to Egypt, where they were received with great honour by Rameses II. Although Rameses had married Khattusil's daughter, who received the name Urmaa-Neferu-Ra, according to the then existing conceptions of good faith between sovereigns, the king of the Hittites ventured to pay his visit only under the protection of a powerful escort, a portion of which immediately occupied the place of landing, while the remainder accompanied him on his journey inland.

Hittite Visit to Egypt

We have a record of the visit of Khattusil even in far Nubia, where Rameses sculptured a record of his coming at Abu Simbel, including the departure of the Hittite guest, who is speeded on his way to his northern home in Cappadocia with the hope that neither snow nor ice will hinder his passage over the mountain passes of the Taurus. Abu Simbel is a curious place in which to find a mention of snow and ice. That the treaty with Rameses was an offensive and defensive alliance is proved by this, no less than by the fact that the goddess of Kadesh was worshipped in Egypt; that grain was supplied "in order to nourish this Khetaland"; and finally by a subsequent legend, according to which Rameses II., while engaged in a victorious campaign in Naharina, married "the daughter of the great one of Bekhten, Neferu-Ra." When her sister, Bentresh, was seized by an illness, he sent the god Khuns from Thebes to Bekhten; there the people insisted on retaining the wonder-working image, until it finally freed itself by a further series of miracles. Bekhten is presumably another name for the Khetaland, Cappadocia, not Bactria, as used to be thought. We have very interesting evidence as to the relations of Rameses II. with the Hittites in the cuneiform tablets which have lately been found by Winckler at Boghaz Köi, the site of the Hittite capital, Khatti, the Greek Pteria, east of the Halys. These are diplomatic despatches of the same kind as those from Tell el-Amarna. Even a duplicate of the famous treaty between Rameses and Khattusil is said to have been found. This will give us the "Hittite text," so that we can see the reverse of the medal; audiebimus alteram partem! In these letters the Egyptian king is called "Uashmuariya satepuariya Riyamasesa Maiamana," which gives us approximately the real pronunciation of his name, which we conventionally write "Usermara setepenra Rameses meri-Amon."

Wonder-Working Image

Rameses II. died at an advanced age, and was succeeded by his son, Meneptah, himself no longer a youth, who cannot have reigned more than ten years (1243 to 1233). Although far from a military genius, the course of events during his reign involved Egypt in a severe war, which was conducted to a brilliantly successful issue. The Libyans and the Shardana, who probably had always been in the habit of passing through Libya to take service as mercenaries under the Pharaohs, rose in alliance against Egypt. Marmaiu, the Libyan king, succeeded at the same time in allying himself with a horde of pirates from Greece and Asia Minor, composed of Lycians, "Turisha, Akaivasha, and Shakalusha," who had "constantly made inroads into Egyptian territory, sailing up the river, and remaining for days and months in the land."

Brilliant Successes in War

They advanced as far as Heliopolis, but the god Ptah appeared to Meneptah in a dream and promised him victory; in fact, his army succeeded in routing the dreaded allies in a hard-fought battle near the city of Piari. Marmaiu fled before the final attack of the Egyptians, and left his camp, together with vast quantities of plunder, to the victors, who pursued him with a troop of cavalry, the first of which we hear in Egyptian history, until he finally escaped under cover of the night. More than 9,000 prisoners and a like number of dead bore witness to the military strength of the allies. At the same time the Shardana, serving in the Egyptian army, did not hesitate to fight bravely against their countrymen on this occasion. The suffix -sha is an ethnic termination, which occurs in Lycian in the form of -aza or -azi. The Turisha, Akaivasha, and Shaka-

lusha were probably Tyrrhenian, Achaian, and Sagalassian pirates. Meneptah united Nubia more firmly to Egypt by a campaign against the south, and again invaded Palestine with effect, as is proved by a granite stele discovered in Thebes by Petrie in 1896. Here, for the first time in an Egyptian text, mention is made of Israel, as Isiral, directly as a people, definitely settled in Palestine, which they had had plenty of time to become since the days when their ancestors, the Khabiri, had ravished Palestine in the time of Akhenaten. Till lately it was supposed that the exodus of the Israelites took place in the reign of this king Meneptah. There never were, however, any real grounds for this supposition, which is a mere guess. It is far more probable that the Exodus is really the same event as the expulsion of the Hyksos, as Josephus thought.

The warlike deeds of Meneptah were, however, of but small avail to Egypt. On his death the kingdom was seriously endangered by untimely quarrels as to the succession. His son, or, more probably, grandson, judging from the youthful appearance of the best of his excellent portraits, subsequently succeeded him as Seti II. After came his son, Amenmeses, and shortly afterward an ambitious grandee named Bai seized it for his own candidate, Si-Ptah, a brother of Amenmeses who married his sister, Ta-Usert. Bai seems to have administered the kingdom. From a statement of the revenue of Rameses III., drawn up some sixty years later, it appears that Seti II. and the older line of the Ramessides suffered under "years of want." The Nile god withheld his blessings and plunged the kingdom into misery. The nobles, who were already practically independent and continually quarelling, "put one another to death in their insolence and pride; they did what they pleased, for they had no ruler."

Years of Want

MUMMY OF RAMESES III. This small, rather hard-looking man was the last great Pharaoh of the New Empire of Ancient Egypt.

In the meantime a Syrian sheikh took advantage of the confusion. He invaded the country, overthrew the petty princes, and gradually made the once powerful land tributary to himself. We are acquainted neither with the name of this Syrian ruler, which was formerly incorrectly held to be "Arsu," nor with the situation and extent of his Asiatic possessions; apparently we have here to deal only with a temporary supremacy, the creation of which was facilitated by the general disorder in Egypt. Shortly before the year 1200 the Syrian conquerors themselves became destitute and began to plunder the temples; "they used the gods as they had used men, and ceased to make offerings." This treatment finally spurred the priests to work for the restoration of the kingdom.

Egypt Conquered By Syria

"And the gods installed Setnakht, their son, who had issued from their members, as lord of the land. He was as the god Set in his anger; he restored the whole land to order from uproar; he slew the enemies who dwelt therein." This is practically all that we know of the founder of the twentieth dynasty, the line of the later Ramessides. Setnakht himself was probably a scion of the older line.

The restoration of Egypt, however, was far from complete. The majority of the temples still awaited the fulfilment of the divine promises. Half of the Delta belonged to the Libyans, and the former masters of the country, who had been driven into Syria, could scarcely have resigned themselves to the change when the liberator left the scene of his exploits, the details of which are in any case unknown. Rameses III. (1200–1168), who succeeded him, had already shared his father's government, and during the first four years of his reign enjoyed an interval of comparative peace. The recruiting of Libyans and Shardana for the Egyptian army seems now to have been carried on with great activity. This in itself tended to relieve the tension upon the western frontier. Perhaps the subjugation of "the mighty one, Kush," whose name occurs at the beginning of a later list of defeated opponents, also took place at this time. Thus, although Kush had remained under the government of an Egyptian viceroy, it is evident that

subsequently to the reign of Seti II. the first of a series of changes, ending in the independence of Ethiopia, took place. While the kingdom of the Pharaohs was visibly increasing in power, the countries of Syria were busily engaged in defending themselves against new invaders; consequently the Libyans were obliged to make their attempt against Egypt in 1195 unassisted, "but their schemes were broken and turned against them." Before the various tribes were able to unite in full force they were intercepted by a clever disposition of the Egyptian forces and dispersed with great loss. The attacks of the last of the Libyan princes ended in flight before the troops of Rameses III., by which time the enemies' losses amounted collectively to more than 12,500.

RAMESES III. AND HIS QUEEN NEFRARI

Reproduced from two splendidly coloured portraits copied by M. Champollion, from the walls of a Nubian temple.

The effects of this defeat were still felt by the Libyans when, in the eighth year of the reign, about 1192 B.C., the storm which had long been threatening from Asia approached the eastern frontier of Egypt.

RAMESES III., THE VICTORIOUS, IN HIS CHARIOT

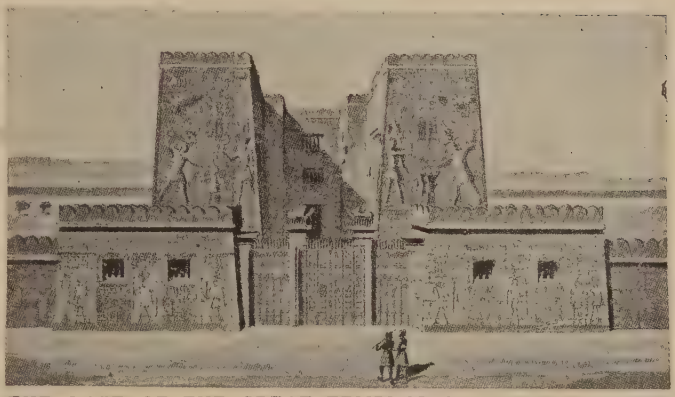
Rameses III. was almost as great a warrior and conqueror as Thothmes III.; he rescued Egypt from Syria and recalled the glories of the New Empire.

The attack was again made by the Turisha and Shakalusha, now materially strengthened by the addition of new peoples—the Pulesti, or Philistines; the Zakkar, or Cretans of Zakro (Teukrians ?); Danuna, or Danaans (*na* is also an ethnic suffix in Lycian); and Vashash (Axians from Crete ?), who had come from their distant coasts; and finally the Shardana of the sea, that is to say, robber bands belonging to this western nation, who had been unable to maintain themselves in Asia, and had therefore joined the oncoming host. Although the Egyptian artists were occasionally careless in matters of detail, nevertheless a comparison of the drawings in which the Shardana appear shows that their national headdress was a round white helmet, with the horns of the moon branching from each side; when they entered the service of the Pharaoh, a spike was added to the helmet, terminating in a metal disc, as it were the badge of the sons of the sun. The Turisha and Shakalusha were probably neighbours and relatives of the Lycians, while as early as the time of Amenhotep III. the Shardana and Danuna are mentioned as mercenaries on the shores of Palestine, and also as settlers there. The Pulesti, the Philistines of the Old Testament, and the Zakkar seem to have been Cretan tribes who had settled on the coast of Palestine. This agrees with the old tradition of the Cretan origin of the Philistines. We find Solomon's guards called Cherethim (Cretans) and Pelishtim (Philistines); so that we have the same Cretan tribes acting as the Varangians of the Israelitish kings as they had a century before for the Pharaohs. Under the twenty-first dynasty the Zakkar are still mentioned as pirates on the Palestinian coast.

This mixed horde of Cretans and other folk from the Ægean and Asia Minor, after subduing Alashya and Kode (Cilicia), the kingdom of the Hittites, and finally the Amorites, assembled its forces in their territories for an invasion

of Egypt by land and sea. Their well-manned fleet, consisting of long, narrow sailing vessels, arrived first, and endeavoured to force an entrance into one of the eastern mouths of the Nile. But the fleet and army of the Pharaoh had concentrated in the threatened district under his personal command, and were in a position to fall upon the enemy at the first favourable opportunity. Driven towards the coast by the Egyptian navy, and there received with showers of arrows by the land forces, the enemy suffered a severe defeat, losing many ships. The remainder were in no condition to continue the struggle, and disappeared from Egyptian waters; this is the first great naval battle known to history. The tactics of King Rameses III. recalled the skill of Thothmes III., the great conqueror, and although the strategy of the former was confined to a smaller compass, it in no way suffers by the comparison. The land forces were immediately despatched to Asia, and overtook the main body of the enemy in Southern Phœnicia, not far from the former frontier of Egypt. The peoples of the north, for the most part armed for hand-to-hand conflict, drew up their ox-waggons, in which they placed their families, after the manner of modern gipsies, into squares, forming a zareba of waggons behind which the shields of the defenders made a further bulwark. The battle was won by the Egyptians, chiefly owing to the powers of the Tuhirs, or "mighty men," of the Shardana in Egyptian service, who, like mercenaries all the world over, had no scruples about fighting against their kith and kin. But in spite of the severe losses sustained by the enemy, especially in prisoners, they remained sufficiently numerous to reconquer within a short time the coast of Shephelha, between Gaza and Carmel, which Rameses III. had recently triumphantly defended. In the meanwhile the Pharaoh followed up his momentary success, and turned against the Amorites of Lebanon to punish them for their alliance with the enemy. Tidings now arrived of a threatened movement upon the Libyan frontier, and when Rameses III. withdrew his army in consequence, the last remains of Egyptian supremacy in Syria disappeared. However, the blow delivered by the king against his foes on the west, under their sole prince Mashashar, the son of Kapur, in the eleventh year of his reign, was only the more severe. The Libyans were completely subjugated; fixed settlements were assigned to their chiefs under the supervision of Egyptian officials.

The last great temple was now built in Thebes, the Ramesseum, serving as its model. It is the funerary temple of the king. Its imposing ruins now bear the name of a former Coptic village, Medinet Habu. Our knowledge of the exploits of its royal builder is derived



THE LAST OF THE GREAT TEMPLES OF ANCIENT EGYPT

A restoration, by M. Chipiez, of the splendid funerary temple built by Rameses III. at Medinet Habu. It was the last of the great temples of Ancient Egypt.

THE FIRST GREAT NAVAL BATTLE

About 1192 B.C. a horde of Asiatics, including Philistines and Cretans, attempted an invasion of Egypt, but were defeated by the Egyptian navy at a mouth of the Nile, in the first great naval battle known to history.

from the rich inscriptions, and especially from the decorations on the walls. These vigorous drawings often illuminate for us the meagre words of the text.

The summary of the reign of Rameses III. concludes with the words: "I made the country to be inhabited by people of all classes and of both sexes. I made green trees to grow and to cast their shadows in all places. I brought it to pass that the women of Egypt could go about freely without molestation from scoundrels. During my reign foot soldiers and chariot warriors lived orderly lives in their towns; the Shardana could roll about on their backs, drink and be merry. They no longer had to march to the posts; their wives and children were with them. Every man was filled with loyalty and courage, for I stood there in power to protect them with the terror of my name."

A Reign of Peace and Plenty

Nevertheless, we learn from the papyrus records of a secret prosecution of conspirators in the palace of Rameses III. that certain members of his court formed a plot to set up a new king, who would then be compelled to bestow wealth and high offices upon other people—that is to say, the conspirators. A harem lady of high rank, Tii, the mother of a prince, was at the head of the conspiracy, which was secretly furthered by the chief eunuch and other persons in authority. Letters from the royal harem to a commander of troops in Ethiopia, who was to march to Thebes and there seize the unsuspecting Rameses, seem to have been delivered to the wrong person; and thus the restorer of Egypt was saved by chance from a fate unworthy of him. It also appears that even after this timely discovery his most faithful adherents regarded him as a lost man. But the victor in so many dangerous campaigns proved capable of grappling with this hidden danger. The details of the trial are interesting for the history of law and of civilisation. All the conspirators of rank were examined under fictitious names before a court chosen by the king from his own retainers, while the official judges belonging to the bureaucracy presided only at the trials of lesser conspirators, slaves, maid-servants, harem guards, etc., who had merely acted as messengers or worked for concealment. The son of Tii, who was probably the candidate for the throne, was forced to commit suicide; in other cases the verdict was paraphrased, "He was found guilty and his punishment was carried out"—probably the same penalty elsewhere referred to as "the great punishment of death, of which the gods say, 'Let it be executed upon him.'" Under ordinary circumstances the courts of Ancient Egypt could only pass sentence, and were not allowed to inflict the penalties, the execution of which lay in the hands of the Pharaoh alone; consequently their extraordinary powers were derived from a verbal authorisation.

A Secret Court Trial

Rameses III. died on his throne. When the mummy of this small, well-proportioned, rather hard-looking man was conveyed to the valley of the tombs of the kings the last great Pharaoh of the New Empire had gone to his rest. He was succeeded by no less than nine kings, all bearing his name, none of whom was of any historical importance, and several of whom were his sons. The exhausted dynasty of the later Ramessides was allowed to retain the throne solely in consequence of the deep-rooted conviction that only a legitimate Pharaoh could bring prosperity to his country. Perhaps the high-priests of Amon, who were already practically independent in the south, hoped to become supreme in the Delta, where an equally independent nomarch guarded the frontiers.

The Last Great Pharaoh

The numerous official documents of the period throw some light upon the condition of the working classes at a time when wages and money were unknown. Payments in kind by the state, as well as by the temples, to their numerous bands of workmen were delivered to the labourers collectively, not individually. If the foreman happened to be brutal or knavish, the division of payment was unpunctual, and want, misery, and vexation resulted. Not all labourers were bondsmen; but probably, on the whole, the freemen were worse off than the slaves.

For the rest, long intervals of cessation from toil were willingly agreed to, and the most remarkable excuses seem to have been readily accepted from individuals who had taken a holiday. Starving workmen were in the habit of enforcing the payment of arrears of wages by noisy demonstrations and insurrections if the scribe persisted in forgetting the time when their claims were due.

DAYS OF THE LAST DYNASTIES

WITH the accession of Smendes, the first of the kings resident at Tanis, begins Manetho's twenty-first or Tanite dynasty, so called from the name of this capital. Our historical knowledge of the Egypt of this period is practically nil. Herihor, who was perhaps a grandson of Rameses VI., and his successors, ruled in Upper Egypt as autocratic high priests, although at the same time they at first recognised the Tanite kings as legitimate Pharaohs and allied themselves to the royal family by marriage. Manetho enumerates seven Tanites: Smendes (Nisbanebded), 26 years; Psusennes I. (Psbukhanu, "the star appearing in the city"), 41 or 46 years; Nephelkheres, 4 years; Amenophthis (Amenemapet), 19 years; Osokhor, 6 years; Psinakhes, 9 years; and Psusennes (Psbukhanu) II., 14 or 35 years—a list in which some of the names are more correct than the number of years assigned to the several sovereigns.

Rule of the High Priests

In Thebes, Herihor was succeeded for a short time as high priest by his son Piankhi. Pinetjem I., however, son of Piankhi, and husband of the Tanite princess Hent-taui, finally assumed the royal insignia. Menkheper-Ra, the son of Pinetjem I., appears first as the high priest of Amon and later as king, at which time the spiritual office devolved upon his brother Masaherta. His reign was a long one. We also hear of princesses who were "women of god" of Amon, and princes who filled lower positions in the service of the same deity. It follows that during the twenty-first dynasty Upper and Lower Egypt were for a time ruled by two Pharaohs and two high priests. Consequently, a great sanctuary of Amon must have then been established in Northern Egypt independent of that at Thebes, in the vicinity of which the Tanites constructed their tombs, although it is not probable that the Tanite high priest could permanently have filled the office side by side with a descendant of Herihor of equal rank. The supposition that there was a temple of Amon in Lower Egypt helps us to understand how it came about that a sanctuary subsequently famous was established in the Libyan oasis of Siwah.

The last ruler of the twenty-first dynasty seems to have made an attempt to restore the authority of Egypt in Asia. According to Hebrew tradition, Solomon married a daughter of the Pharaoh, receiving as a dowry the Canaanite city Gezer, which had been conquered by his father-in-law. Chronology shows that this transaction can be attributed only to the above-named personalities. But that Egypt remained at that time for almost a century and a half at peace with all nations is not probable. All architectural work ceased. About the year 1000, even the outhouses of the Rammeseum had become so dilapidated that their site was used as a burying-ground. The temples of Der el-Bahari were treated in the same way. The Pharaohs of the twenty-first dynasty, in spite of their ecclesiastical veneer, ingloriously gave up the struggle with the robbers of the tombs of the ancient kings. Finally the threatened mummies were hidden in the cleft in the rock above Der el-Bahari, which was enlarged for their reception; and here the bodies of Thothmes, Seti, and Rameses lay undisturbed for almost 3,000 years. Finally the secret of the whereabouts of the gallery and sepulchral chamber was obtained from the fellahin, and the contents of this hiding-place were removed to the museum at Bulak.

End of the 21st Dynasty

For a long time a hereditary commander of mercenaries, descended from a Libyan royal family, had enjoyed great influence in Bubastis. Ever since the Shardana had disappeared from the service of the successors of Rameses III. their Libyan comrades, more especially the warriors of the Mashawasha, not only formed the nucleus of the imperial army, but now prepared to resume possession of the Delta by migration. Nemart, commandant of

Mercenaries Come to the Throne

Bubastis, "the great of the great," son of a Tanite princess, married a relative of the royal dynasty. A son was born to them, named Sheshonk. He, again, as well as his son Osorkon, married daughters of Psusennes II., and thus looked upon the throne of Egypt as assured to his descendants. Jeroboam had already found protection at his residence when fleeing from Solomon. But as events moved more rapidly in Palestine than in Egypt, the war between Rehoboam, Solomon's successor, and the adherents of Jeroboam was carried on for some years before the twenty-second dynasty of the Bubastites ascended the throne of Egypt.

Dynasty of the Libyans

King Sheshonk (about 930 B.C.), the Shishak of the Old Testament, began a career of conquest immediately upon his accession. The greater part of a list of cities and provinces in Palestine conquered by him, probably about 930, has been preserved in Karnak. Jerusalem must have stood among the twenty-three names which are to-day illegible, for the Old Testament expressly mentions that Shishak took away the treasures of Solomon. Of the remaining 133 names, many belong to Northern Israel, whence it is to be concluded that the victory of Jeroboam over Judah was chiefly due to Egyptian support. How long the two Israelite states continued to pay tribute to Egypt is unknown; according to the later Jewish view, thirty years.

Although the Libyans of Bubastis as commanders of the Egyptian army had succeeded in making good their claims to the double crown, and had begun their rule of 170 years with a brilliant campaign in Asia, Egypt continued to decay still more rapidly under their government. The kings built temples and monuments in Memphis and the Delta cities, awakened anew the memory of the Ramessides, and occasionally called their younger sons or cousins "royal children of Rameses"; otherwise, the customs of the Tanites were retained. Sheshonk I., whose favourite wife Karama also bore the title of "god's wife," appointed his son Aupuat high-priest of Amon, according to the precedent laid down by Pinetjem. Ethiopia began more directly to menace Upper Egypt. We know practically nothing of Osorkon I. (900 B.C.), and his successors Takeloth I. and Osorkon II.

Egypt's Decay Unchecked

Takeloth II., who succeeded Sheshonk II., reigned about 850, and spent the first eleven years of his reign struggling with insurrections in all parts of Egypt; subsequently he commanded his son to restore the worship of Amon in Thebes. Apparently the later years of his reign were also disturbed by rebellions.

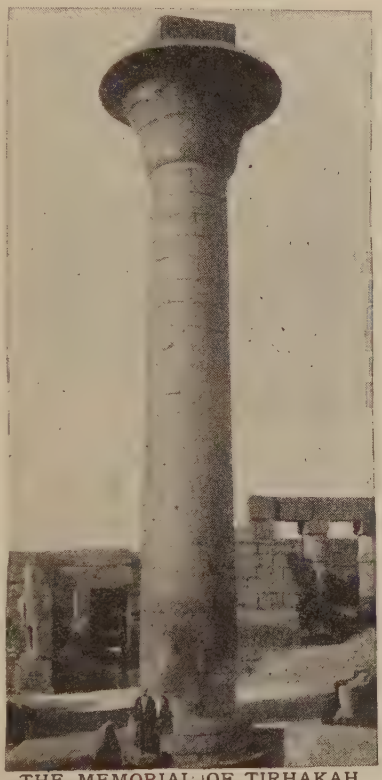
It is certain that at about this time the various Libyan governors of cities, who were equals of the king, began to look upon themselves as independent. According to the inscriptions in the Apis tombs, which are of great importance to the chronology of this period, Sheshonk III. reigned fifty-two years—that is to say, until about 780. The list of his deeds inscribed in the "Bubastic corner" of the temple of Karnak concludes, however, at his twenty-ninth year. Hence it may be inferred that Thebes fell into the hands of the Ethiopians about the year 800.

The last two kings of the dynasty, Pimai and Sheshonk IV. (750 B.C.), had to fight for the possession of Middle Egypt; and the army of Sheshonk once advanced as far as the island of Sehel at the first cataract. The colonial kingdom in Ethiopia had been really independent of Egypt for centuries. The kings of the eighteenth dynasty had founded a sort of priestly colony of Amon-worshippers from Thebes at Napata under the shadow of Gebel Barkal. This always maintained friendly relations with the mother-temples at Thebes; and when the priest kings of the twenty-first dynasty were finally deposed by Sheshonk and the Bubastides, there is no doubt that Napata received members of the dispossessed family, who erected an Ethiopian kingship for themselves there. From these exiles was descended Piankhi, the conqueror of Egypt. With the aid of the Bubastic dynasty the kingdom fell apart into a number of independent principalities, whose chiefs usually assumed the insignia of pharaohs. At the beginning of the campaign of the Ethiopian king Piankhi against Lower Egypt, about the year 730, the state of the country was somewhat as follows. In Saïs, a king Tefnakht had arisen, who added Memphis to his territory and made preparations for the restoration of the empire of the Pharaohs. Of four other "kings," three were in all probability members of the Bubastic dynasty—Osorkon of Bubastis, Aupuat

Independence of the Colonies

of Tent-remu, and Nemart of Shmun or Hermopolis Magna. They attached themselves "like dogs"—according to Piankhi—to Tefnakht, while the fourth king, Pefdudubast of Herakleopolis, or Ahnas, favoured the Ethiopians. Fifteen additional adherents of Tefnakht were for the most part mercenary commanders, in possession of the town districts; two called themselves hereditary princes. In Letopolis the high priest of Horus was supreme. This condition of government is termed by Manetho the "twenty-third dynasty," to which he assigns four kings in succession—Petubastis, Osorkho, Psammus, and Zet.

According to a long inscription on Mount Barkal, near Napata, in which the events of his life are set down with an accuracy unknown to Egyptian chroniclers, Piankhi must have advanced in person into Egypt in the twenty-eighth year of his reign; therefore his rule in Egypt dates from about 750. Puarma and Lamersekni, the two Ethiopian military governors installed in Upper Egypt by Piankhi, had been defeated by Nemart, prince of Shmun, while at the same time Tefnakht threatened Herakleopolis. Upon the receipt of this news, Piankhi at once set out in person, celebrated the festival of the new year before Amon in Thebes, and then hastened "to let the lands of Lower Egypt taste the flavour of my finger." After a stubborn defence Nemart was forced to surrender in Hermopolis. The conqueror, who was received with great ceremony on entering the town, did not trouble himself about Nemart's wives and court attendants but immediately examined the plunder, setting aside a portion of it for Amon. "His Majesty then went to the stables and to the foal paddocks. He perceived that these animals must have suffered from hunger, and said [to Nemart]: 'By my oath it seems to me that the most evil of thy sins is that of allowing the horses to all starve!'". The fortifications at the entrance of the Fayyum were also unable to hold out. On the other hand, incited by Tefnakht, Memphis, which was surrounded by new walls, resisted until it was stormed from the river side. How Piankhi straightway set a guard over the temple of Ptah and made a pilgrimage to it, and to the temple of Ra at Heliopolis, is described in the inscription with an attention to detail which has proved of great value to the study of religious ceremonial, and also throws considerable light upon the bigotry of Ethiopian pietism. Aupuat and several petty princes had already appeared with tribute before Piankhi in Memphis, and when the conqueror advanced to Athribis a general submission followed. Tefnakht alone insisted that he should be permitted to take the oath of allegiance at home in Saïs before the emissaries of Piankhi.



THE MEMORIAL OF TIRHAKAH
Tirhakah, who gained the throne by force, was the first to struggle seriously with the Assyrians for the possession of Egypt.

During the few years of obscurity which followed the personal retirement of Piankhi to Napata, Tefnakht's son, Bocchoris or Bokenranef, regained authority in Lower Egypt, with his capital at Memphis, contemporaneously with the rule of king Kashta, the successor of Piankhi, in the south. Bocchoris was, according to the Greek historians of later times, a wise lawgiver and sagacious judge; others represent him as an avaricious and ungodly weakling. Manetho asserts that he was the sole representative of the twenty-fourth dynasty, and that he was taken captive and burnt alive by Sabako.

Shabaka, or Sabako, the second successor of Piankhi, succeeded in re-subjugating the whole country about 715. Amenerdis, the sister of Sabako, is constantly mentioned in Thebes as the "woman of god" of Amon; she was the daughter of King Kashta, and appears as queen regent and consort of a younger Piankhi, who also seems to have become king. Manetho

places Sabako as the founder of the twenty-fifth dynasty, eventually known as "Ethiopian." Circumstances seem to have brought him into collision with Sargon of Assyria, for he appears as the ally of Hanno of Gaza, and as the Seveh of the Bible, on whose help the last king of Northern Israel thought he might rely. Sabako's son and successor, Sebichos—in Egyptian, Shabataka—built a small storehouse on the sacred lake at Karnak, where his portrait is still to be seen ornamented with a turban cap and earrings, in the usual Nubian style. Amon-Ra promises to place all foreign countries beneath the sole of his foot, an undertaking not likely to be performed in view of the Assyrian advance in Asia. The victory of Sennacherib at Altaku in the year 701 was gained over a confederacy which had long previously been united for the relief of Jerusalem, and with which the Egyptians can hardly have failed to co-operate. Herodotus relates a pious legend of the "Sethos priest of Hephæstus," the successor of Sabako. Sennacherib is said to have marched against Egypt, which had been left defenceless by a mutiny of her soldiers; but field mice, sent by the gods, gnawed all the leather work of the weapons and the bow-strings by night in the camp before Pelusium, and Sethos was saved. Mice, and still more rats, usually precede an outbreak of plague, and in these details the story is in harmony with the Biblical account of the saving of Jerusalem from Sennacherib.

Supremacy of the Ethiopians

Taharka, or Tirhakah, was the first ruler to enter seriously upon the struggle against the Assyrians for the possession of Egypt. He was a son of Piankhi III., and grandson of Kashta. It is probable that he deposed, and probably killed, Shabataka about 693 B.C.—his collision with Esarhaddon, the dissolution of the Ethiopian monarchy north of Assouan, and the capture of Thebes by the army of Ashurbanipal in 668, was detailed in our history of Assyria. The supremacy of the Sargonide kings of Assyria, from 671, was of no long duration. Ashurbanipal proposed to execute his authority in the Nile valley from so far a distance as Nineveh by means of a numerous body of town governors and nomarchs, twenty of whom were specially created by the great king. These form Herodotus's "Dodekarchy."

Struggle with Assyria

When the plunderers of Thebes retreated, Prince Nekau of Saïs and Memphis found success much more nearly within his grasp than had Tefnakht a century before, but he was prevented from seizing his opportunity by death.

His son Psametik—probably pronounced Psamatiko; Greek, Psammetichos—found very little difficulty in making himself "lord of both lands." He continued to pay tribute to the Assyrians, and possibly rendered other services in view of this special opportunity. In return, he received forthwith the reinforcements which he required to repulse the advance of Tanut-Amen—called by the Assyrians Tandamane—the successor of Taharka, who had been expelled to Nubia by the Assyrians. Shepenapet, an Ethiopian princess and a niece of Amenerdis, continued to rule as "god's wife" in Thebes under Psametik I.; hence it appears that he was anxious to promote a good understanding with Ethiopia. However, an indispensable preliminary was the acknowledgment of the new king's daughter Nitocris, or Neitakert, as the future successor to the throne. Although the majority of the petty princes of Egypt may have been inclined to support Psametik, the remainder could easily have combined to do him a mischief. The further Ashurbanipal pushed his eastern campaigns, the higher, in the opinion of the confederated petty kings of Egypt, rose the prospects of a restoration of the "balance of power," a primary condition of which was naturally the recall of the Ethiopian kings.

Petty Kings of Egypt

Psametik could expect no help from Libya. That narrow strip of land, having relieved itself of all its superfluous population by over-sea emigration and fruitless attacks on Egypt, had become much weakened; what is now the territory of Barka had been colonised by Greeks in the eighth century B.C.; the Greek city of Cyrene now dominated the inhabitants of the interior, who no longer looked to Egypt as an overlord who might demand assistance from them in war. The Cyrenaica was now a Greek state, with the usual Greek city-constitution in Cyrene. During the eighth century B.C., the Nile delta had constantly been visited by the trading ships of the prosperous Greek towns in Asia Minor; to this fact is due the more accurate knowledge which we possess of the

GIRLS DANCING TO THE PIPE AT A FEAST IN ANCIENT EGYPT

GRAPHIC PICTURE OF A FOWLER SNARING WILD DUCKS IN THE PAPYRUS MARSHES

A DOMESTIC SCENE: GOOSEHERD AND A GROUP OF SERVANTS MAKING OBEISANCE

Photos by Mansell

AN ART REVIVAL IN ANCIENT EGYPT SHOWN IN THE TOMB PAINTINGS OF 1000 B.C.

Ethiopian conquest, of the liberation by means of Asiatic intervention, and of the "rule of the twelve kings" mentioned by Herodotus. At the present moment an alliance with this foreign people was the more attractive, inasmuch as they had been united into a strong kingdom under Gyges. Reinforcements of Ionian and Carian—that is, Lydian—troops soon enabled Psametik to rid himself of the burdensome city governors and nomarchs. The supremacy of Assyria disappeared with their expulsion about 660 B.C.

The Assyrians Expelled

The empire which a favourable conjunction of circumstances in Further Asia enabled Psametik I. of Saïs (664 to 610) to found endured for about 140 years, and bears only a superficial resemblance to the Egypt of the Pharaohs. The influence of Hellenism during this period and under the Persian supremacy made for progress on new lines. These northern foreigners whom Psametik settled at that time in Bubastis and on the Bolbitine mouth of the Nile in the "Milesian camp"—that is, bazaar—proved a valuable support to the new Egyptian dynasty. The old Phœnician-Semitic influence, which had never made for much improvement, was replaced by the far higher and more civilised influence of Greek ideas.

At first, indeed, the anti-Semitic reaction took the form of a return to the "good old days," when the Egyptian was an Egyptian, the "golden age" of the pyramid-builders, for inspiration not only in art but also in national life generally. This ultra-nationalism naturally militated against Greek influence, but, on the other hand, Greek influence was the only foreign influence that just at this time the Egyptians would have admitted at all. And, no doubt to their surprise, the Egyptian priests found that the Greeks were not all traders and warriors, but possessed philosophers and wise men who were profoundly interested in Egyptian antiquity. Concerning the history of this period, it is important to observe that the Greeks alone have transmitted a connected account of it, though one composed from their own point of view. The Ionian wise men who visited Egypt, the historiographers like Hecatæus of Miletus, and Herodotus of Halicarnassus after him, were keenly interested in the annals of the land in which so many of their countrymen were settled, and have left no accounts of the history of this period treated from the Egyptian point of view. Our information upon the state of civilisation, as derived from this source, can be supplemented in certain details by the memorials belonging to the period of the Saïtes.

First Contact with Greece

In general outline the changes which took place within the empire resembled the reorganisation of Greece which was introduced by the removal of Constantine to Byzantium. Upper Egypt rapidly lost the traces of its former importance, which it never in any respect recovered. "Thebes of the hundred gates," notwithstanding the proud and pious recollections of its past, fell into a state of irrevocable decay. The administration was no longer capable of keeping even the vast temples in repair, although during the Persian period rebel kings took a pride in restoring shattered walls or pillars in Karnak and Medinet Habu that they might set their names upon them. Memphis, however, as in antiquity, again became the political centre. Its favourable site at the head of the Delta system gave it geographical advantages over Thebes akin to those possessed by Corinth over Athens. Saïs, the capital of the Psametik kings, though provided with many stately buildings, remained a town of moderate size compared with Memphis.

Decay of Thebes

In conformity with this change in the conditions of government, Ptah and Osiris laid claim to that supremacy which the divinities of Amon had lost, Osiris now rising to be lord of the sky from his previous position as monarch of the dead. Isis maintained herself at his side, though the Libyan Neith imposed some temporary limitations upon her influence. Horus acquired the attributes of Ra. These expressions of the change in religious belief were equivalent to the restoration of the primitive doctrine of the country, and were continued in the conscious choice of customs and types belonging to the old régime. Names and titles from the old kingdom and its language as written and spoken were now revived. The learned classes prided themselves upon that antiquarian knowledge which filled Herodotus with respect. The art of the period naturally underwent a corresponding change. Goose-herds and basket-makers, market and harvesting scenes, were again employed as decorations for the

tombs and represented in the rough style of primitive Egyptian art, though touches of the realism of later days are occasionally apparent. This is the archaistic revival in art, mentioned above.

The "history" of the Saïtic rulers comes fresh to us from Greek sources. We have a detailed account of the impossible undertaking of Psametik I. to discover the sources of the Nile and the origin of language; whereas we have but short references to the fact that he strengthened the frontier forces of Daphne at Pelusium, Marea on the west, and Elephantine on the south; that he conquered the Philistine town of Ashdod after a struggle extending over twenty-nine years, and drove back from Egypt the Scythians, who had advanced into Palestine. The king died after a long reign at the moment when the fall of Assyria was clearly inevitable, and the supremacy in Further Asia changed hands. Nekau, or Necho, II. (610 to 595 B.C.), the son of Psametik, invaded Palestine in 608 B.C., and induced the former Assyrian vassals to accept his supremacy, though some few of these princes, among them the Jewish king Josiah, continued to defend the cause of the Assyrians. They were defeated at Megiddo, or Migdol, by the mercenaries of Necho, who then captured "the great town of Kadytis," or Kadesh, on the Orontes. The Egyptian headquarters were situated for a time at Ribla, close at hand, and it was from that spot that Necho arranged the succession to the throne of Judah. However, in spite of the footing which he had gained within the country where Thothmes III. had previously begun the conquest of Syria, this new attempt at expansion came to a rapid end. In the year 605 the army of Necho was utterly routed by Nebuchadnezzar on the Euphrates at Carchemish; by the year 601 B.C. Egypt had lost the last of her Asiatic possessions. The remarkable story related by Herodotus of the circumnavigation of Africa, which was accomplished in three years by Phœnician sailors at the command of Necho, necessarily implies the supremacy of that king in Phœnicia for a period of years. The supposition that Necho resumed the construction of a canal from the Delta to the Red Sea, but suspended the work after it had cost the lives of one hundred and twenty thousand labourers, is legendary, but must rest upon a historical foundation. Under Psametik II. (594 to 589 B.C.) monuments occur in much greater abundance than during his father's reign. Egypt again attempted expansion southward. The army advanced as far as Abu Simbel if not farther—the mercenaries were commanded by Psamatichos, the son of Theokles—and scratched their names upon the columns of the Rameses temple in Greek and Phœnician and perhaps also in Cypriote letters. "When King Psamatichos came to Elephantine," the chief Greek inscription reads, "those who sailed with Psamatichos, son of Theokles, wrote this. Now, they came above Kerkis as far as the river let them go up. And Potasimto led the foreigners, and Amasis the Egyptians. And Archon, the son of Amoibichos, and Pelekos, the son of nobody, wrote us" (that is, the letters). According to Herodotus the king died before the struggle had been definitely terminated.

Last of the Asiatic Possessions

A Suez Canal Attempted

QUEEN AMENERITIS
A fine example of the Egyptian art revival from Gizeh.

He was succeeded by Apries, or Haa-ab-Ra. Once again Egyptian politicians dreamed of conquest upon the disputed ground of Syria - Palestine. About the appearance of Apries in Phœnicia and his operations by sea against Tyre and Sidon our information is scanty. It can, however, be supplemented by the Biblical references to the untrustworthy character of Pharaoh "Hophra" when Jerusalem was reduced to extremities. The surrender of this city and the subjugation of Judah marked the firm establishment of the power of Nebuchadnezzar in West Asia. An inscription of Nsihor, the governor of Elephantine, also refers to disturbances in Upper Egypt, which were apparently suppressed only by means of treachery and cunning. The interference of Apries in the long-continued struggle of the Libyans against the Greek state of Cyrene led

to no result. According to Herodotus, it even brought about the overthrow of the Pharaoh. His general, Amasis, availed himself of the refusal of the Egyptian militia to expose themselves to further defeats in the west for the purpose of seizing the throne. Apries then marched against Amasis at the head of his foreign mercenaries, but was defeated and captured at Momemphis. For a time he was imprisoned at Saïs and treated kindly; but eventually the dethroned monarch fell a victim to the popular resentment, and was then given a royal burial.

A Soldier Seizes the Throne

It has now been established that Amasis was by no means of "low birth," as is asserted by the Greek historian. His mother, Tseneset, was a daughter of Psametik II. It appears to be certain that Amasis and Apries ruled in conjunction for several years. The facts as to the death of Apries are given in an inscription which has been translated by M. Daréssy. The elder king, always friendly to his foreign mercenaries, escaped from Saïs and joined a force of Greeks which was ravaging the Delta. Amasis followed, and defeated him at Andropolis. But later on Apries and his Greeks reappeared, only to be again attacked by Amasis. Apries was then murdered by some country people as he was asleep in the cabin of his boat, and Amasis gave him royal burial, pardoning him his sin against the gods.

Such is Amasis's own account. It is evident that Amasis represented a national Egyptian movement against the too great friendliness of Apries for the foreigners. A fragmentary inscription of Nebuchadnezzar points to the fact that the Babylonians invaded Egypt about 568–567 B.C. Possibly the change in the dynasty is connected with this event. The date 564 given by Herodotus as the end of the reign of Apries appears to be too late. Amasis, who regarded his brother-in-law as a legitimate monarch in spite of all their dissensions, probably began his own reign as early as 570, and it was in his third year (567–66 B.C.) that the death of Apries took place.

Amasis, a Cunning Knave

The reign of Amasis is estimated at forty-four years by contemporary historians. However, the king's foreign policy is characterised by an entire lack of enterprise. Indications are not wanting that Amasis must be regarded as nothing more than a cunning knave, notwithstanding the Greek anecdotes which represent him as the personal friend of Thales, Bias, etc., as the wise law-giver and the humane philanthropist. His sole object was to gain for Egypt a short respite from destruction. He made no effort to save Lydia from her fall, and Xenophon's references to the help lent by Egypt are pure fiction. He occupied the island of Cyprus for a time, but soon evacuated it in favour of the Persians. After the fall of Sardis his chief anxiety was lest the source of his supply of Greek troops should now be closed; for this reason he entered into negotiations with the towns on the east coast of the Ægean, which still preserved their independence, and presented gifts to their temples, as Necho had once made gifts to the temple of Branchidæ. A typical example of this policy is the well-known story of the alliance between Amasis and Polykrates of Samos—especially typical as regards the extent of the help which the "reed of Egypt" was accustomed to lend to others in their hour of need.

In other respects, however, the Greeks might in every case count upon preferential treatment. Amasis dealt gently even with the turbulent Cyrene. Not far from the later Alexandria, on the Canopic mouth of the Nile, about seven hundred Greek merchants, apparently Ionians from Teos, had already settled. Their factory grew to the size of a foreign settlement, and was given the name of "mighty in ships," Naucratis. After the fall of Lydia—that is, about 545 B.C.—Amasis thought it advisable to oblige the sudden stream of immigrants from the towns of Ionia and Doria to settle in Naucratis by the issue of a decree forbidding them to land elsewhere for trading purposes. The town received the privilege of self-government. Its central shrine was the Hellenion, in the provision of which nine privileged towns and islands took part. It was, however, overshadowed by the fame of the Apollo temple of the Milesians, an offshoot from the temple of Branchidæ. Greek tradition has evinced a spirit of gratitude to King Amasis for his protection of their nationality, which he continued for at least twenty years. Egyptian historians are less laudatory. In fragments of a demotic text of the Ptolemaic period containing a large number of references to past history, Amasis is reproached for

A Greek Town in the Delta

diverting the incomes of the temples of Memphis, Heliopolis, Bubastis and Saïs to the payment of his mercenaries. Ultimately, the gods suffered a considerable loss, both of wealth and of landed property.

The army of Cambyses, king of Persia, met with no resistance to its conquest of the country in the summer of 525 B.C., nine months after the death of Amasis. The highly paid mercenaries of Psametik III., the last of the Saïte kings, were defeated by the Persian at Pelusium after a hard struggle. A traitor, Phanes of Halicarnassus, is then said to have betrayed to Cambyses the easiest mode of approach through the desert. Psametik retired to Memphis. The zealous defenders of this town soon lost heart, surrendered after a short siege, and are said to have been treated with severity. Legend reports other cruelties by Cambyses. The destroyer of the Saïte dynasty, which was friendly to the Greeks, is naturally represented by their historians in the worst possible light, and we have no Egyptian confirmation of these stories; rather, Cambyses appears in Egyptian records as interested in the people he had conquered, and in their religion. We must remember that Cambyses was no monotheistic Persian, like Darius, but an Elamite, and probably a polytheist, like his predecessor, Cyrus. It was the later fanatical Persians who really behaved cruelly to the Egyptians, and persecuted their religion. Psametik III. seems to have sworn allegiance as tributary prince. However, he immediately set a revolt on foot, and his execution became inevitable. Egypt had now lost her native rulers and paid tribute to Susa instead of to Saïs. Naucratis soon lost its commercial privileges, the retention of which was naturally impossible under the Persian government. No further innovations were made during the Persian period, which lasted for about two hundred years, though interrupted by rebellion. The high officials of Persian origin installed within the country were scanty in number and exercised not the smallest influence upon the nationality, the civilisation, or the religion. Even the permanent garrison maintained in the "white fortress" of Memphis was not necessarily sent out from the distant capital of Iran; subjects of the great king of other than Egyptian nationality were considered capable of performing this service. Egypt was thus able to continue its development undisturbed. The preference for the old régime displayed by the upper classes seems to have continued for some time.

The Persian Conquest

Egypt Under the Persians

THE ANIMAL WORSHIP OF EGYPT

During the period of Persian supremacy, which had no influence on Egyptian development, animal worship increased to the point of childishness; it became customary to mummify cats and other animals, as here illustrated.

Under the shadow of the Una's pyramid in Sakkara members of prosperous families were laid to their rest as late as the year 540 B.C.; examples are Psametik and his son Petenisis after him, during the reign of Darius I. The tomb of the admiral Tjaenehebu, discovered in 1900, contains a collection of valuable objects displaying high artistic finish. The preference for heavy stone coffins increased. It was considered of special importance to cover thickly the internal and external surfaces with pictures and written texts. The later kings, Nekhthorheb and Nekhtnebf, left behind sarcophagi displaying twenty thousand hieroglyphics, besides a thousand pictures. The animal worship of this period increased far beyond the limits of the earlier cult of Apis and Mnevis. It became customary to mummify the sparrow-hawk, the ibis, the ram, and the cat; to envelop them in wrappings, provide them with coffins, etc. In the Ptolemaic and Roman periods crocodiles, snakes, and fishes, as well as dogs, mice, and beetles, became the objects of a piety that had degenerated into childishness.

Saïs had also opened its gates to the Persian kings. Cambyses there appears as a legitimate Pharaoh, with the fore-

name Mesut-Ra—literally, child of Ra. He offered solemn sacrifices in the temple of Neith after purging the shrine of intruders, who were apparently members of his own army. Greek historians are our sole sources of information concerning the reported despatch of a division to the western oasis of Amon and the mysterious disappearance of these troops in the desert. Cambyses's unsuccessful campaign against the Ethiopians, about 524, is supported by more definite statements. An inscription, belonging probably to Napata, set up by the Ethiopian king Nastesen, or Nastasenen, mentions a certain hostile "Kambasuden" who invaded his country from the sea and was defeated. This is, no doubt, Cambyses. But under Darius the Nubian Kushites are tributary to the Persians and furnish a contingent of troops.

Cambyses, a Persian Pharaoh

Cambyses endangered his throne by remaining in the Nile valley until 522 B.C. When he was recalled by the revolt of Gaumata he entrusted the government of Egypt to the satrap Aryandes. Events in Persia left this governor in an almost independent position, and he succeeded in subjugating Cyrene; but Darius I. drove him out in the year 517 B.C., and visited the country in person with the object of subjecting the valuable inheritance of the Pharaohs to the general administrative reforms which he was then introducing. The benefices of the priesthoods were improved, the priestly colleges in Saïs were fully restored, and no doubt the same procedure was followed in Memphis, Heliopolis, and other sacred centres. When Darius had settled the yearly contribution of the Egyptian-Libyan satrapy at 700 talents—about $1,125,000—and had secured a number of minor sources of income to himself, he was yet able to go to some expense in the construction of temples, as at El-Kharga in the Great Oasis. Fragmentary inscriptions also state that the king completed the long projected canal to the Red Sea, and it is not improbable that Indian commerce can have passed to the Mediterranean by this route at that period.

Darius Completes the Canal

However, these new regulations did not bring peace to the country. About 487–486 B.C., or later, a native chief, by name Khabbash, assumed the title of king, presented a piece of land to the goddess Buto—since known as the "land of Buto"—and took careful measures to place the coast in a state of defence. Xerxes put an end to this interlude in the year 484 when he restored the satrapy and handed it over to his brother Hakhamanish, or Achæmenes. After the murder of Xerxes, in 465 B.C., disputes arose in Susa concerning the succession, and the revolts of Inarus in 460 and Amyrtaeus in 450 began in Lower Egypt. When the Persians were able to re-establish their supremacy, about 449, Artaxerxes I., "Longimanus," preferred to leave the sons of these revolters, Thannyras and Pausiris, to rule as independent chiefs in their swamps. Darius II. resumed building operations upon a temple in the oasis of Kharga, which the first Darius had founded there. These are practically the last memorials that any Persian king erected in the country.

From the year 415 B.C. Egypt ceased to be a part of the Persian empire, and maintained its independence to the middle of the following century. A Saïte prince, Amyrtaeus (II.), perhaps the grandson of the previous bearer of the name, enlisted Greek mercenaries, declared himself "lord of both lands," and drove out the Persians, who were prevented from taking the offensive by the outbreak of disturbances in other parts of their enormous empire. The monarchy thus restored certainly gained a breathing space in which to prepare for defence against foreign aggression, but it was impossible to check the autocratic behaviour of the highly paid auxiliaries from Hellas, who were now largely recruited from Greece proper. As far as can be seen, this behaviour was partly due to the reckless payments distributed by Egyptian chiefs who were anxious to seize the throne. A similar phenomenon appeared in the period of the Diadochi, and assumed larger proportions under the prætorian emperors.

The Persians Driven Out

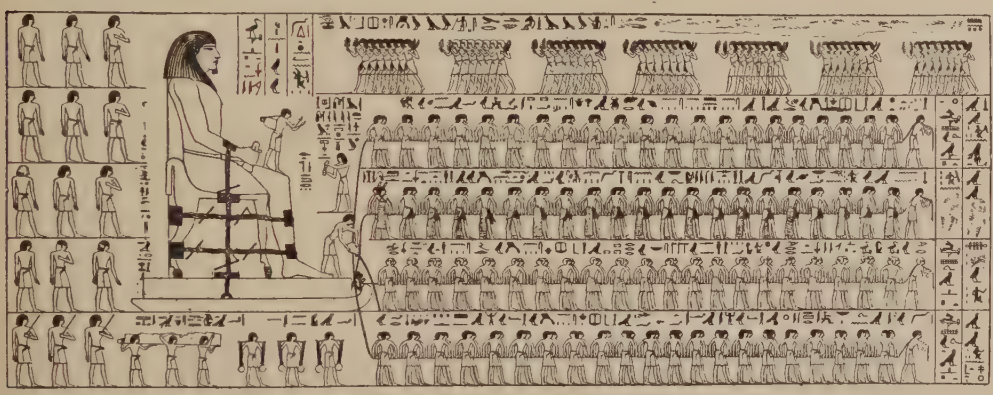
About 409 B.C. the mercenaries deposed Amyrtaeus and replaced his dynasty with that of Naifaaurut, or Nepherites, of Mendes. When, however, the new king created his son Nectanebus, or Nekhthorheb, co-regent, "the people" were irritated by this precautionary measure, and forced Nectanebus to retreat to Sebennytos. In 404 B.C. Hakor, or Akhoris, was made king by the troops. He reigned until 391 B.C., and his piety found

expression in the construction of temples at different places. Psimut, or Psammuthis, his successor, who had already been the ruling power in the Delta about 400—if he is to be identified with the "King Psametik of Egypt" of Diodorus—was considered a godless ruler; for this reason his reign lasted only a year, and he was not recognised throughout the country.

Piety returns in the person of "Muthes," who was also able to maintain his position only for a year. Dissensions then divided the mercenaries. After putting a second Nepherites to death, they restored the "old right," apparently by the recall of the king's son Nekhthorheb, or Nectanebus I., about 385 to 363 B.C., who had been formerly driven from the court. Under him Egypt plays a more important part in the revolts of Further Asia. But when the Cyprian Evagoras had submitted to the Persians in defiance of his convention with Nectanebus, the danger of reconquest threatened the Nile valley. In the year 374 B.C. a great army appeared from Syria under a Pharnabazus. After the surprise of Mendes by the Athenian Iphicrates, who commanded the Greek mercenaries, the two commanders quarrelled, and Egypt was saved by the rise of the Nile. Tjeho, or Tachos, 363 to 361, the son of Nekhthorheb, availed himself of the next great revolt in Syria to invade that country in force. His careful preparations were, however, ruined by the Greek mercenaries. The Spartan king Agesilaus, who "sailed the sea for gold" in his old age, suddenly declared for the cousin of Tachos, Nekhtnebf, or Nectanebus II. Tachos, who was then in Sidon, saw his army melt away, and he himself went over to the great king, by whom he was kindly received. Agesilaus was, in the meantime, obliged to overthrow a new aspirant to the throne from Mendes, and died shortly afterward. With the accession of Artaxerxes III. in Persia, in 358 B.C., the struggle was renewed. An attack of the king on Egypt was repulsed by Diophantus and Lamius, the Greek generals of King Nekhtnebf, but the Persians returned to the attack when Egypt supported the last general insurrection which broke out upon the coast-land of Further Asia. After the capture of Pelusium and Bubastis, Nekhtnebf made a timely escape to Ethiopia with his treasures to avoid being sold into the hands of his enemies. The buildings of Nekhtnebf (361–343 B.C.), far surpassed those of all the other rebel kings. The splendid temple of Isis on the island of Philæ, the construction of which was begun by the Ptolemies, was planned by him.

Fresh Invasion of Syria

Greece and Persia in Egypt



AN ARMY OF LABOURERS MOVING A COLOSSUS FROM THE QUARRIES TO ITS TEMPLE

No memorials survive to mark the short period of the Persian administration (343–332 B.C.). When the Macedonians advanced into Asia and Alexander had won the battle of Issus, he was confronted by a practically new Egyptian kingdom under his compatriot and personal enemy, Amyntas, the son of Antiochus. This partisan of the Persian king occupied Memphis, but the inhabitants of the surrounding country were encouraged by the Persian governor Mazakes to attack his scanty forces, and Amyntas fell in the struggle. Almost exactly a year afterwards, at the end of 332 B.C., Alexander the Great entered Egypt unopposed.

THE DEATH OF CLEOPATRA, THE MOST FAMOUS OF THE PTOLEMY QUEENS

The famous Cleopatra, daughter of Ptolemy XIII. and the seventh of her name on the Egyptian throne, the beloved of Julius Cæsar and of Marcus Antonius, committed suicide by allowing an asp to bite her when Augustus landed in Egypt.

From the picture by the Hon. J. Collier, by permission of the Oldham Art Gallery.

FROM ALEXANDER TO MAHOMET

THE development of Egyptian civilisation under the Macedonian supremacy extends over exactly three hundred years, for which period we have a mass of historical material in the shape of papyrus texts. Museums now contain any quantity of evidence upon the life and social customs of every class of the people, the government of the country, of the nomes, temples, and villages, upon the administration of justice, upon beliefs and customs. Only a portion, however, of this material has been examined.

Upon the division of the empire into its provinces after the death of Alexander, Egypt fell to the share of the Macedonian general Ptolemaios, the son of Lagos, who was only forty-four years old and began his rule in 323 B.C. It was not until the year 304 that he assumed the title of king, with the further title of "Deliverer" (Soter), apparently in imitation of Antigonus. About the end of 285 Ptolemy Soter abdicated in extreme old age in favour of his son Ptolemy II., Philadelphus (284 to 247 B.C.), and died two years later. This ruler was followed in direct succession by Ptolemy III., Euergetes (247 to 221 B.C.), Ptolemy IV., Philopator (221 to 205 B.C.), and by Ptolemy V., Epiphanes, who did not attain his majority until 198. This ruler left behind him three young children, namely, Ptolemy VI., Philometor, his successor to the throne, a daughter Cleopatra, and Ptolemy Euergetes (II.).

Succession of the Ptolemies

As a result of Syrian interference, the kingdom was divided for the space of a year in the year 170 B.C., as follows: Philometor ruled in Memphis, Euergetes in Alexandria—the latter is now to be entitled Ptolemy VIII., as a son was born to Philometor about 165, who must be reckoned as Ptolemy VII., and who bore the surname of Eupator. From 169 to 164 B.C. all the three members of this family ruled in common as the "Philometor gods." Ptolemy VI., who was temporarily expelled, returned in the year 163, when the Romans compelled his brother to content himself with Cyrene. However, in the year 146 B.C. Philometor was killed in Syria. Ptolemy VIII. appeared a few weeks afterwards in Alexandria, killed the young Eupator, and ruled from that time, though with many interruptions, in association with his sister and her niece of the same name, till 116 B.C. In 115 Cleopatra, the niece, appointed her son Ptolemy X., Lathyros, as co-regent—Ptolemy IX. was a son of the elder Cleopatra and of Euergetes, and died in 119 B.C. as king of Cyprus; in 117 he was obliged to retreat to Cyprus, and evacuated Egypt in favour of his brother Ptolemy XI., Alexander. Alexander murdered his mother in 101 B.C. In the year 88 B.C. he died, and Lathyros returned. He was succeeded by a daughter, Cleopatra Berenice. She reigned alone from 81 to 80 B.C. and then married her step-son Ptolemy XII., Alexander II. Their joint rule lasted only nineteen days. They were both murdered by Ptolemy XIII., Auletes, literally "the flute-player," a son of Ptolemy X. by a woman of the people; he ruled from 80 to 58 B.C. After his expulsion and the premature death of his elder daughter, Cleopatra Tryphaena, the younger daughter, Berenice, ascended the throne (58 to 55 B.C), which she then lost, together with her life, at the hands of her father, whom the Romans had helped to return.

Rule of the Cleopatras

Auletes himself left Egypt in the year 51 to his son, who was then ten years old. This ruler, Ptolemy XIV., was continually quarrelling with his sisters Cleopatra (VII.) and Arsinoe, and was conquered by Cæsar in the year 47 B.C., and drowned in the Nile while in flight. From that date until 44 B.C., Cleopatra VII. (the famous) and her younger brother, Ptolemy XV., ruled in common; the latter disappeared, and his place was taken by Cleopatra's son, Cæsarion—as Ptolemy XVI.—who was born between the years 36 and 47, and whose putative father was Julius Cæsar the Great. On the collapse of the Ptolemaic kingdom, in the year 30 B.C., both mother and son met

The Famous Cleopatra

their deaths. A daughter of Cleopatra and Antony, named Selene, afterward married Juba, the king of Mauretania, or Morocco. With the son of this couple, Ptolemy, this dynasty finally became extinct in the far west.

Alexandria, the brilliant commercial town, the centre of court life and learning, rises from its obscurity at the outset of the Ptolemaic period, and after a few decades becomes the centre of gravity of the Hellenistic East. Naturally the story of the foundation of this capital by Alexander the Great was repeated without hesitation after a short time. Side by side with the truly fabulous incidents of this Greek account we have the granite "Satrap stele," the date of which is about 317 B.C. This inscription makes it clear that, in the opinion of contemporaries, Alexandria was founded by Ptolemy Soter seven years after the death of the conqueror. Such a piece of evidence, in itself almost irrefutable, can be further supported by a closer examination of the campaigns of Alexander, and also weakens the theory that the other Alexandria, of Issus in Syria, was built upon the initiative of the conqueror whose name it bears. For Egypt Alexander had little time to spare; his visit to the oasis of Amon was the only long journey he took in the country; he is known not to have visited Upper Egypt. Alexander entrusted the Delta to Cleomenes of Naucratis, being desirous to confer favours on the old Greek colony. Ptolemy I., however, began his government with the execution of Cleomenes, and reduced Naucratis to the position of a provincial Egyptian parish; then the fitting opportunity arrived for the foundation of the new capital, the situation of which was determined by his more accurate local knowledge. The town which received its name in honour of the great conqueror contained a splendid tomb of Alexander and his corpse. We have many stories connected with the acquisition of the body by Soter. Though he was no general, and cannot be compared with the other great Diadochi, yet the son of Lagos showed himself a clever politician, both in home government and foreign relations. His authority over this foreign country rested necessarily upon the support of bands of Greek mercenaries, the "Macedonians." This fact, however, did not prevent him from asserting his position as successor of the Pharaohs and son of the native gods. The introduction of a new god was highly desirable in order to connect the new capital, the St. Petersburg of Egypt, with the ancient religious districts of the country. For this reason "Serapis," the new transformation of Osiris, naturally obtained prompt recognition; but within his chief sanctuary at Alexandria the god assumed characteristics so thoroughly Greek that he was always considered a foreign importation, although the theory that he was derived from Sinope in Pontus rests upon a misunderstanding.

PTOLEMY SOTER AND HIS QUEEN
The first Ptolemy, who assumed the title Soter, was a Macedonian general who secured Egypt as his share of the empire of Alexander the Great.

Ptolemy II. made many great architectural improvements in Alexandria; his most famous foundation, the learned society which was maintained at the cost of the state, in the Mouseion, remained purely Greek in character, and achieved no results of importance for Egyptian history. On the other hand, the king proceeded to provide a stricter method of supervision for the Nile valley, the necessity for which had long been forced upon him by the growth of inconvenience and disorder. Colonies of Greek soldiers were settled in two places, which their families soon provided with a population; these were Ptolemais, in Upper Egypt, and Crocodilopolis in the Fayyum, which was now called Arsinoe after the sister and consort of the king. For marriages of this kind precedents were to be found in Egypt of early date, such as induced the second of the Lagides to marry his own sister, who had been twice a widow. The action of this

PTOLEMY II. AND ARSINOE
Ptolemy II. Philadelphus, who reigned from 284 to 247 B.C., married his sister Arsinoe.

Ptolemy stands in contrast to the marriage policy of his father, who allied himself in this way with the courts of most Greek centres of civilisation, though it was a policy that proved as incapable of realising the hopes based upon it as had the system in vogue at the period of the Amarna letters. Ptolemy III. also took his sister Berenice to wife; his successors, however, considered this custom as valid only for their own family.

Of the first three Ptolemaic kings the warlike Euergetes—the elder—attained the greatest measure of success in foreign affairs; all, however, opened the path to Greek influence in Egypt so widely that at a later period, even under the most unfavourable circumstances, Hellenism fully maintained its ground. Egyptian nationalism was forced to accommodate itself to this state of affairs. Relations between the king and the temples now become characterised by a stronger emphasis of the personal element. The payment of thanks to the gods is no longer a prominent feature; more important is the acknowledgment of the priesthoods of the royal gifts made to them—an instance is the formal decree of honour issued from Canopus in favour of Ptolemy III. and Queen Berenice.

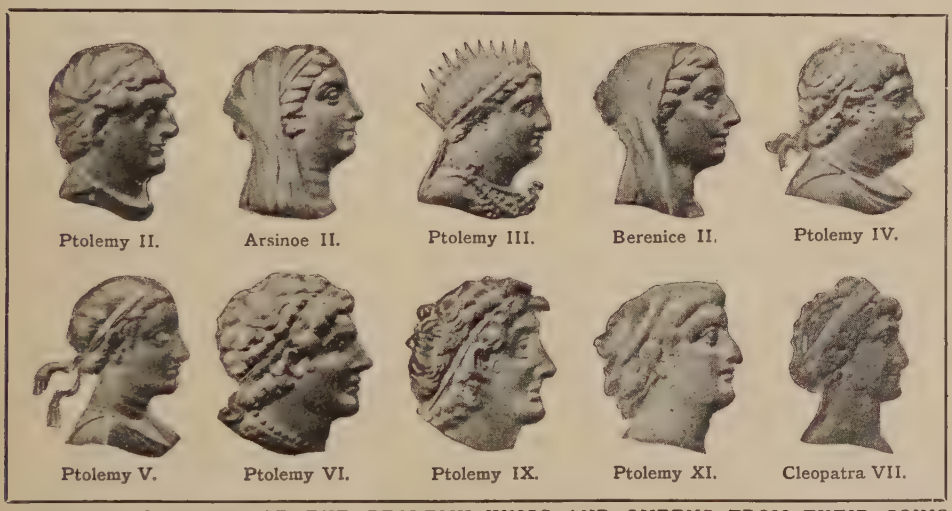
The Rosetta Stone

A resolution on the "Rosetta Stone," regarding Ptolemy V., who was a youth at his accession, as may be seen from his coin portrait, is conceived in a spirit of greater piety. Both of these records were recopied in hieroglyphic, demotic, and Greek writing. With the discovery of the black basalt Rosetta Stone (1799), the science of Egyptology began. This monument was erected in 196 to commemorate the fact that "King Ptolemy, who lives for ever, beloved of Ptah the benefactor, the son of King Ptolemy and Queen Arsinoe, the gods Philopatores, who overwhelm the temples with benefits," had relieved the country of taxes and customs, had remitted arrears and had quashed all prosecutions, on the occasion of the proclamation of his majority.

Unrolling Egypt's Records

Found by the French invaders in a fort at Rosetta, this inscription was, with others, ceded to Great Britain as prize of war two years later, and placed in the British Museum, where it now is. It was the bilingual text of this inscription, when studied by the Englishman Young and the Frenchman Champollion, that yielded to the latter, acting upon suggestions of Young's, the secret of the ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic writing. This we now read with ease; printed examination-papers are even set in it in the Honour School of Semitic languages at Oxford.

In previous years there seemed but small prospect of duration for the Ptolemaic dynasty. Not only the Greek neighbouring states, but also the Egyptians themselves, had risen in revolt. We hear of a native prince, Horhetep, in Thebes ("year 4"), and also of a certain Ankhtu, who is said to have ruled fourteen years. Hence the revolt in the south must have begun during the second half of the reign



PORTRAITS OF SOME OF THE PTOLEMY KINGS AND QUEENS FROM THEIR COINS

of Ptolemy IV., the early years of which had already survived an attempted revolution made by a Greek mercenary of royal rank, Cleomenes III. of Sparta. A fugitive from his native land, he landed a small force in Alexandria, and was there placed in custody; however, he escaped, made a vain attempt to induce the astounded inhabitants to "rise for freedom," and finally fell upon his own sword. The town, which had not hitherto been disturbed by yearnings for this object, fell into a state of wild confusion, Ptolemy Philopator fled, and the rebels seized upon his favourites, who came to a dreadful end. And from that time onward the "delightful rabble of Alexandria" made themselves prominent by recurrent outbursts ending in bloodshed even under the Romans.

"Delightful Rabble of Alexandria"

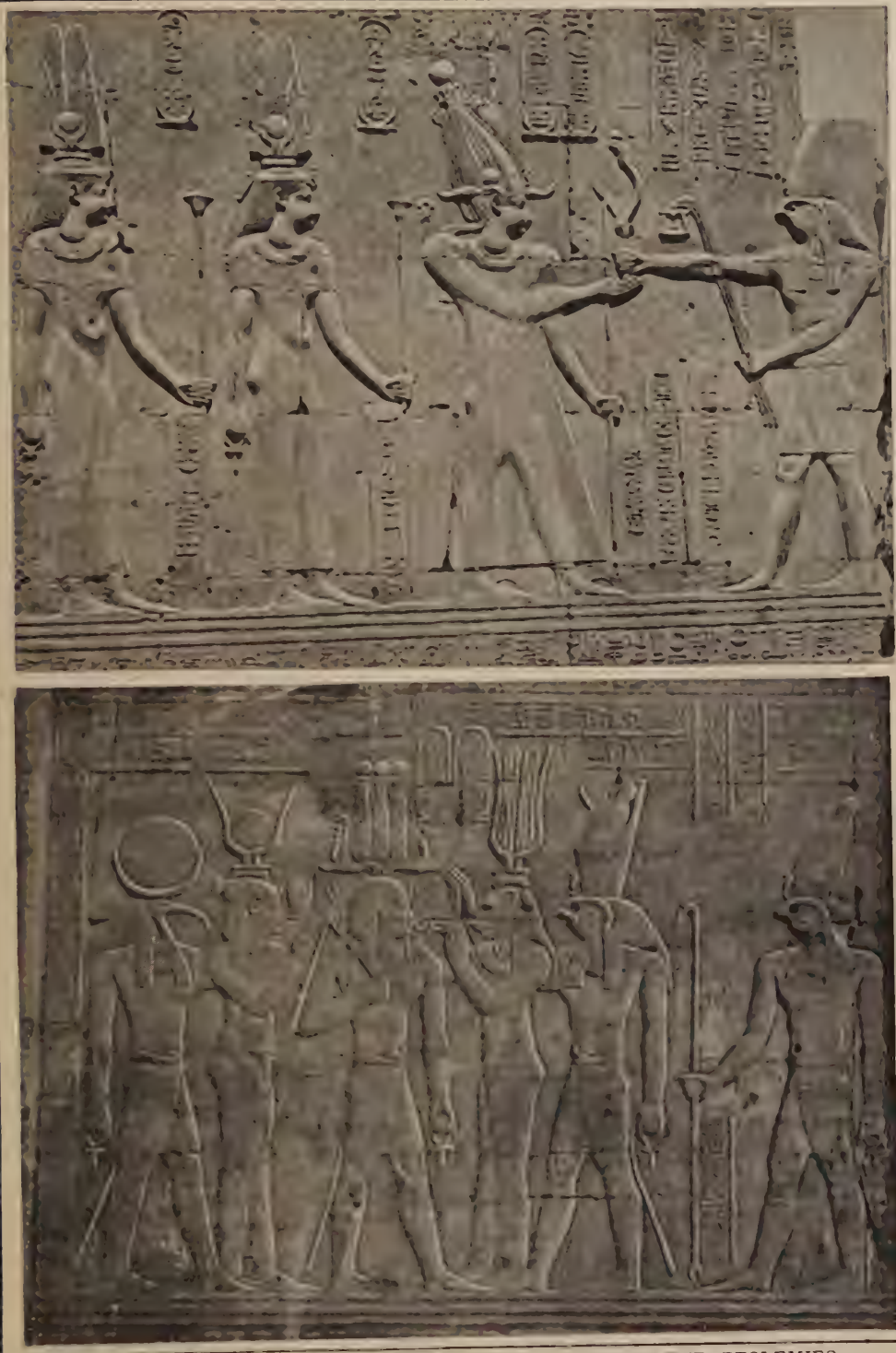
From the rapid change of rulers after Ptolemy VII., shown by the list of kings, we can easily conclude that the last century and a half of the dynasty of the Lagides forms a sad period of Egyptian history. If, however, we concentrate our attention solely upon the monuments erected at that time, a wholly different impression will be formed; the period of the decadence displays as much of architectural vigour as it does of political weakness, a fact which may well be borne in mind in estimating the importance of earlier periods in the history of Egypt.

The artistic temple of Philæ, the beautiful pylons, and the deep feeling displayed by the halls and columns of Edfu, Esne, and Dendera, which remain the best examples of Egyptian architecture with the exception of Thebes—these all belong to a period of constant disturbances and of continual murders within the royal family, notwithstanding the testimony of such representations as that within the little temple of Der el-Medineh, behind Medinet Habu, where the brothers Ptolemy VI. and VIII., with their sister Cleopatra, can be seen making offerings in common, and dividing their titles with true brotherly love. On the other hand, we have much evidence for the fact that commercial relations were steadily maintained, especially with countries beyond the Red Sea. The "Stele of Pithom," discovered by Naville, tells us of the city which the king founded on the Red Sea shore, and refers to the elephant-hunting expeditions in the land of the Trogodytes, which supplied elephants for the royal army. These, however, proved remarkably useless at the battle of Raphia against Antiochus III., but were not abandoned for war purposes, nevertheless. An inscription in the British Museum (No. 1207) tells us that Alexandros, son of Syndaios (not "Syndikos" as Professor Mahaffy writes it), the well-known general Charimortos, and a captain named Apoasis, were sent to hunt elephants in Somaliland more than seven years after the battle of Raphia. We hear also of another elephant hunter named Lichas. These hunters added considerably to accurate geographical knowledge in the direction of Ras Hafûn and Cape Gardafui on the way to India. The connection with India remained unshaken; an embassy from that country successfully approached the victorious Augustus shortly after the fall of the Ptolemaic kingdom. Together with the blessings of the Nile floods and the harvests they produced—the lion's share of which the kings during this period, as during all others, were careful to secure to themselves—taxes and harbour duties raised the revenue to the amount of about $12,500,000 yearly, even under the corrupt and careless government of the piper, "Auletes." From the time that a Roman embassy, in the year 168 B.C., had succeeded by mere threats in driving the Seleucid Antiochus (III.) Epiphanes out of Egypt, which he had practically conquered, the house of the Ptolemies had become dependent upon Rome. Ptolemy VIII., Euergetes, whom the meticulous truthfulness of his Alexandrine subjects had named "King Potbelly," or Physkon, had done many a mean and disgraceful action. Under the government of this bloodthirsty buffoon the Egyptian state had missed the opportunity of assuming its due position in juxtaposition to Rome. Physkon, though he did not mind blood, had an aversion to war; he fled before the trouble he had raised, and took refuge at Rome itself. Henceforward there was usually to be found a Ptolemaic pretender to the throne in Rome, or one who sent appeals to the Senate from Cyprus or Cyrene.

The Art of the Ptolemies

Prosperity in an Age of Decay

Lathyros was most probably one of these candidates for the position of Pharaoh, otherwise he would not have been able to appear as a conqueror in Palestine during the twenty years of his



THE REVIVAL OF THE ART OF SCULPTURE UNDER THE PTOLEMIES

Though the period of the Ptolemies was one of constant maintenance, it displayed great architectural and artistic vigour. The first bas-relief represents a Ptolemy with two Cleopatras, and the second the sun-gods crowning a Ptolemy.

authority in the island of Cyprus; from Palestine he was driven out by the Jewish generals of his mother Cleopatra and his brother Alexander. However, in the year 88 the Egyptian throne fell vacant, and he was able to seize it without the consent of the Senate, for Rome was at that time threatened by Mithradates of Pontus, and was even forced, about 86, to make overtures to the Ptolemaic ruler with a view to securing the help of his fleet. Lathyros received Lucullus, the ambassador of Sulla, with extravagant hospitality, but clung tenaciously to his fleet. This attempt to initiate a policy of independence was as ill-timed as it was lacking in enterprise, and led to no successful issue. The cause of Mithradates did not advance as had been expected; party divisions in Rome continued, and Lathyros was obliged to turn his attention to a dangerous revolt in Upper Egypt. Once again the centre of insurrection was Thebes, which was now, as before, the residence of the higher administrative officials of the priestly colleges, and possessed a royal bank, records of the transactions of which have recently been discovered. On this occasion this old and sacred town was not spared; the king devoted it to destruction (about 83), and when the geographer Strabo visited the spot about sixty years later, he found but a few villages scattered in the midst of a large area of ruins.

An Effort for Independence

After the death of Lathyros, stories of scandal are the only evidence to show that the falling Ptolemaic dynasty retained any vitality. The succession invariably followed in the female line. Whenever the occupant of the throne lost his power, the nobles and the population of Alexandria turned forthwith to the nearest female relation, who could choose a brother or a cousin to share her throne after she had been exalted to the position of queen. A natural result of these endogamous marriages was the fact that legitimacy depended upon relation to the female line. As Dr. Strack has proved, this change of ideas became definitely stereotyped about the time of Physkon — between 145 to 116 B.C. Moreover, the marriages of Queen Berenice, the daughter of Auletes, with two foreigners had proved entirely unfortunate. None the less the last representatives of the Ptolemaic house in Egypt rose to a certain height of grandeur as compared with their immediate predecessors, and their fall was tragical in the extreme —Arsinoe, Ptolemy XIV., the famous Cleopatra, and her son Cæsarion. The ultimate destiny and the conquest of Hellenised Egypt are treated in other parts of this work.

Ptolemaic Inter-Marriages

The dominant characteristic of the Ptolemaic age is its imperial spirit. Under the rule of cosmopolitan Greeks who had inherited the imperialism of Alexander, the old spirit of the Thothmes and the Ramessides revived. Under the Saïtes, the Egyptians, sickened with foreign war, had turned for inspiration to the days of the old kingdom, built pyramids, and fancied themselves once more the isolated contemporaries of Khufu. Greek encroachment and Persian conquest rudely shattered this dream. The accession of the Ptolemies opened a prospect of active reassertion of Egyptian superiority to the Asiatics. Isolation was impossible; conquest and revenge were possible. The humour of the kings tallied with that of their people. Ptolemy Euergetes marched into Asia in the grand style of a Rameses, and brought back the images of the gods which had been carried off by Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal. He was received on his return to Egypt with acclamations as a true successor of the great Pharaohs. The imperial spirit was again in vogue, and the archaistic simplicity of the Saïtes gave place to an archaistic imperialism, the first fruits of which were the repair and building of temples in the Ramesside style. On these we see even Ptolemy the Piper masquerading as Rameses II., and striking down Asiatic enemies in the great Pharaonic style. Lists of conquered peoples were put up which were badly copied from those of Thothmes III., with the addition of modern names, such as Persia, Susa and India ("Hinto," at Kom Ombo), which had been utterly unknown to Thothmes III. Mistakes were made in identifications; thus "Keftiu," the ancient name of Crete, was mistranslated as "Phoenicia," and Asi, properly Cilicia, as Cyprus, for nobody but priestly antiquarians could read the hieroglyphs, and even they were often wrong in their theories, just like modern archæologists. The revived Egyptian spirit eventually resulted in revolts which, as we have

Revival of the Imperial Spirit

seen, were led by native princes such as Harhetep or Irobastos. These attempts at independence were ruthlessly suppressed, and resulted in a complete insistence on Greek supremacy. Conquest was no longer disguised, and Egypt was Hellenised as far as possible. The large discoveries of papyri which have been made of late years, chiefly by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt at Oxyrhynchus, show us how far, at the end of the Ptolemaic period, Greek control had penetrated into the country. Numbers of the subordinate officials were Greeks; the Egyptians began to adopt Greek and Græcised names, and the way was paved for the complete Greek administration which existed during the Roman period.

In the Roman period Egypt, like other countries bordering the Mediterranean, was no longer of independent political importance in the history of the world. She was but the granary of Rome, and only when a rebellious general occupied her and cut off the supply of corn from Italy, as a weapon against the home authorities, did she occupy a position of temporary political weight. Hence Egypt was never constituted a senatorial province, but was always regarded by the emperors from the time of Augustus as their peculiar property, and was governed by a knightly prefect of the emperor directly responsible to him. Otherwise, Egypt was not even one of those frontier provinces for the possession of which Rome was forced to struggle: it was only against the Ethiopian kingdom of Meroe that comparatively harmless punitive expeditions were occasionally undertaken. The "Dodekaschoinos" (ninety-six mile land), or upper district between Assouan and Maharraka, was permanently occupied by small divisions of the imperial troops; here Augustus founded the great temple of Talmis, the modern Kalabsha, to which additions were made by his successors until the time of Septimus Severus. Within the empire Egypt was justly regarded as the "granary"; of its harvest products a considerable proportion was invariably assigned beforehand to the maintenance of the population of Rome. Augustus, who appropriated the possessions and the property of the Ptolemies as being the heir of Cæsarion, kept the whole country under his personal supervision; he controlled the food of Rome, and, as Pater Patriæ, "father of the fatherland," he thus made the mistress of the world entirely dependent upon his imperial will.

Egypt the Granary of Rome

Egypt as the Cæsar's Property

THE ROMAN EMPEROR TIBERIUS
A sculpture at Kom Ombo, representing the emperor in Egyptian head-dress.

For administrative purposes Egypt proper was divided into about forty nomes, the chief authority in each being a "strategus," or sheriff and judicial officer: especially populous nomes, such as that of Arsinoe, were supervised by two of these officers. The prefect (Hegemon or Eparchosh in Greek) was chosen by the emperor from the Roman knightly order, not from among the senatorials. This chief official resided in Alexandria, and his duty apparently was to travel through the country throughout the year. Two Epistrategi were created for his relief, one being placed over the seven nomes of Middle Egypt, "Heptanomis," the second over the fifteen of Upper Egypt. For the rest, all Romans of senatorial rank were forbidden by a special decree to visit the country without the emperor's special permission. In 19 A.D. Germanicus disobeyed this regulation to his own detriment.

The Roman emperors did not abandon the divine attributes which the possession of the throne of Horus conferred upon them; they were thereby provided with an excuse for continuing the architectural labours of the Pharaohs. Tiberius improved the shrines of Medamot and Karnak in Thebes in the name of Osiris, who inclined his "fair countenance" upon him in return. Vespasian, who made an unusually long stay in Alexandria upon the outbreak of the war with the Jews,

ordered the work of restoration to be begun upon the temple of Latopolis. It was at that period that the sound given out by the Colossus of Memmon became known to the West. Hadrian, in whose life and travels Egypt holds a place of some importance, also visited the statue in the year 131, as is testified by the Æolic verses on the pediment by the court poetess, Julia Balbilla. The death of the emperor's favourite, Antinous, provided him with an excuse for founding a new nome in his honour in the capital town of Antinoe, not far from El-Amarna. Moreover, in the course of this imperial visit the Egyptian customs of that time seem to have developed a practical activity. The mother country of the Isis worship, which had now invaded Rome, was ready to display its marvels. A quarrel between Memphis and Heliopolis concerning the sacred bull was even brought for decision before the philosophical emperor. The two sacred bulls, Apis of Memphis and Mnevis of Heliopolis, had evidently now become confused. The struggle between the nomes concerning the relative value to be attached to their animals had long become notorious, but was perhaps not wholly displeasing to Roman authority, which acted on the principle "divide et impera." The knowledge of the hieroglyphic writing was then dying out even among the priestly classes, as is shown by many inscriptions in Upper Egypt from the time of Trajan onwards. The hieroglyphs are now used in fanciful ways. On the other hand, the learned society, founded in Alexandria, was in a highly flourishing condition, and at the time of Philadelphus had become the meeting-point for all scientific investigators. The Mouseion continued to flourish under Antoninus Pius, a portrait of whom has been found in Medinet Habu, together with inscriptions in Dendera, Philæ, Esneh, and the oasis of Khargeh, as well as under his successors, until the time of Septimius Severus, who also succeeded in destroying the resonant properties of the statue of Memnon as a result of his attempts to repair it.

Alexandria remained the great centre for the distribution of Indian products westward. Even the contemporaries of Augustus were astounded at the rapid rise of this trade and the great fleet possessed by Egyptian traders. The hybrid population of Alexandria had become utterly spoiled, and was continually breaking into revolt. Hadrian, in a letter to the consul Servian, says, "The people are, of all others, the most inclined to sedition, vain and insolent. Alexandria is opulent, wealthy, populous, without an idle inhabitant. They have one god, Serapis, whom the Christians, Jews, and Gentiles all worship. I could wish that the city practised a purer morality, and shewed itself worthy of its pre-eminence in size and dignity over the whole of Egypt." This troublesome peculiarity of revolting was definitely checked by a cruel massacre, inflicted upon the town by Caracalla in the year 216. The trenchant measures instituted by this emperor for the government of Alexandria were cut short by his death. To the time of Decius (249 to 251) belongs the last of the hieroglyphic inscriptions in the temples referring to a Roman emperor (at Esne).

Mansell

GRÆCO-EGYPTIAN MUMMY-CASES
During the Roman period a mixed Græco-Egyptian style of art arose, of which these mummy-cases, with portraits, are good examples

Twenty years later Egypt formed part of the conquests of Zenobia for a short period. A decree remains issued in her name and in that of her son Vaballath in favour of a Jewish synagogue. Aurelian wrested the Nile valley from this new oriental empire. But in Egypt, as elsewhere, the signs of approaching disruption became apparent from this time

onward. We constantly hear of rebel emperors in Alexandria, and also of incursions made by the neighbouring desert tribes in Upper Egypt. Diocletian himself was ultimately obliged, between 284 and 296, to reconquer the whole country, which had fallen into a state of wild confusion. Even this emperor seems to have abandoned the district to the south of Philæ to the "Nobatæ," or Nubians. Egypt had been converted to Christianity before the accession of Constantine to the sole government—a process reflected in the new administrative measures which he issued. The Patriarch of Alexandria and the bishops, together with the rapidly developing bureaucracy, were the ruling powers under the new constitution.

Several changes were made in the division of the country during the fourth century. Arcadius, the first "East Roman" emperor, divided the Delta and the Nile valley as far as Philæ into three provinces each—Augustamnica, Augusta Secunda, and Ægyptiace (the Eastern, Central, and Western Delta); Arcadia (Heptanomis), the "nearer" and upper Thebaïs. Justinian, whose administrative edicts confirmed the heavy taxation system then in force, had appointed two "duces," or dukes, to Alexandria in addition to the Augustan prefects already existing. In later times, especially under the Mohammedan supremacy, the Egyptian Christians reckoned their chronology from the "era of the martyrs," which began in the year 284, and formed a permanent memorial of the fierce persecution of the professing Christians by Diocletian.

Mansell

THE MUMMY-CASE OF ARTEMIDORUS

A beautiful Græco-Egyptian mummy-case with a portrait of the Greek occupant painted upon it.

The extensive discoveries of papyri at Arsinoe provide the most valuable material for tracing the development of culture and administration, especially during the imperial period. The province which on account of its extent had been entrusted to two strategi—to the strategus of the Heraclides district, including the capital, and to the strategus of the "Themistes and Polemon district"—remained in exactly the same condition in which the rule of the Ptolemies had left it. This remark applies also to the taxation system and the personal *leitourgiai*, or "liturgies"—that is, the obligations to undertake public duties and positions generally for the whole of one year. Dams had to be repaired or erected by the poor villagers. A money deposit was apparently required before beginning certain liturgies involving greater responsibility. Such was the case for the post of tax collector, which was considered as specially burdensome. Declarations of property for assessment—"Apographæ"—are naturally forthcoming. The cattle-breeder Nepheros thus makes a declaration in writing: "On the demand of the officials, how many pigs I possess at this time, I swear by the providence of Commodus our lord that I have 165, which I am fattening for the market of Psenkollechis. If you wish to count them, I will produce them." Taxation receipts also form an extensive collection. Besides the poll-tax, we have mention of taxes on dams, pasture grounds, asses, camels, sheep, trades, rents, and sacrifices. The garland tax, for the golden triumphal wreaths of the Cæsars, was also a burden.

The soil of Egypt was more favourable to the propagation of Christianity than were many other Roman provinces, but the peculiarities of the Egyptian character often produced the most extraordinary conceptions of and additions to the Christian teaching, and such as the fathers of the Church found the greatest difficulty in combating. Hermit life and a kind of monasticism begin from

the middle of the Ptolemaic period, and very probably still earlier; even in 162 B.C. there was a hermit in the Serapeum of Memphis who had voluntarily retired from the world, and was regarded for many years as the advocate of the oppressed. On the other hand, it appears from Coptic texts—that is, texts of a late period—that

Christianity in Ancient Egypt

Jesus Christ and his mission could be "expounded" to the people only through the medium of the legend of the winged solar disc; the Saviour passed from place to place through the Nile valley as a new Horus, everywhere driving out and destroying the enemy.

The development of art during the Roman period is of great interest. During the Ptolemaic age Greek and Egyptian art had pursued separate paths in Egypt, rarely combining to form a mixed style. Ancient Egypt and her traditions were still alive, and the Ptolemies never appeared as Greeks outside Alexandria, which was practically a Greek city; while the Alexandrian Serapis was a Greek god. But in Roman times, as the knowledge of the hieroglyphs declined, and the Egyptian religion degenerated, a mixed Græco-Egyptian style of art arose, of which we have good examples in sculpture of the time of Hadrian.

To the same period belong the beautiful mummy-portraits from Hawara and the Fayyum found by Petrie and Graf. These are either painted on wood or canvas, or modelled in relief in plaster, and placed over the head of the mummy. The portraits are very lifelike, and are thoroughly Greek in spirit, while the method of use is Egyptian. Tombs of the same age are sculptured with mingled Egyptian and Greek motives, as at Kom-esh-Shugfa, close to "Pompey's Pillar" at Alexandria. A fine specimen of the same mixed art in architecture is a small temple at Naga in the Sudan. Out of this mixed

An Age of Confusion and Change

style grew the peculiar mongrel art of the Coptic Christians as we see it on their gravestones. In Egypt, as elsewhere, the age was one of confusion and change. The Egyptians embraced Christianity the more eagerly because they were throwing off a religion which was far lower and more superstitious than the beautiful beliefs of the Greeks. All that was best in Egyptian religion had disappeared when their own living gods, the Pharaohs—religious foci of national pride and self-confidence—had ceased to reign; and what was left was merely a fast-decaying superstition of snake and mouse-worship, the derision of the civilised world. Hence they turned from it with loathing when the faith of Christ, with its new hope for the poor and the lowly, the condemned and oppressed, dawned upon them. But the fanaticism with which they embraced Christianity was the cause of further trouble.

Adherence to certain dogmas became a matter of life and death; also national patriotism impelled the Egyptians to fierce rejection of the Christianity of their masters, the Greeks, and the Egyptian heresy of Monophysitism drew to it the great mass of the people, with the result that in order to get rid of the hated "Melkites," or orthodox Greeks, the "Copts" were willing to ally themselves with the invading Mohammedans. Thus is explained the easy conquest of Egypt by the Arabs. In the year 619 the Persians made their way into the Delta. The

Why Christianity Triumphed

Persian supremacy lasted only ten years, during which a stately palace was erected in Alexandria. The victorious Asiatic campaigns of the indefatigable Heraclius forced Khosru's successor to conclude a peace, under the terms of which Egypt was evacuated in 629 by the Persian military governor Shahbaraz.

The restoration of the Byzantine power was not, however, destined to be permanent. The emperor endeavoured to secure religious harmony, but the attempt was made too late. The conciliatory efforts of the patriarch Cyril of Alexandria proved equally fruitless, and were nullified by the cry for "pure doctrine" raised by the school of his predecessor Joannes. Consequently, the appearance of the caliph Omar's troops under Amr in the year 639 was in no way opposed to Egyptian aspirations.. At the end of the year 640, the emperor had lost everything except the western part of the Delta, and his death, in 641, shattered the last hopes of his adherents. The patriarch Cyril obtained a promise from Amr of protection for the Christian churches, and then surrendered Alexandria. On September 17th, 642, the last representatives of the Roman supremacy left the shores of Egypt.

CARL NIEBUHR
H. R. HALL

FROM THE MOHAMMEDAN CONQUEST TO THE PRESENT TIME

BY STANLEY LANE-POOLE

EGYPT IN THE MIDDLE AGES

FROM 641 to 868 Egypt was a province of the successive caliphates of Medina, Damascus, and Bagdad, and was ruled by a series of ninety-eight governors appointed by the Orthodox, Omayyad, and Abbassid caliphs exactly in the same manner as the other provinces of their empire. The Arab conquest made little difference to the Egyptians, who merely had to pay their taxes to mudirs and mamurs, instead of to epistrategoi and strategoi. The government was decentralised, and the governor interfered as little as possible with the district officers or these with the village sheikhs. The governor was assisted by three great officers of state—the commander-in-chief, the treasurer, and the chief kadi—whom he usually nominated himself, but who were sometimes directly appointed by the caliph. The kadi, or chief justice, often held office under a series of governors, who rarely ventured to overrule him, and the upright and dignified manner in which these chief kadis, men of humble origin and simple life, generally upheld the law was the best feature of Arab administration.

The legal taxes were not so heavy as under Roman rule. The land-tax amounted to two dinars (rather more than $5 per acre, and the poll-tax on nonconformity levied upon all able-bodied male non-Moslems was also two dinars a head. The Moslems had besides to pay a poor-tax, and there were sundry dues on trades, licences, etc. The total revenue varied from $30,000,000 to $35,000,000, and would seem to have been made up of about $20,000,000 poll-tax, $10,000,000 land-tax, and various duties; but the proportions varied at different times. The land-tax had increased by the first half of the ninth century, owing to the care with which the Arabs developed the irrigation system. It was managed by a special department of state advised by inspectors, and supported by the corvée, or forced labour, which was practised from ancient times to nearly the close of the nineteenth century. The surplus of revenue over the cost of administration was sent by the treasurer to the caliph, except in rare cases, when a governor's unusual services were rewarded by the grant of the whole surplus—amounting in one instance to $7,500,000.

The caliphs, away at Damascus and afterwards at Bagdad, seldom took any interest in Egypt, except as a milch-cow to feed their treasury. "Milk till the udder be dry and let blood to the last

drop" was one of their instructions to the officials. Naturally the frequent changes of governors—there were 67 in 118 years under the Abbassid caliphs—encouraged illegal extortion, since the governor had but a brief and uncertain time in which to garner his personal harvest. Except the two Omayyad caliphs, Marwan I. and II., whom civil war brought to Egypt, the only caliph who made an official visit was El-Mamun, in 832.

Egypt Under the Caliphs

The policy of the caliphs at first was not to colonise but to control Egypt, and the Arab tribes who conquered the country were forbidden to acquire land and settle there, because they might be required for other campaigns. For the same reason, as well as because it was the symbol of Roman power, the capital was transferred from Alexandria, which was dismantled in 645 after a brief re-conquest by Manuel, to El-Fostat, "the Tent," a military settlement on the site of Amr's camp, which has slightly shifted and grown into the modern Cairo. The caliph's object was to keep the Arab army of Egypt in touch with his then capital of Medina, and for this purpose Amr cleared and reopened the old canal, which enabled ships to sail from the Nile at Fostat to the Red Sea. The process of Arabising Egypt was undesigned and accidental, and must have been slow. Most of the governors arrived with an escort of several thousand Arab troops, and many of these must have settled and inter-married with the Egyptians; but the chief organised immigration was the planting of three thousand Arabs of the tribe of Kays in the Hauf district in the Delta, north-east of Fostat, as a precaution against rebellion. Arab tribes, such as the Kenz, also gradually permeated parts of the Said or Upper Egypt. The bulk of the population, however, remained Egyptian and Christian (Copt), and they had little to complain of in their treatment by their conquerors, who had relieved them from the oppression of Constantinople and the prosecution of its Orthodox theologians. By treaty they were accorded full liberty of conscience and equal rights with the Moslems, and suffered only the additional poll-tax on nonconformity. Amr invited the exiled Jacobite patriarch Benjamin to return, and no attempt was made to convert the Copts to Islam, which would indeed have involved a heavy loss to the revenue. In practice, the treatment of the Copts depended upon the character of the governor. Wealthy Egyptians were doubtless "squeezed" by grasping collectors, and sometimes humiliating orders were issued imposing vexatious passports, fines, and badges to be worn by monks, especially during the fanatical revival under the caliph Mutavakkil, when, in 850, the Copts were ordered to wear yellow dresses and set up degrading images of apes or dogs over their doors, and were forbidden to ride horses. Now and then a governor would demolish Coptic churches or burn their sacred pictures; but, on the whole, it cannot be said that the Christians of Egypt were severely persecuted. Occasionally they revolted in the Delta, but this was usually due to the constant insubordination of the Kays Arabs settled there. Indeed, most of the many revolts which distracted Egypt under the Abbassid caliphs were caused by sectarian and political discord among the Moslems themselves. The partisans of the Shia doctrine of the divine right of the descendants of Ali to the caliphate, as well as the Kharigis, a sect of puritans who had largely contributed to Ali's downfall,

Tolerance of the Christians

DESCENDANTS OF ANCIENT EGYPTIANS
The Coptic Christians are the lineal descendants of the people of the ancient Egyptian empires.

were both strong in Egypt; and in 754 we read of 3,000 heads of Kharigi rebels being sent to Fostat. The greatest and last Coptic insurrection occurred in the always disturbed district of the Hauf in 830–832, and was so ruthlessly suppressed by the caliph Mamun, who brought for the first time Turkish troops to Egypt, that we hear no more of national revolts. Many Copts apostatised, and from this time dates the predominance of the Arab population in Egypt, the settling of Moslems on the land and in the villages—and not mainly, as heretofore, in the few towns—and the prevailing Mohammedan character of the people.

THE NILOMETER AND ITS USE
A graduated pillar on the island of Roda, by which the rise of the Nile is measured, and the amount of the land tax calculated.

Up to 856 all the governors of Egypt were Arabs, and many of them were members of the caliphs' families. The last Arab governor was Anbasa, an exceptionally strong just man of unostentatious and devout character. During his government the East Romans, in 853, suddenly raided the coast and carried off 600 women and children from Damietta; and in order to guard against similar surprises Anbasa built the fort at Damietta which afterwards proved a serious stumbling-block to the Crusaders. Another external attack occurred in his time. The Sudan, or Nubia, which had been subdued by Amr's lieutenant Abdallah ibn Sad, and in 652 had been overrun as far as Dongola and forced to pay an annual tribute of 360 slaves —which was levied for more than six centuries—repudiated this tribute in 854, and the Baga Sudanis invaded Upper Egypt and sacked Esne. With the aid of reinforcements from Bagdad, an Egyptian army crossed the desert from Kus to the Emerald Mines, and, supported by a fleet sent by the caliph to Aydhab on the Red Sea coast, totally defeated the Sudanis near Dongola. The only other external events of importance during this period of provincial rule were the annexation of the province of Barka to Egypt in 766, and the arrival at Alexandria in 798 of over 15,000 Andalusian refugees from Spain, who became masters of the city from 815 to 827, when they were forced to surrender and exiled to Crete.

Invasion from the Sudan

The suppression of the Copts' rebellion by Turkish troops marked a vital change. Henceforth Turkish mercenaries played an increasingly predominant part in the Mohammedan empire. From the middle of the ninth century it became the habit of the caliph to grant Egypt as a fief to a chief of his Turkish bodyguard, who would appoint a deputy to govern the country and to remit the surplus revenue to him at Bagdad. After Aubasa's recall, in 856, these deputies were also Turks, and one of them, Ahmad ibn Tulun, a Turk from beyond the Oxus, but highly educated according to the Mohammedan standard at Bagdad and Tarsus, became deputy governor of Egypt in 868 and founded a dynasty which was only nominally dependent upon the caliphate.

After suppressing two revolts and supplanting the overgrown authority of the treasurer Ibn Mudebbir, Ibn Tulun exercised kingly power and state in Egypt. Previous governors had lived in the official suburb of El-Askar, or in the summer pavilion called the "Dome of the Air" on Mukattam Hill; but Ibn Tulun built himself a new royal suburb, called El-Katai, between the two, with a splendid palace and hippodrome, and the noble mosque, built in 877–879, which still survives, and is the earliest dated example of the exclusive use of the pointed arch. He also built an aqueduct to bring fresh water to his palace from a spring in the southern desert, and restored the second nilometer on the island of Roda. In 870 the surplus paid to the caliph was $1,885,000; but as the years went on this tribute was discontinued, and Ibn Tulun refused to pay any more substantial form of allegiance than the inscription of the caliph's name, as well as his own, on his coinage, and the usual homage in the public prayers.

Governor Gains Independence

Firmly established in Egypt, he next occupied Syria in 878 and extended his kingdom from Barka to the Euphrates. The Egyptian army also inflicted a severe defeat on the East Romans under Kesta Stypiotes at Chrysobullon near Tarsus in 883, when 60,000 Christians are said to have fallen and immense booty was captured.

A King Who Left $25,000,000

Ibn Tulun died in 884, leaving $25,000,000 in the treasury, over 30,000 military slaves, and a hundred ships of war. He had reduced the taxes, encouraged the small farmers, beautified his capital, and made Egypt once more a power. His son, Khumaraweyh, after a weak beginning, soon learnt to follow in his father's steps: he regained Syria from the caliph in 886, obtained, for a consideration, his official diploma as governor of Egypt, Syria, and the Roman marches, and sealed the understanding by giving his daughter in marriage to his spiritual suzerain.

Khumaraweyh outdid his father in pomp and display, enlarged the palace, laid out elaborate and fantastic gardens, and wooed sleep on an air-bed floating on a lake of quicksilver, guarded by a tame lion; notwithstanding which he was murdered by his slaves in 896, and after nine years of anarchy, during which the Turkish troops did as they pleased with Khumaraweyh's two young sons, the caliph in 905 sent an army and reannexed Egypt.

For the next thirty years the country was still nominally a province of the caliphate, under governors appointed from Bagdad, but was really dominated by the Turkish soldiery. An audacious young man named Khalangi seized the government, and held it for eight months in defiance of the caliph; the great Shia dynasty of the Fatemid caliphs was advancing along the shores of the Mediterranean, and in 914 and again in 919, their generals occupied Alexandria and pushed on into the Fayyum; their fleet

Caliphs Regain Egypt

of eighty-five sail was destroyed in the harbour of Alexandria, but the invaders were not dislodged from Upper Egypt till 920. The only semblance of order and authority was shown by the successive treasurers of this family of Madarai.

At last, in 935, the governor of Syria, Mohammed "the Ikhshid"—a title held by his ancestors in Ferghana on the Jaxartes—was appointed governor of Egypt. During his firm rule of eleven years there was no rebellion. His army of 400,000 men, largely recruited in Syria, which he also held, kept down the mutinous Turkish troops, and repelled all attacks of the Fatemides. He suffered some losses in Northern Syria, but kept his hold on Damascus, defeated the Hamdanid prince of Aleppo, Seyf-ed-daula, near Kinnesrin, in 945, and obtained from the caliph the hereditary grant of Egypt and Syria with the added glory of the government of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. His sons were young at the time of his death, in 946, and their regent, the black eunuch Kafur, ruled Egypt and Syria with success, and even recovered Aleppo and Northern Syria as far as Tarsus. He kept a luxurious and cultivated court, surrounded by poets and musicians, upon whom he was almost as lavish as he was upon his kitchen, for which every day, it is said, 100 sheep, 100 lambs, 1,000 pigeons and small birds, 500 fowls, 250 geese, and 100 jars of sweetmeats were supplied. His death, in 968, was followed by the usual turmoil of the troops, and a year later Egypt passed from

Lack of Great Men in Later Egypt

the orthodox eastern caliphate to the heretical Fatemides. Three centuries of Mohammedan rule had blended the Egyptians and Arabs more or less into one people, and turned the great majority into Moslems, but had produced no great men; Ibn Tulun the Ikhshid and Kafur were neither Arabs nor Egyptians. The country had all along been treated by the caliphs mainly as a source of revenue; but, with few exceptions, the governors had done little to develop its wealth or productiveness. Only the capital had benefited by the luxury and expenditure of the rulers, and it was still far behind some of the other great cities of the caliphate, such as Cordova and Damascus. It had evoked no poet or writer of the first rank.

The Fatemid revolution had moved fast since the proclamation of Obeydallah El-Mahdi as its first caliph at Kairouan in 908. The impressionable Berber tribes had received the mystical doctrine of the Shias with ecstasy, and the Fatemid power rapidly spread to the shores of the Atlantic on the west, and the borders of Egypt on the east. It had absorbed the old Aglabid princedom of Tunis and annexed Sicily. Egypt itself had been twice invaded and even partly occupied. In the anarchy which followed the death

of Kafur the fourth Fatemid caliph El-Moizz found his opportunity. He had for two years been digging wells and building rest-houses on the road to Alexandria, and in 969 he sent the kaid, or general, Gauhar with an army of 100,000 men to Egypt. The oppressed populace received them as deliverers, and after a defeat at Gizeh the Turkish troops submitted. Gauhar entered Misr, as Fostat was usually called, amid acclamations on August 5th, and that same night laid the foundation of a new city, or rather fortified palace, named, after the planet Mars, El-Kahira ("the Martial" or "Victorious"), which gradually supplanted the adjacent Misr, and grew into the modern Cairo. Gauhar ruled the land with energy and justice, until the arrival of Moizz in 973, and founded the great university mosque, El-Azhar, which stands to this day.

Triumph of the Heretics

The Egyptians accepted the heretical dynasty with indifference, but the Fatemides were careful not to flaunt their extreme sectarian doctrines before the multitude. The Ismailian theology recognised stages of initiation, and was essentially esoteric in its higher planes. In Egypt little more was done than to add the Shia formulas to the usual Mohammedan prayers and ritual. There was no persecution and not much attempt at a propaganda. The majority of the people remained orthodox. On the other hand, every effort was made to conciliate the non-Moslems; a Copt was made head of the customs, and a renegade Jew, Ibn Killis, who had been a favourite of Kafur and had paved the way for the Fatemid occupation, was rewarded with high office, and became a noted patron of belles lettres. The Abbassides were powerless to resist the new aggressors. The Fatemid caliph was acknowledged by the Christian king of Nubia, by the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, by the Hamdanid prince of Aleppo; and in Syria the rump of Ikhshidids was subdued, and the heretical caliph was even proclaimed, most reluctantly, in orthodox Damascus. This last conquest, by diverting a handsome source of blackmail hitherto levied by the Karmati, or Carmathian, sectaries of Arabia, brought their leader Hasan ibn Ahmad into collision with the Fatemides, though both professed the same Shia doctrine. Hasan overran southern Syria and attacked Cairo, where he was beaten back on the very threshold of Gauhar's new city in 971. A second Karmati invasion, in 974, was with difficulty repulsed, with the aid of a heavy bribe, by Moizz himself.

These attacks showed how little the pretensions of the Fatemides to the apostolic succession of the house of Ali were accepted even by fellow Shias, while their alleged pedigree from the caliph Ali was repeatedly demolished by orthodox theologians. When the leading Shias and Sherifs of Egypt came to demand a formal substantiation of his claims, Moizz is said to have taken a short way with them. Unsheathing his sword, he said, "Here is my pedigree"; and, throwing a shower of gold among the spectators, he added, "There is my proof!" Gold had certainly paved his way to power, and gold was seldom lacking in the Fatemid treasury. The wealth and luxury which prevailed in "the guarded city of Cairo," where the caliphs dwelt behind strong walls in a mysterious pontifical isolation, were prodigious, and the accounts of contemporary historians, if exaggerated, cannot be wholly disbelieved. One of Moizz's daughters is recorded to have left a fortune of 2,700,000 dinars and 12,000 dresses. We read of sacks of emeralds, thousands of chased and inlaid silver vessels, Sicilian embroidery, crystal cups, and all manner of works of art. Great artistic and industrial activity prevailed in Egypt and elsewhere under the new dynasty. Lustred pottery and glass were brought to high perfection, and silks and woollens were manufactured at various Egyptian towns, one of which, Damietta, gave its name to dimity. The Shias did not hold with the usual Mohammedan reprobation of the drawing of human figures, and the arts of painting and sculpture were thereby encouraged. From a financial point of view the people had no cause at first to complain of the new dynasty. Moizz abolished the old system of farming out the collection of the revenue, and his chief land administrators, while exacting prompt and full payment of the taxes, appear to have exercised their powers with equity.

By Sword and Gold

Prosperity Under the Heretics

The Fatemid rule subsisted in Egypt for two centuries by no special virtues or efforts of the rulers. These maintained a luxurious seclusion, and abandoned the government to vizirs, who were chiefly bent on making their own fortunes and were seldom

inspired by any great policy or statesmanlike ideas. The empire, which had comprised all North Africa, Sicily, Syria, and the Hijaz, quickly shrank in every part except Egypt and Arabia, and in Egypt itself the dynasty rested upon no popular devotion, no general adhesion to their doctrine or persons, but solely upon the army—the Berber, Turkish, and Sudani mercenaries, who, constantly recruited from their native lands, formed a perpetual terror to the unfortunate population. The virility and statesmanship of the early caliphs soon evaporated in a bath of luxury and profligacy.

The Best Caliph

Moizz's son and successor, El-Aziz (975–996), a red-haired, blue-eyed hunter and soldier, was the best of these Egyptian caliphs, and his Christian wife encouraged his natural clemency and tolerance. He was a friend to the Coptic patriarch and to Severus, the bishop of Ushmuneyn, and allowed the rebuilding of Coptic churches. Christians and Jews held high offices and justified their appointment by their ability. The land had rest under this wise and prudent caliph. If he set the fashion in luxury, in gorgeous display and sumptuous palaces, and in the love of costly novelties in dress and food, he repressed the corrupt administration, enforced justice, substituted fixed salaries for gratuities and bribes, and vigorously maintained the defence of his kingdom. In Maks, then the port of Cairo, where his father had built a naval dock, Aziz fitted out the fine fleet of 600 sail which protected Egypt from the Emperor Basil, and though Africa was slipping out of his grasp, his name was still recited in the mosques from the Atlantic to the Euphrates.

Unfortunately, his son, El-Hakim, who succeeded in 996 at the age of eleven, was his opposite. He early showed a passion for blood, and one after the other the ministers who governed during his minority were assassinated. Once his own master, the young caliph showed a vein of eccentricity which developed into madness. He loved darkness and rode about the streets in the night, spying upon his subjects. Then he turned night into day and ordered the shops to be opened and the houses illuminated and all business to begin after sunset. Women were compelled to stay at home and not allowed even to take the air on the flat roofs. Shoemakers were forbidden to make outdoor shoes for ladies. For seven years no woman was seen in the streets of Cairo. Not only were intoxicating drinks prohibited, in accordance with Islamic rule, but vines were cut down, dried raisins confiscated, and honey poured into the Nile. Games were stopped, dogs were to be killed wherever found, distinguishing badges and other humiliations were revived for Christians and Jews, and churches were demolished and their lands confiscated, though Christians were still appointed to official posts, since the treasury could not do without them. Officials were tortured and executed in numbers with every kind of barbarity, and a special department had to be created for the management of their confiscated estates. At the same time Hakim completed a noble mosque, and erected a "Hall of Science," not merely for the spread of Shia doctrine, but for the encouragement of all learning, and furnished it with a rich and varied library.

The Mad Caliph

When the caliph finally proclaimed himself the Incarnation of the Godhead—a logical deduction from extreme Shia doctrine—and Darazi and other preachers called upon the people to worship Hakim as divine, the long pent-up hatred burst all bounds, and the mob rose, only to be savagely trampled under foot by the brutal Sudani troops. Happily, the Turkish and Berber soldiery for once made common cause against the blacks, and some degree of order was restored in the miserable capital. Then, in the midst of the reign of terror, Hakim disappeared in 1021, killed, no doubt, by the avengers of blood; but to this day the mystery of his vanishing remains, and he is still worshipped as the incarnation of the Divine Reason by the Druses of the Lebanon, who look for his second advent.

Caliph Assumes Divinity

Hakim's son, Ez-Zahir (1021–1036), and grandson, El-Mustansir (1036–1094), did nothing to revive the empire which his madness had shattered. As a Christian wife had guided Aziz, and had borne him the monster Hakim, so the Sitt el-Mulk, or Princess Royal, sister of Hakim, controlled the youth of Zahir, who speedily showed himself cruel, like his father; and a black mother swayed Egypt during the minority of Mustansir, a weak-minded nonentity. The real power was in the hands of the soldiery, and government consisted in appeasing their greed. Palace cliques, disastrous famines, slave revolts,

military uproar, and the occasional ascendency of a few of the vizirs, are the chief features of Egyptian history during the eleventh century, though there were intervals of tranquil prosperity, such as the traveller Nasir-i-Khusrau described in 1046. A famine, the worst known in mediæval times, lasted seven years (1066–72), until human flesh was actually sold in public as butcher's meat. The sufferings of the people were indescribable; great nobles were reduced to menial employment in the public baths, and the caliph sat on a mat in his empty palace, rifled by Turkish troops of all its treasures and jewels, and, worst of all, its magnificent library, in 1068, and was indebted to the daughter of a scholar for the daily dole of two loaves of bread.

The tyranny of the Turks was at last ended by the death of their leader, Nasir-ed-daula, and by the accession to the vizirate of Bedr el-Gemali, the Armenian governor of Akka, or Acre, who brought his Syrian veterans to Cairo in 1073, massacred the Turkish officers, reduced the revolted districts, restored order and prosperity, built a new wall round Cairo with great Norman-like gates, and remained virtual ruler of Egypt for twenty-one years, till 1094, when he was followed by his son, El-Afdal, for twenty-seven more (1094–1121). These two great Armenians gave the land half a century of peace and firm yet humane government. Their chief anxieties were in Syria, which was conquered by the Turkoman Seljuks in 1076, and twenty-two years later became the battlefield of the first crusade. El-Afdal did a little by diplomacy and by arms to retain the vestiges of Fatemid power in Syria, and the Egyptians twice defeated Baldwin; but, one after the other, the coast fortresses, Acre, Tripolis, Tyre, fell; and Askalon remained, until 1153, the last relic of Fatemid dominion in Palestine.

THE ZAWILA GATE IN OLD CAIRO

The great Zawila gate was built in the 12th century by a Fatemid vizir. The period was remarkable for its architecture, as many other beautiful buildings in Cairo testify.

The great vizir was assassinated in 1121 at the instigation of the caliph El-Amir, who had succeeded his father El-Mustali, son of El-Mustansir, in 1101, and was himself murdered in 1130. A curious interregnum followed, when Afdal's son, Abu-Ali, the vizir, ruled Egypt and ordered the prayers and coinage in the name of the predicted Mahdi, or Imam el-Muntazar, "the expected," whose second advent was confidently anticipated by a sect of the Shias. This vizir was in turn assassinated by order of Amir's cousin, El-Hafiz, who became caliph in 1131, and who also appointed Armenians to the vizirate, and, like most of the caliphs of his line, cultivated friendly relations with the Christians and frequented their monasteries and gardens. The Armenian community was naturally most favoured when several of their nation held the government; but besides these most of the clerkly posts were in the hands of Copts. The excesses of the black soldiers, however, made any sort of orderly government impossible. The next caliph, Ez-Zafir (1149–1153), as well as his vizir, Ibn es-Salar, was treacherously murdered; his son, a child four years old, only lived till 1160, when the last Fatemid caliph, El-Adid, aged nine, was set on the nominal throne by the vizir Ibn Ruzzik, who had been the real ruler of Egypt since 1154, and skillfuly played off the rival powers in Syria, Nur-ed-din of Damascus, and Amalric of Jerusalem, against each other. He built a beautiful mosque, the ruins of which remain near the great Zawila gate of his great predecessor Bedr el-Gemali. The Fatemid period was remarkable for its architecture, which

has a character of its own, but shows close affinities to Byzantine work. In literature the age was far less notable than in the arts, but this is perhaps accounted for by schismatic isolation.

Egypt Falls to Damascus

It had for some time been a question whether Egypt was to fall to the Christian king of Jerusalem or to the Moslem king of Damascus. After the assassination of Ibn Ruzzik, in 1161, the rivalry of two vizirs at Cairo precipitated the crisis. One called in Nur-ed-din, the other tried to make terms with Amalric. Thrice the opposing armies of Syria and Jerusalem entered Egypt and fought there, under the guise of deliverers. In 1164 and 1167 the honours were divided, but the Christians gained a slight advantage. Amalric's massacres and greed of gold finally drove the Egyptians into the arms of his most powerful enemy, and when, in 1169, Nur-ed-din's general, Shirkuh, appeared for the third time before Cairo the Crusaders withdrew without even offering battle. The deliverer became vizir, and on his death, two months later, was succeeded by his nephew, Salah-ed-din Yusuf ibn Ayyub, the "Saladin" of European writers.

Saladin was a Kurd of Tekrit by birth (1138), but he had been brought up at the Turkish court of Nur-ed-din at Damascus, and his military and political ideas were Turkish. He introduced the system of military fiefs and slave troops which afterwards developed under the Mameluke sultans. He learned soldiership under the best generals, and won his spurs at the battle of Baban, in Upper Egypt (1167), when his tactics routed Amalric he defended Alexandria against heavy odds for seventy-five days, when the Crusaders besieged it in the same year. As vizir of an heretical caliph, and at the same time viceroy of a particularly orthodox king, his position was intolerable; the Fatemid caliphate was soon abolished (1171), and the death of Nur-ed-din, in 1174, left Saladin the protagonist of Islam against the Crusaders. Most of his career falls outside Egyptian history. Of the twenty-four years of his reign only eight were passed in Egypt; the rest were filled with campaigns in Syria, Mesopotamia, and Palestine. He had already made Egypt safe against further invasion, suppressed a great revolt of the black troops in Cairo, repelled an attack on Damietta by the combined fleets of the Eastern Emperor and the king of Jerusalem, made a dash upon Gaza, seized the port of Eyla on the Red Sea, carrying his ships overland in sections from Cairo, and sent expeditions to Barka and Gabes on the west, to Ibrim in the Sudan, and to Sana in the Yemen, which his brother Turanshah conquered in 1174.

Saladin in Egypt

The repression of a conspiracy at Cairo in favour of the deposed dynasty, the failure of a fleet of 282 ships despatched by the king of Sicily to capture Alexandria, and the deaths of Amalric and Nur-ed-din, removed all fears of external attack and internal rebellion, and Saladin was free to enter upon his great policy—to consolidate the Moslem states of Syria and Mesopotamia with Egypt and to bring the whole force of all to bear upon the supreme task of driving the Christians out of Palestine.

In 1174 he entered Damascus, still nominally the vassal of Nur-ed-din's little son, and in 1176 he defeated the Atabeg of Mosul and all the forces of Mesopotamia and Aleppo at the Turkoman's Wells, and was recognised as sovereign over all Syria.

Saladin's Wise Administration

During the comparative peace of the next six years, an interval of strenuous preparations, Cairo was fortified by a new wall, a citadel, and the great dike of Giza. Several theological colleges, or Medresas, were founded for the first time in Egypt for the free teaching of Mohammedan learning according to the Shafite school of Sunnite orthodoxy. In his wise administration Saladin had the devoted counsel of his chancellor, the learned Kadi El-Fadil, whose rigid orthodoxy supported his master in a policy of confiscation, if not actual persecution, against the Christians of Egypt, which contrasted with the lenient indulgence of the Fatemid caliphs.

In 1182 Saladin left Cairo, as it turned out for ever, to muster his forces for the Holy War. He had already, in 1180, formed a general alliance of the Moslem princes from the Persian Gulf to the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, but it needed the sterner lessons of a series of triumphant campaigns to bring the whole of the Mesopotamian lordships to his standards. At last, in 1186, he had secured his northern flank, and could advance boldly on Palestine. The history of his great war (1187–1193) may be read elsewhere. The crushing defeat of the Crusaders at Hittin near Tiberias on July 4th, 1187, was followed by

the fall of the whole kingdom of Jerusalem and the honourable capitulation of the holy city itself. Tyre alone of all the fortresses of Palestine defied his assaults, and Saladin vainly tried to dislodge Guy of Lusignan and the Christian army beleaguering Acre, which fell at last, in 1191, to the attack of Richard I. [see page 1964]. When peace was made, in 1192, the Crusaders retained only the strip of coast from Acre to Jaffa. All the rest of Palestine and Syria remained part of the dominions of the great "Soldan," who died six months later (1193). Magnanimous, chivalrous, gentle, sympathetic, pure in heart and life, ascetic and laborious, simple in his habits, fervently devout, and only severe in his zeal for the faith, he has been rightly held to be the type and pattern of Saracen chivalry.

Saladin's successors ruled Egypt for more than half a century, as other members of his family ruled other provinces of his empire, and the various kinsmen were usually fighting with each other. Out of the turmoil his brother El-Adil Serf-ed-din, or "Saphadin," emerged as the true leader,

Saladin's Great Brother

second only to his greater brother, whom he had faithfully served for over twenty years; and by 1200 he was master of most of Saladin's dominions. Much of Adil's reign was taken up with resisting futile efforts of the diminished and disunited Crusaders; the "Children's Crusade," in 1212, only filled Egypt with prisoners, but the capture of Damietta by John of Brienne in 1218 was a death-blow to the sultan. His able son El-Kamil (1218–1238), however, defeated the invaders, though strongly reinforced, at Mansura in 1219, and they were forced to evacuate Egypt. Kamil, who was as wise and prudent a statesman as his father, kept his hold of Saladin's empire as far as the Euphrates, and did much for Egypt by improving the irrigation, completing the citadel of Cairo, founding colleges, and encouraging learning. He was on friendly terms with the Emperor Frederick II., who sent an embassy to Cairo, and in 1229 a treaty was made by which Jerusalem (except the Hazam esh-Shezif), Bethlehem, and Nazareth were ceded to the emperor in return for a defensive alliance and other friendly agreements, which aroused the indignation of the Pope. Kamil's sons, El-Adil II. (1240–1242) and Es-Salih Ayyub (1242–1249), followed, and then, in the midst of Louis IX's crusade, Salih died, and the saving of Egypt was left to his brilliant cavalry, the famous Mamelukes, or white slaves who ruled Egypt for the next 270 years.

The Ayyubid period had been remarkable chiefly for wars abroad, but it had raised Egypt once more to a pitch of power

Egypt's Symbol of Empire

and prosperity such as it had not known since the days of the Fatemid Aziz. The building of the citadel of Cairo meant much more than the mastery of the city: it was the symbol of empire. Internal resources were developed, and trading concessions were granted to the Venetians and the Pisans, who had a consul at Alexandria. Learning was encouraged by a series of scholarly sultans, and Kamil was generous and benevolent towards the Christians. Francis of Assisi preached before him, and the Dominicans visited his son Es-Salih; but the crusade of St. Louis revived the old exasperation between the creeds, and his pious invasion caused the demolition of over a hundred churches.

The men who broke King Louis's French chivalry at the second battle of Mansura, in 1249, and afterwards surrounded, pursued, and made an end of his army, and took the king prisoner, were the Bahri Mamelukes, or "white slaves of the river," so called because, out of several similar brigades, they were quartered on the island of Roda, opposite Cairo. Bodyguards of vigorous young Turkish slaves had long been employed by the Abbassid caliphs, by the Seljuks, by the Atabegs of Mosul, and by Saladin; but Es-Salih specially organised them as a corps d'élite in Egypt. Their leader at the critical moment happened to be a woman, a widow of Salih, who gave way for three months when her husband's son, Turanshah, arrived and took command. But after his murder, Sheger-ed-durr, who had been the brains

Mameluke Queen of Egypt

of the army during the most anxious period of the crusade, became again the queen of Egypt, and exercised royal authority (1250-57), though nominally associating with herself in the sovereignty El-Ashref, a child of the house of Ayyub. She married one of the chiefs of the Mamelukes, the Emir Aybek, but he was only her generalissimo, and the real power always rested in her hands till, in 1257, she had Aybek murdered

out of jealousy, and was herself beaten to death by rival women slaves three days afterwards. Aybek's son, who instigated this crime, was a frivolous youth, and was soon deposed by his regent Kutuz. Henceforth the throne belonged to the man with the longest sword. The bravest and richest generals and officers of the court accumulated slave retainers and acquired a power and state almost equal to that of the reigning sultan, and on his death his throne usually fell to the strongest of them, if it did not fall before, for most of the Mameluke sultans came to a violent end. All were alike slaves by origin—sultan, emirs, or military chiefs, soldiers, servants—and the origin brought with it no sense of degradation. Any slave with personal qualifications, courage, skill at arms and sports, good looks and address, had the chance of rising to favour and influence in his master's household, where he might earn his freedom. Thence he would climb to court offices, as cupbearer, taster, polo-master, equerry, mace-bearer, and the like—for the Mameluke court was elaborately organised—and gather a host of slave retainers around him, and keep a miniature court of his own. To grasp the throne was the final step, if he were both strong and diplomatic, and then he would try to hold it as long as he could—usually but a few years—till a stronger man took it from him. Every man was every other man's equal, if he could prove it so. The process of proving it implied constant struggles, and the people of Cairo used to close the great wooden gates of the quarters, sometimes for a whole week, and listen trembling to the turmoil outside. They were repaid in quieter times by the sight of the most splendid pageants that Egypt ever knew; for the Mameluke sultans and their emirs loved pomp, and their progresses were conducted with dazzling equipment and stately ceremony, while their frequent polo matches, archery, and falconry, showed off their magnificent horsemanship.

The Slave Sultans

Egypt's Most Splendid Pageants

The Mamelukes were physically superb: Beybars swam the Nile in his cuirass, dragging after him several great nobles seated on inflated cushions, and on one of his campaigns he swam the Euphrates at the head of his troops. They were a race of born soldiers, bold, dashing horsemen, fighting with mace and sword and bow, and throwing the javelin with extraordinary skill. They were also the most luxurious of men, and filled their great palaces with works of art, costly carpets, carved ivory and woodwork, inlaid gold and silver drinking and washing vessels, porcelain, flowers, perfumes, beautiful stained windows and panelled ceilings. Most of the beautiful mosques of Cairo were built by these truculent soldiers—all foreigners, chiefly Turks, a caste apart, with no thought for the native Egyptians whose lands they received in fief from the sultan; and no bowels of mercy where ambition called for massacre or secret assassination, yet fastidious in dress, equipment, and manners, laborious in business, and much given to music and poetry, but most of all to wine.

Twenty-four sultans of the Bahri dynasty followed one another between 1250 and 1390, but only three or four stand out from the rest as men of exceptional character. The greatest of all was Beybars (1260–1277), the brilliant cavalry leader, who shattered Louis's knights at Mansura, and afterwards helped Kutuz to crumple up the Mongol hordes of Hulagu Khan at the momentous battle of Ayn Galut, "Goliath's Spring," in Palestine, on September 3rd, 1260, and, then conspiring against his sultan, stepped over his body to the throne. He was the real founder of the Mameluke empire, and consolidated his wide dominions so ably that all the follies and jealousies of his successors could not undo his work. The fabric stood unshaken for two centuries and a half, till the Ottoman Turks flowed over it. He raised the Mameluke army of 12,000 picked troops to the highest pitch of discipline and efficiency, organised the system of military fiefs, built a navy of forty war galleys, dug canals, and made bridges all over Egypt, strengthened Alexandria and other fortresses, built a mosque, college, and hall of justice, and connected Cairo and Damascus by a regular post service of four days, so that he used to play polo in both cities in the same week. He strengthened his position as chief sultan of Islam by importing a representative of the "Abbassids of Bagdad"—whose caliphate was extinguished by the Mongols in 1258—and enthroning him as caliph at Cairo, where this fainéant heir of the Abbassid caliphate subsisted till the

The Greatest Mameluke

Ottoman conquest. One caliph, El-Mustain, even sat nominally on the Mameluke throne for a few months in 1412. Beybars sent friendly embassies to the emperor at Constantinople, to Manfred of Sicily, to Baraka Khan of the Golden Horde, whose daughter he married, and whose alliance preserved the Mameluke empire from the assaults of the Mongols of Persia. Between 1265 and 1272 he captured most of the Crusader fortresses of Palestine, took all the strongholds of the dreaded sect of Assassins in the Ansariya mountains, defeated the Mongols in Cilicia (1277), and seated himself for the nonce upon the Seljuk throne at Kaisariyeh—he had already annexed Dongola and the Sudan (1275). His unquestioned sway extended from the fourth cataract of the Nile and the holy cities of Arabia to the Pyramus and the Euphrates. He had revived the empire of Saladin. Egypt prospered under his just, firm rule, and the cost of his wars was met from the conquered provinces, while taxes were remitted at home. He strictly prohibited wine, beer, and hashish, and suppressed immorality in the towns. Suspicious and perfidious towards shifty agents, he was true to loyal officers, and his bravery, munificence, and toleration made him so popular with the people that his exploits were a favourite topic of the Arabic story-tellers in Cairo cafés down to the nineteenth century.

THE SLAVE RULERS OF EGYPT

For two and a half centuries Egypt was ruled by a brilliant series of soldier sultans, famous in history as the Mamelukes, who were slaves by origin and retained their power only by the might of their arms.

The two sons of Beybars, who were set on the throne successively, did not inherit their father's capacity, and were soon deposed by the emir Kalaun (1279–1290), who emulated his great predecessor in every respect, defeated a Mongol invasion at Hims in Syria (1281), seized several of the few remaining Crusader fortresses, including Tripolis, and maintained close relations with the European Powers; he concluded commercial treaties with Genoa and Castile, and Sicily even entered into a kind of alliance with Egypt. His prudent policy and just rule—though intolerant towards the Copts—preserved the prosperity which Beybars had inaugurated, and the celebrated Maristan, or hospital, at Cairo, with its wards, lecture-rooms, laboratories, dispensary, and the adjoining mosque and exquisite tomb-chapel, testify to the benevolence, piety and architectural taste of Kalaun. His son Khalil (1290–1303) took Acre and all that remained of the Crusaders' fortresses, and proclaimed a holy war with a view to the conquest of the world; but the braggart, whose only virtue was courage, and whose vices were unspeakable, was opportunely murdered by the disgusted emirs before he could do more harm. Khalil's brother, a child of nine years, En-Nasir Mohammed (1293–1341, interrupted 1294–1298, and 1309–1310), held the throne with two intermissions for nearly half a century, chiefly because of the jealousies of rival emirs, who found the claim of an hereditary title, however unrecognised in principle, more tolerable than the risk of civil war. They tried it, indeed, when they had deposed Ketbugha, who from regent of En-Nasir became sultan (1294–1296), and then elected Lagin, the lord armour-bearer of Kalaun, to be their king, but strictly as primus inter pares. He made favourites, who flouted and imprisoned the great nobles; so they murdered him and brought back

En-Nasir, who now found himself a half-starved nonentity in the hands of jealous emirs, whose armed bands were constantly making the streets of Cairo a pandemonium. The wealth of these great lords was prodigious, as may be seen from the numerous mosques they founded and the wonderful development of all the arts and luxuries during this period. It was only by degrees, after a diplomatic retirement in 1309—during which the emir Beybars II. mismanaged the government—and by many executions and treacheries, that En-Nasir established his supremacy. Meanwhile the Mongols of Persia renewed their invasions of Syria, and, after a victory at Hims, in 1299, occupied Damascus, to be handsomely defeated on the Marg es-Suffar by the Mamelukes, who beat them back for the fourth and last time in 1303. Whatever else the Mamelukes left undone, their splendid dash and discipline saved Egypt from the curse of Mongol conquest.

Prodigious Mameluke Wealth

Egypt was exceptionally wealthy, and the trade with Europe and India, and the transit dues, were immense. Christians and Jews indeed suffered much persecution after a long toleration and overgrown authority. The old sumptuary laws were revived in 1301, and renewed in 1321; blue and yellow turbans were enforced, while many churches were demolished or closed, though Copts were still employed in all the government offices. As he grew more absolute the sultan levied more money from the great nobles, and remitted many taxes which burdened the people. His general rule was just but very stern, and he did much to better the conditions of the agriculturists. He was a notable builder—it was the great age of Saracenic architecture in Egypt—and all the high officers vied with each other in founding mosques and medresas. Nasir himself built two noble mosques, greatly improved the citadel of Cairo, made the canal between Alexandria and the capital, and the aqueduct from the Nile to the citadel, encouraged stock-breeding, farming, falconry, and everything except vice, wine—and kindliness. His reign was the climax of Mohammedan civilisation in Egypt.

Cairo' Noble Mosques

So great was the reputation established by Nasir's long reign that eight of his sons, two grandsons, and two great-grandsons succeeded him during the next forty years. But none of them can be said to have ruled, though one son, Sultan Hasan—remembered by his great mosque—had a broken reign of ten years; and one grandson, Shaban, retained the nominal throne for sixteen. The real rulers were the too powerful emirs, Kusun, Aksunkur, Sheykhu, etc., who built exquisite mosques and ruined the country by their extortions and contests. The "Black Death" of 1348–1349 carried off thousands of the people of Cairo in a single day. The king of Cyprus, Peter of Lusignan, raided Alexandria in 1365.

It was inevitable that the race of puppets descended from Nasir should be supplanted by some strong emir, and the man appeared in Barkuk—1382–1399, interrupted by Haggi, 1389–1390—one of the Burgi Mamelukes, or "White Slaves of the Fort," so called because since the time of Kalaun this brigade had been quartered in the Burg, or citadel of Cairo. They were at first chiefly of Circassian race, though recruited later from Greeks, Mongols and Turks; and of the twenty-three sultans who formed this dynasty (1382–1517) all were Circassians save two Greeks. They usually had short reigns, and six of them fill 103 out of the total 134 years. Seven of them transmitted the throne to their sons, but the latter were mere temporary stopgaps until the leading emirs fought out the succession.

Rule of the White Slaves

The Circassian sultan was little more than chief emir, primus inter pares, like Lagin, elected by his peers, and quite easily deposed by them when they were tired of him. The real authority rested with the military oligarchy. The greed and jealousy of the great emirs led to widespread corruption and barbarous cruelty. Governorships and justice were openly sold, and rivals were abominably tortured. So debauched were the Mameluke troops that no woman could be allowed to appear in the streets; and the peasants did not dare to bring their cattle and produce to market at Cairo. Such excesses took place under the best and most devout sultans, like El-Muayyad (1412–1421), a learned and accomplished man of ascetic life, as well as under the venal and grasping Greek, Khushkadam, who took bribes from everybody for the vilest purposes. Famine, plague, risings of starving peasantry, mercilessly stamped

out under horses' hoofs, form the staple of the history during this period.

The only good things these villainous rulers did was to build some of the loveliest mosques in and around Cairo, probably in the hope of atoning for their crimes. Their one foreign exploit of importance was the conquest of Cyprus in 1426, long a stronghold of Mediterranean piracy, which remained tributary to Egypt till the close of the dynasty. Barkuk and his son Farag (1399–1412) resisted Timur in Syria with some success, though the great conqueror's death was the chief cause of Egypt's escape. Muayyad and his son Ibrahim reduced a large part of Asia Minor for a time (1418–1419). Bars Bey (1422–1438), the strongest and most oppressive of all, was the conqueror of Cyprus, who held James of Lusignan to ransom at Cairo, and his successor—after the usual farce of setting up his son for three months—Gakmak (1438–1453), a learned theologian, tried to emulate him by several unsuccessful attacks on Rhodes, and emphasised his Moslem correctness by persecuting Christians and Jews and reviving their old humiliations. Kait Bey (1468–1496) reigned the longest and was the most successful of all the Burgi sultans He had worked his way up in the usual Mameluke way. Bought for $125 by Bars Bey, he was sold to Gakmak, made a lieutenant by Inal (1453–1461), a colonel by Khushkadam (1461–1467), and finally was elected, in 1468, to succeed the well-intentioned but wholly unsuccessful Timurbugha as sultan. He was the last strong ruler of independent Egypt, and he was great in every sense, wise, brave, energetic, and ready. Cairo is full of his monuments and restorations, and his public works extended from Egypt to Syria and even Arabia. He travelled over all his dominions, to Jerusalem and the Euphrates, as well as performing the pilgrimage to Mecca, and wherever he went bridges, roads, mosques, schools, or fortifications bore witness to his progress. His reign rivalled Nasir's in artistic and architectural pre-eminence.

The Last Strong Emir

It was attained at the cost of heavy taxation in addition to oppressive government monopolies and high duties on foreign trade. The European trade had grown to vast proportions. The Italian republics found it necessary to keep consular agents at Alexandria. Venice had two funduks, or marts; Genoa, Ancona, Florence had their magazines, and Naples, Narbonne, Marseilles, and Catalonia were represented there. The wealth and influence of Venice is shown by the fact that her consul guaranteed the king of Cyprus's ransom of $500,000 in 1426. The Indian trade was also very valuable. We read of $180,000 paid in customs dues at Gidda on the Red Sea, which was an Egyptian port. The Mameluke sultan took toll on every bale of goods that passed between Europe and India, until Vasco da Gama sailed round the Cape of Good Hope in 1497. It was an immense monopoly, and extortionately used.

Immense Trade Monopoly

Troubles with his nominal vassals, the Turkoman chiefs of Asia Minor, nearly brought about a rupture with the Ottoman sultans who had recently taken Constantinople, and Kait Bey's welcome to the exiled prince Gem was resented by his brother sultan, Bajazet, who retaliated by annexing Tarsus, but was defeated at Adana by the Mameluke emir Ezbek in 1488, and had to restore his conquests when peace was arranged in 1491.

Four incapable successors followed in as many years, and then Kansuh El-Ghuri (1501–1516) restored order, levied ten months' taxes at a stroke, laid hands upon every possible source of revenue, built and fortified, strengthened the army, the citadel, and the coast defences, and even sent a fleet to the Bombay coast and defeated the Portuguese off Chaul in 1508 in the vain hope of preserving the Indian transit trade; but Almaida avenged the Portuguese honour by his victory over the Admiral Hoseyn off Diu in 1509. Kansuh was preparing for the inevitable conflict with Turkey, but he was too late. Selim I. was bent on the conquest of Egypt; there was treachery among the Mamelukes, and Kansuh fell at the head of his gallant army in the fatal battle of Marg Dabik near Aleppo on August 24th, 1516. His successor, Tuman Bey, refused to become the viceroy of the Turkish sultan; the Mamelukes fought their last desperate battle at the Mukattam hill beside Cairo on January 22nd, 1517; the city was stormed street by street, and after a week's massacre the conquest was complete. The last of the Abbassid caliphs was carried off to Constantinople, where the sultan arrogated to himself the sacred office.

Massacre of the Mamelukes

A general view of the native quarter of Cairo, showing the Pyramids in the distance.

The mosque of the Sultan Hassan, the most beautiful in Cairo.

The citadel of Cairo, built in the ninth century, and a portion of the great Mohammedan burial place.

CAIRO: THE CAPITAL OF MEDIÆVAL AND MODERN EGYPT

Cairo was founded at the Arabian conquest in 640 A.D., when Fostat was built, since when it has spread northwards to the present town. Cairo is famous for its beautiful mosques, of which there are over 150.

LATER EGYPT II

BY STANLEY LANE-POOLE

SINCE THE OTTOMAN CONQUEST

ALTHOUGH from 1517 Egypt was a mere province of Turkey, like Syria or Irak, it was still practically under the domination of the Mamelukes, and remained so up to the invasion of Napoleon. The chief difference was that instead of a sultan elected out of their own ranks, they had a Beglerbeg, called, after 1573, a Pasha, sent from Constantinople. This pasha, whose principal business was to collect as much cash as possible for the Sultan of Turkey—who extorted as much as 800,000 to 1,000,000 ducats a year from Egypt—and for himself, was controlled by a council of Mameluke emirs, soon to be known by the Turkish title of Bey, and the head Mameluke, or Sheikh el-Beled (mayor), had much greater power than the Pasha. The unfortunate tax-gatherer of the sultan, for the pasha, as a rule, was little more than that, shut up in the citadel of Cairo, guarded by the Turkish regiments of Azabs and Janissaries, held but a little brief authority. We hear of seven pashas succeeding one another in eighteen months, till the people of Cairo remonstrated, saying that a pasha every three years was change enough. The real power remained with the Mamelukes, and with the commanders of the Azabs and Janissaries, who were practically Mamelukes.

The Sultan's Extortions in Egypt

Very little change in the character of Egyptian life and history was brought about by the Turkish conquest. The annals become more monotonous, the stage is smaller, and the actors less distinguished, because with the loss of outside possessions and foreign wars, statesmanship and military prowess degenerated, and politics became provincial. Wealth diminished, of course, by the transference of much of the trade of Alexandria to Constantinople, and by the loss of the Indian trade following upon the discovery of the Cape route, in spite of which the extortions of the sultan of Turkey continued exorbitant. Otherwise, the Mameluke Beys, who controlled Egypt under a nominal Turkish chief, bore a strong family likeness to the Mameluke emirs of earlier days. They were smaller in their aims and achievements, but they did just the same things, fought one another's retainers in the streets, turned mosques into forts, and fired cannon from their roofs at one another, laid siege to the Turkish troops in the citadel for months together, kept great state and open house every day to all comers in their palaces on the banks of the Ezbekiyeh, then a lake at high Nile, or by the Birket el-Fil (Lake of the Elephant), supported learning and the arts, and built and restored mosques. Abd-er-Rahman Kihya, who died in 1776, was one of the greatest builders of modern Egypt, erected several mosques and numerous fountains and drinking tanks, and made innumerable restorations of great merit, notably in the Azhar mosque.

Splendour of the Mamelukes

Some of the great Mameluke Beys recall the best traditions of the days of En-Nasir. Othman Bey Dhu-l-Fikar, in the first half of the eighteenth century, was the greatest man in Egypt of his time; he made his own Mamelukes emirs, led the pilgrimage to Mecca with great pomp, feasted the pasha in his palace—where he held his own court of justice—punished oppression, fixed the price of the necessaries of life, and waged war against every form of corruption. So noble was his character and just and proud his life, that he created an era, and people used to date events from his banishment. Rudwan el-Gelfi, commander of the Azabs, also in the eighteenth century, was another great figure, and while he held sway plenty reigned—at least in the capital. His hospitality in his great house on the Ezbekiyeh was lavish and his charity unbounded. Like Othman Bey, he fell a victim to the conspiracy of his rivals, the inseparable bane of the Mameluke system. Literature and learning flourished under such rulers, and the zeal for the strict observance of the religious law was so burning that smoking in the streets was sternly forbidden, and anyone found publicly smoking

Flourishing of Literature and Learning

was compelled to eat his clay pipe-stem. One of the Mameluke emirs, Ali Bey, taking advantage of the Sultan's preoccupation in a war with Russia, actually made himself independent of Turkey (1768–1772), and even took Mecca and invaded Syria, but was defeated at Gaza by Murad Bey. His lieutenant, betrayer, and successor, Mohammed Bey Abu-Dhahab (Father of Gold, so-called from his munificence), who had distinguished himself in the Syrian campaign, was an admirable ruler, whose memory is preserved by the great collegiate mosque which he founded in 1774 near the Azhar, whose salaried professors, a novelty in the East, in fur hoods expounded the law according to the four schools of teaching.

Munificence of the Mamelukes

After the death of Ali and Mohammed, in 1773 and 1775, there was a struggle between rival Mamelukes, and when Murad and Ibrahim had put down the rest, they fell out between themselves. The Porte attempted unsuccessfully to restore order by sending Hasan, the captain-pasha, in 1786, but the rivalry of Murad and Ibrahim Bey was to be ended by the arrival of a new and wholly unexpected master. Napoleon Bonaparte had begun his dream of Eastern Empire.

A GREAT MAMELUKE BEY
Murad was one of the two Mameluke Beys who unsuccessfully opposed Napoleon's invasion.

The connection of the Egyptian campaign with Napoleon's general policy is treated elsewhere. He had conceived the idea of mastering the East, including in the scheme the overthrow of the British power in India. From the East he would turn on the West, and compel Europe to submission. The first step was to be the seizure of Egypt. The true objective of the fleet, which had for some time been in preparation at Toulon, had been more or less disguised by threats of an invasion of England; but, although Bonaparte managed to evade Nelson's watching squadron, the English admiral correctly guessed his destination. It was an accident—as will be elsewhere related—that enabled the great general of the French Republic to reach Alexandria, disembark, and fight the battle of the Pyramids, before Nelson fell upon the French fleet. Undoubtedly the battle of the Pyramids transformed the "little grape-shot general" into the "Man of Destiny."

Twenty-four hours before the arrival of the French fleet at Alexandria, in 1798, the intentions of General Bonaparte were apparent in Egypt; on the evening of July 1st his army, numbering about 40,000 men, began to disembark; at midday on the 2nd, the city was occupied, and on the 3rd the vanguard set out for the south. When the tops of the great pyramids became visible on the horizon, Bonaparte uttered the famous words: "Forty centuries look down upon you." Murad and Ibrahim had taken up a position between the pyramids and the river; their centre, the village of Embabeh, surrounded by entrenchments but without artillery, was stormed by the French after a furious onslaught of Murad's cavalry had been repulsed by the infantry squares. This battle of July 21st dispersed the Mameluke army; Ibrahim retreated to the Eastern Delta and Murad to Upper Egypt; Cairo capitulated four days later. On August 17th, Bonaparte cut off Ibrahim at Salahiyeh and compelled him to seek refuge in Syria. Meantime Nelson had destroyed the French fleet at Abukir on August 1st. Bonaparte and his army were isolated; the Mediterranean had been transformed into a British lake. Nevertheless, Desaix marched on Upper Egypt at the end of August, arriving at Assouan after two severe engagements; Murad's resistance became a mere guerrilla warfare. The French in Cairo made preparations for a continued occupation. On first landing, Napoleon had announced that he, the destroyer of the Knights of Malta, was a friend of Islam, who only desired to make war upon the "godless race of the Beys." He adopted the customs of the Moslems with all possible publicity, taking part in the festival of Molid en-Nebi in Arab costume. A proclamation, which has been recovered in the form of a Fetwa of the Cairo divan, dated February 11th, 1799, was drawn up in order that Bonaparte might be declared by the Ulema not only a complete believer in the Prophet, but also sultan of Egypt. Although some of the

Napoleon Becomes Mohammedan

NAPOLEON'S ENTRY INTO EGYPT: THE OCCUPATION OF ALEXANDRIA

Napoleon conceived the idea of mastering the East, and, with its aid, to master the West, the first step being the seizure of Egypt. On July 1st, 1798. his army disembarked at Alexandria, and on the 2nd the city was occupied.

conversions were genuine, the confidence of the Orientals was not thus to be taken by storm. Seyyid Bedr el-Mukaddam, a fanatical descendant of Mahomet, roused the population of Cairo to revolt on October 21st, 1798, and three days of street fighting ensued. Bonaparte's bold Syrian enterprise, from the end of January until June, 1799, in spite of several such brilliant successes as the capture of Jaffa and the victory over Ibrahim at Tabor, ended in a complete failure at Acre, where the French forces were opposed by Gezzar Pasha and Sir Sydney Smith. A few weeks

THE BATTLE WHICH MADE NAPOLEON "THE MAN OF DESTINY"

It was the Battle of the Pyramids, fought on July 21st, 1798, before Nelson could attack the French fleet, that transformed the "little grape-shot general" into "the Man of Destiny." The Mameluke army was dispersed and Cairo fell.

after Bonaparte's return, in the middle of July, 1799, 20,000 Turks under Mustafa Pasha landed in Abukir under the protection of the English fleet, but were driven back to their ships with heavy loss by a French force of 8,000 troops on July 25th.

Napoleon Leaves Egypt

This event marks the conclusion of Bonaparte's career in Egypt. Tidings from Europe transmitted to him through the British admiral induced him to return thither on August 23rd, with two frigates, which had been saved from the English, and a following of 500 men.

Kléber, upon whom the chief command now devolved, was by no means in love with the undertaking which he was expected to continue; moreover, the Turkish grand vizir, Yusuf Pasha, was advancing from Syria at the head of an army of 80,000 men. An exaggerated report of Kléber to the Directory upon the bad condition of the French army fell into the hands of the British and led to the opening of negotiations for the evacuation of the country. On January 28th, Desaix signed the convention of El-Arish, a town that had just been occupied by the grand vizir, and immediately left the country. Kléber made every effort to fulfil the heavy conditions of the agreement.

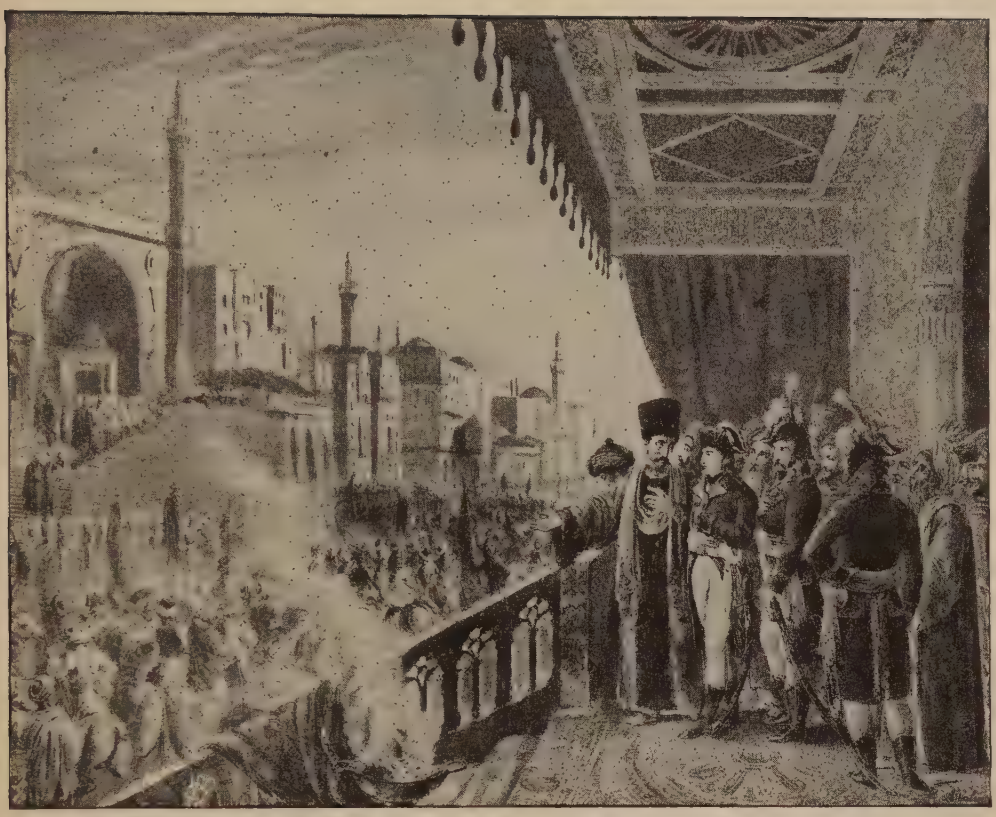
Upper Egypt and Cairo had been already evacuated when the British admirals declared that the French troops must surrender as prisoners of war. Kléber's reply to these demands was issued in his orders for the day: "Soldiers, such demands are to be answered simply by victory; prepare for battle!" On March 20th, 1800, with scarcely 10,000 men, he defeated the army of the grand vizir, which was eight times as large as his own, at Matariyeh close to Cairo, in the famous "battle of Heliopolis"; two days later the encampment of Yusuf Pasha with his large supply of stores fell into the hands of the French.

Cairo was retaken after a struggle lasting several days, which began upon the 27th; Ibrahim was exiled to Syria, but Murad, as the ally of France, was rewarded with the governorship of Upper Egypt. Though it lasted but a short time, Kléber's administration was attended with high success; the army was also strengthened by the addition of a Coptic and a Greek legion. On June 14th, 1800, the day of the battle of Marengo and the death of Desaix in Europe, Kléber was assassinated by a fanatic.

French Government of Egypt

As senior commanding officer, Menou, who had taken an Egyptian wife, now assumed the responsibility of administration; under the title of "Abdullah Menou" he continued the work of government reform and sought to develop the natural resources of the country with a view

NAPOLEON PARDONING THE LEADERS OF THE REVOLT AT CAIRO IN 1798



NAPOLEON AS A MOHAMMEDAN AT A MOSLEM FESTIVAL IN CAIRO

One of Napoleon's first acts on landing in Egypt was to announce himself a friend of Islam, adopting Moslem customs and taking part in a Mohammedan festival, in order that he might be declared Sultan of Egypt.

to a permanent occupation. However, the Turks advanced from Syria, and the British commander, Sir Ralph Abercrombie, landed at Abukir with 17,000 men and won a victory near Alexandria on March 21st, 1801. A considerable force of sepoys, despatched from India under the command of Sir David Baird, arrived to assist the British operations. Belliard, who had remained in Cairo, where Murad Bey had recently died of the plague, was compelled to capitulate on June 23rd, and Menou at Alexandria on September 22nd. The French army, which still consisted of no less than 24,000 men, was transported to France on English vessels. In March, 1803, the British also evacuated the country, after obtaining an amnesty for the Mamelukes by a convention with the Porte, the Beys promising henceforward to abstain from all interference in the government of Egypt.

The French occupation was transitory but its legacy to science was permanent. The great "Description of Egypt," published by the savants who accompanied Bonaparte's army, laid the foundations of an exact knowledge of the history, antiquities, and actual conditions of the country. The discovery of the famous "Rosetta Stone" by French sappers at Fort St. Julien paved the way to the decipherment of the hieroglyphic inscriptions first successfully begun by Young and Champollion, whence the science of Egyptology had its birth. Ever since, the supervision and interpretation of the monuments of Egypt has been especially a French charge, ably performed, and in many other ways the influence of French science has been felt in various departments of Egyptian progress.

When Bonaparte drove the Turks into the sea in 1798, one of them was picked up by a boat of Sir Sidney Smith's flagship, H.M.S. Tiger, and thenceforth played the chief part in Egyptian history for the first half of the nineteenth century. This was Mohammed Ali—or in popular spelling,

Mehemet Ali—an Albanian of Kavala, on the Macedonian coast, who was born in 1769, the same year as Wellington and Napoleon. Up to nearly the age of thirty he was merely a small local official who combined tax-gathering with the profits of a tobacconist.

Tobacconist Becomes Ruler of Egypt

When the Porte joined England to turn the French out of Egypt, Mehemet Ali went as second in command of the Kavala levy of 300 Bashibazuks, and, after narrowly escaping drowning at the first attempt, landed a second time in 1801, when the Kapudan pasha combined with Abercrombie. The major of Bashibazuks rose to the supreme command of the 5,000 Albanian troops in Egypt, struggled through a welter of intrigues, anarchy and civil war to the highest office in the land, and held it as pasha of Egypt till 1848. He made his way up in precisely the same way as many of the Mameluke sultans before him, and raised Egypt to a position of power and of territory equal to that which she possessed under Beybars.

For ten years he was climbing to the throne; in the second decade he was conquering Arabia and the Sudan; in the third he was gathering strength for his great struggle with Turkey, which filled most of the fourth; and the last decade was the reaction of a man whose vaulting ambition had overleaped itself.

When the British evacuated Egypt, in May, 1803, they left anarchy. Khusrev Pasha, a slave of the Kapudan pasha, was the nominated governor, with few troops and no money. The Mamelukes, who were bent upon recovering their old power, held the provinces. Mehemet Ali at first threw his weight on the side of the Mamelukes, in order to weaken the authority of the Turkish pasha, whom he made prisoner at Damietta. But he had no intention of letting the Mamelukes grow too strong, and when Elfi Bey, the ablest of them, arrived in a British man-of-war with assurances of support from the British Government, Mehemet Ali contrived to keep him at a distance from the other Mamelukes, whose leader, Bardisi Bey, was jealous of Elfi and readily fell into the plot. The old recruiting-ground of the Mamelukes in Circassia and Georgia had been cut off by the Porte, and it was manifestly futile to put trust in a decaying and unprolific race which depended upon slaves, no longer forthcoming, for its perpetuation.

So Mehemet Ali soon drove Bardisi into Upper Egypt and took possession of the capital as the representative of the Sultan.

Mehemet's One Fatal Mistake

His one fatal mistake was in liberating Khusrev, and sending him back to Constantinople, where he never ceased to thwart his rival so long as they both lived. Khusrev afterwards became grand vizir, and was still alive at the time of the Crimean War. Khurshid Pasha, who succeeded Khusrev in Egypt in 1804, introduced mutinous Bashibazuks into Cairo, who spread anarchy and weakened the governor's authority.

GENERAL KLÉBER

Who was left in chief command in Egypt after Napoleon returned to Europe, and governed the country with considerable success.

Hence, Mehemet Ali was able to pose in the curious rôle of protector of the people. In May, 1805, he was elected Pasha by general acclamation, and at once proceeded to bombard Khurshid in the citadel with guns laid on the roof of the opposite mosque of Sultan Hasan, till, in April, 1806, the Sultan's firman arrived, confirming the Albanian as pasha of Egypt. The opportune but suspicious deaths of both Elfi and Bardisi removed his last effective rivals; and the British expedition of 1807 to support the Mamelukes against Turkey, whom Napoleon had succeeded in embroiling with England, ended in humiliating defeat. Master of Egypt, but with a very

insubordinate army of 90,000 men, Mehemet Ali had first to get money. He confiscated the whole land of Egypt, destroyed all titles to estates, and made every cultivator his tenant at will; he took over the vast properties of the Wakfs, or religious and charitable foundations; he extorted taxes, and forced labour and military service from the wretched fellahin, or peasants, without justice or remorse. So long as he got his full demand, he did not inquire by what iniquitous methods his officials raised the men and money. Egypt had never groaned under a worse tyranny. Finally, in 1811, he lured the Mameluke Beys, to the number of 500, to the citadel of Cairo and massacred them to a man in the steep narrow passage that leads down to the Azab gateway. The incredible story that one of them leaped his horse over the battlements is mere legend. Emin Bey did not arrive till after the massacre, and wisely betook himself to Stambul. About 5,000 Mamelukes were slaughtered throughout Egypt; the remnant fled into the Sudan and were eventually dispersed as far as Kordofan. They had brought their fate upon themselves by centuries of bad government. The massacre, however, was never forgiven by Europe.

MEHEMET ALI
The tobacconist who rose to become Pasha of Egypt, its strongest ruler and worst tyrant.

From 1811 to 1818, Mehemet Ali was occupied chiefly on behalf of the Porte in suppressing the Wahabi insurrection in Arabia, which threatened to revive the old Arab caliphate, and from 1820 to 1822 he sent three expeditions to conquer the Sudan as far as Darfur and Kordofan. The leader of one of these, his son Ismail, was burned alive; but Mohammed, the infamous Defterdar, or treasurer, the pasha's son-in-law, avenged his death by horrible massacres and atrocities. Khartoum was founded in 1823, and thenceforward the Sudan became a hunting-field for slaves, and the chief recruiting-ground of the Egyptian army. The Sudanese troops enabled Mehemet Ali to keep his Albanians in order, but the other object of the Sudan conquest, the search for gold, proved unremunerative.

Conquest of the Sudan

For some years after this, the pasha was busy organising his dominions. In 1821, his revenue was about $6,000,000, of which the land tax of about 7s. an acre on 2,000,000 acres of cultivated land furnished $3,300,000, most of which was spent on the army. A system of monopolies, maintained with great vigour, brought in vast profits but discouraged trade; he also did a large personal trade, bought cereals from the fellahin at his own price, and sold at a profit to Europe, while the peasants were starving. He dug the Mahmudiyeh canal, which connects Alexandria with the Nile, and thus revived the prosperity of the ancient port at the cost of the death of 20,000 out of the 300,000 labourers who were forced to work at it. He encouraged Lieutenant Waghorn and the overland route to India, and used Europeans skilfully for his advantage, and to some extent for the advantage of Egypt, while heartily despising Turks and Egyptians. His attempt to make Egypt a manufacturing country was foredoomed to failure. Nevertheless, by 1833 he had doubled the revenue, and had an army of 150,000, with an efficient fleet.

Great Days of Mehemet

His assistance to Turkey during the Greek War of Independence is described elsewhere; the main events were the despatch of his son Ibrahim to the Morea in 1824, the conquest of Modon, Tripolitza, and finally Mesolonghi in April, 1826, and the sinking of the Turco-Egyptian fleet by Codrington in Navarino harbour on October 20th, 1827. The Egyptians evacuated the Peloponnesus under French pressure in 1828. The campaign in Greece cost Mehemet Ali the support of England.

The oppression of the fellahin was driving them in shoals into Syria, and this was made the pretext for another war of aggrandisement. Mehemet Ali had long resolved to try conclusions with his suzerain the Sultan, and in 1832 his army, under his son Ibrahim, descended upon Syria, stormed Acre, and entered Damascus, where it was welcomed as a liberator from Turkish misrule. The Ottoman forces were repeatedly routed with appalling loss —at Homs on July 8th, at the Beilan Pass on July December 21st, when 50,000 29th, and at Koniya on Turks under the famous Reshid Pasha were put to flight. As D. A. Cameron wrote, "Ibrahim had achieved the impossible. The Egyptian had defeated the Turk in three pitched battles against odds, had out-fought him, out-marched him, outmanœuvred him, and taken him captive." Ibrahim had certainly proved himself a military genius, but intrigues at the Porte had undoubtedly helped him. He now threatened Constantinople itself; but the landing of a Russian army at Hunkiyar Iskelesi barred his way. A peace was made at Kutahiya on May 6th, 1833, by which Mehemet Ali retained the whole of Syria and Cilicia.

SAID PASHA

Who paved the way for French predominance by the concession of the Suez Canal.

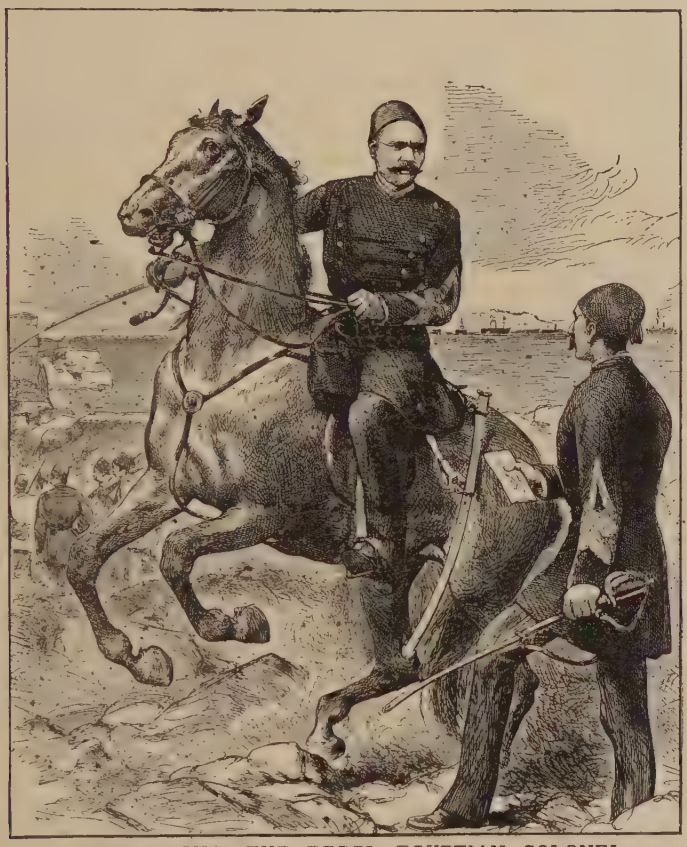
But he had conquered too much. His new possessions were five times the size of Egypt, and their mixed population was not to be governed on Egyptian models; Syrians and Druses would not endure the lash; and when the great pasha tried to levy his taxes in the way which the mild fellahin had suffered patiently, his new subjects revolted again and again, and no massacres or atrocities could subdue them. Moreover, he alienated the one Power that could have saved him. England and France together had forced the Sultan to yield him Syria, but, miscalculating the relative sea-power of the two, he cultivated Louis Philippe, and thus threw Palmerston more than ever on the side of the Anglo-Turkish alliance.

It is true that the great victory of Ibrahim over the Turks at Nezib on June 24th, 1839, followed by the death of Sultan Mahmud II. and the voluntary surrender of the Turkish fleet at Alexandria, seemed to crown the pasha's triumph; but it was short lived. His empire was founded on sand; he had alienated his subjects by unexampled tyranny and extortion, and he had made an enemy of the greatest sea-power in the world. Palmerston threatened to "chuck Mehemet Ali into the Nile," and it was practically done. Admirals Stopford and Napier landed troops at Beyrut, defeated Ibrahim, and took Acre on November 3rd, 1840. A few British ships, a handful of Royal Marines, and a small Turkish force, supported by a vengeful population, drove the Egyptians out of Syria with the loss of half their number on the desert march. Napier compelled Mehemet Ali to accept his terms, and after he had surrendered Syria and made submission to the Sultan, he was granted the hereditary pashalik of Egypt in 1841, at the instance of the Western Powers. But he was now a broken man, and, after paying homage to the Sultan at Constantinople, he gradually sank into lethargy and then into imbecility in 1848, and died almost forgotten in his eightieth year, on August 2nd, 1849, leaving behind him the memory of the strongest, shrewdest, and most relentless of all the "illiterate barbarians" that have ruled Egypt. His brilliant son Ibrahim, who had been appointed regent in July, 1848, predeceased him by nine months, and his

TEWFIK PASHA

Who came to the throne when Egypt was under European control, owing to the reckless extravagance of his predecessor.

grandson Abbas, son of Tusun, succeeded. Warned by the tragic collapse of his grandfather's schemes, Abbas turned his back upon Europe and deliberately undid all that had been attempted. His brief reign, till his murder by his slaves in July, 1854, was an interval of mere reaction to old Turkish ways. All Mehemet Ali's so-called reforms, which were largely on paper, were abolished, and no connection was permitted with European influence. The railway between Alexandria and Cairo, however, was undertaken, and the overland route was encouraged.



ARABI PASHA, THE REBEL EGYPTIAN COLONEL

In 1881, in the early days of European control in Egypt, the discontent due to the general distress following on Ismail's extravagance, and jealousy of Turkish officers, resulted in the revolt of Arabi, which had to be suppressed by the British.

The accession of Said Pasha, on July 12th, 1854, a genial, self-indulgent, weak-minded man, who tried to improve the condition of the fellahin and gave them freehold tenure by the Land Act of 1858, paved the way for French predominance in Egypt, and especially for the influence of Ferdinand de Lesseps. The concession of the Suez Canal, in 1856, was the event of Said's reign, though the canal was not opened till November 17th, 1869, by his successor. It was to be a purely Egyptian concern, and was to make the pasha master of the situation. As it turned out Egypt spent some $80,000,000 on it, for which she does not get a cent of interest. She gave lands, taxes, and every possible facility, and paid an iniquitous arbitration award delivered by Napoleon III. Lesseps extorted the very last pound of flesh for "my canal," with the logical and inevitable result that thirteen years after its opening Britain, the sea-power that was most interested in it, took possession in 1882. The making of the Suez Canal created an Egyptian Question which constantly embarrassed the relations of Great Britain and France till all sources of disagreement were happily removed by the Anglo-French Agreement of April 8th, 1904.

If Said Pasha's monument is his princely gift of the Canal to the French company, his successor, Ismail's (January 18th, 1863), is the Egyptian debt. Said had indeed begun it with a modest loan of $16,250,000; but Ismail raised it to the disastrous total of $400,000,000—of which it is true he received not much more than half—and contrived to run through about $650,000,000 in twelve years, with very little to show for it. That he was the sport and victim of unscrupulous roguery and unblushing swindling does not excuse his reckless extravagance and muddling finance. This ruinous debt, moreover, was contracted at a time of exceptional prosperity, when the Egyptian cotton market was supplying the loss of American cotton during the Civil War in the United States, and when a vast increase in cultivated land and every source of revenue was observed in Egypt.

An example of Ismail's and his finance minister Ismail Sadik's methods of bankruptcy was his sale of Egypt's 176,602 founder's shares in the Suez Canal to Lord Beaconsfield's Government for $20,000,000, thus depriving Egypt of her only future profit from the canal lease, and sacrificing what is now worth about $100,000,000, and brings in dividends to the amount of $3,500,000 a year.

Immense sums were spent upon bribery at Constantinople, in return for which Ismail obtained a series of firmans granting him the novel title of Khedive—a Persian word for "prince"—at the cost, apart from secret douceurs, of an increase of the tribute to Turkey from $300,000 to $3,325,000 a year. He also purchased the ports of Sawakin and Massowa in the Red Sea; sent Sir S. Baker and afterwards General Gordon to expand and attempt to govern the Sudan; made war upon Abyssinia in 1876, and was disastrously beaten; and spent at least $2,500,000 at the state opening of the Suez Canal.

When bankruptcy stared him in the face, the European Powers intervened, and since 1875 Egypt has been under tutelage. The Goschen and Joubert mission of 1876 created the Dual Control by representatives of Great Britain and France, and established the Commission of the Debt, which controls the payment of interest and sinking fund; but the full truth did not come out till a commission of inquiry with power to take evidence was appointed in 1878, under the presidency of Sir C. Rivers Wilson, with Lord Cromer—then Major Evelyn Baring—on the board. The result was that, after an attempt to reform the government by the introduction of the European controllers into the Ministry of Nubar Pasha, Ismail was deposed by the Sultan on the advice of the Powers, and quitted Egypt on June 30th, 1879. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Tewfik, an amiable and virtuous gentleman of thoroughly Egyptian education and tastes, who accepted the inevitable subordination of his authority to the necessities of the situation created by his father, and loyally supported the British administrators till his death, on January 7th, 1892, when his son, the late Khedive, Abbas II., succeeded. When the Great War began he followed the lead of Turkey, and was deposed in favour of Hussein Kamil in 1914.

Dittrich

THE LATE KHEDIVE ABBAS II. Who succeeded Tewfik Pasha in 1892, was deposed by the British in favour of Hussein Kamil in 1914.

The history of Egypt from 1875, however, is not the record of Khedives, but of European administrators. The Dual Control, which Ismail had summarily abolished, was revived, and the Law of Liquidation regulating the debt was enacted in July, 1880. Everything, however, was soon thrown into confusion by the Arabi mutiny. The causes of this revolt were many—popular discontent at the general poverty and distress caused by Ismail's extravagance, and set down to European influence; the germs of national aspirations for self-rule; discontent among the ill-fed and unpaid fellahin soldiers; Turkish jealousy and cupidity; and jealousy of the Circassian and Turkish officers, who were promoted to the highest grades in the army over the heads of their Egyptian comrades—all these contributed to the outbreak. But the military jealousy was the immediate cause of the appearance of a riotous mob of soldiers under Arabi and other colonels at the Abdin Palace on September 9th, 1881, which resulted in the chief mutineer's nomination in January, 1882, to office in the so-called "National" ministry of Mahmud Sami.

They immediately revived the Chamber of Deputies, and gave it the control of the finances. This, of course, brought the European Powers upon the scene, and after ineffectual protests the British and French fleets appeared off Alexandria, on May 20th, 1882, and their consuls presented an ultimatum which included the dismissal of Arabi. At the last moment the French parted company, and their fleet steamed away from Alexandria. It remained for the British to accomplish alone what the Sultan, the Powers, and the Dual Control had declined.

LATER EGYPT III

BY STANLEY LANE-POOLE

THE BRITISH OCCUPATION

WHEN Arabi persisted in strengthening the defences of Alexandria in defiance of the warning of the British admiral, Sir Beauchamp Seymour opened fire from the fleet on July 11th, 1882, and after ten hours' bombardment silenced the forts. For two days Alexandria was at the mercy of the mob, but on the 13th a force of marines and bluejackets restored order. The Khedive proclaimed Arabi a rebel, and Arabi in reply proclaimed a holy war against the "infidels." Neither the Sultan, nor the great Powers, nor France separately, though all were invited, would interfere, and Great Britain accordingly sent an army of about 30,000 men to Alexandria, July 24th, which defeated the undisciplined mob of fellahin which formed Arabi's troops at Kafr Dawar, and then swiftly occupying the Suez Canal, turned his flank, beat back an attack at Kassasin on August 28th, and crushed the rebellion on the field of Tell el-Kebir on September 13th. On the following day, Arabi and 10,000 Egyptian troops laid down their arms before two squadrons of English dragoons. He and his fellow conspirators were tried and condemned to death, but their sentence was commuted to exile to Ceylon. The British army returned home in October, leaving a garrison of 12,000 to restore and maintain order.

End of the Arabi Rebellion

The British occupation was from the first intended to be temporary. Its sole object was to restore the authority of the Khedive and set his Government on its legs. There is no doubt whatever of the sincerity of Mr. Gladstone's Government in its assurance that its desire was to withdraw from Egypt as soon as its troops were no longer needed in the interests of Egypt herself; and this sincerity was confirmed in 1886, when Lord Salisbury went out of his way to make an agreement with Turkey, fixing the future term of occupation at three years, with the right of re-entry in case events imperatively called for intervention. This agreement fell through, not from any difference between the British and Turkish Governments, but solely owing to the opposition of France and Russia to the conditional right of re-entry. The Anglo-French Agreement of 1904 has removed all sources of friction between the two nations, and British rights and interests in Egypt have been fully recognised by France. There has never been any real doubt at Paris or at Cairo that the British masked protectorate of Egypt is permanent. The first step of the British was to get rid of the Dual Control, which had proved insufficient at the crisis, and to substitute the control of a single British Financial Adviser for all matters connected with the debt and taxation. The real control, however, has rested for the past twenty-four years with the British Minister (Agent and Consul-General), Sir Evelyn Baring, created Lord Cromer in 1891, and advanced to an earldom in 1901.

British Permanence in Egypt

Russell

THE MAKER OF MODERN EGYPT
Lord Cromer, who, from his appointment as British Minister in Egypt in 1891 to his retirement in 1907, was virtual ruler of Egypt.

From September, 1883, to his retirement in May, 1907, Lord Cromer was the virtual ruler of Egypt, and carried out all the invaluable reforms which have raised the country from bankruptcy and universal oppression and corruption to its present high pitch of prosperity and good government. He was aided by a notably able staff of British

THE BATTLE OF TELL EL-KEBIR, WHERE THE REBELLION OF ARABI PASHA WAS CRUSHED

The rebellion of Arabi Pasha was suppressed in three battles, of which Tell el-Kebir, fought on September 13, 1882, was the decisive contest, Arabi and 10,000 troops surrendering.

officials, many of whom had had experience of the most necessary kind in India; but he was himself the true regenerator of Egypt, at once the mainspring and regulator of the whole complex machine—the man whose will was law on all vital Egyptian affairs, as much in London as at Abdin Palace, "the man who has made modern Egypt." "In less than twenty-five years, Egypt, under the guiding hand of Lord Cromer, has risen from bankruptcy and abject misery to her present state of opulence and credit. Never in all her long and varied annals have the masses of her people enjoyed as they now enjoy the blessings of a just, an orderly, and an enlightened rule. That rule is the creation of Lord Cromer." ("Times," May 13th, 1907.) This supremely beneficial work was accomplished in the teeth of every possible difficulty—of vacillating British Governments, of constant hindrances on the part of foreign Powers, of the cramping restrictions of the Law of Liquidation—which, though modified in 1885, still kept too tight a hand on legitimate expenditure in Egypt—and gave occasion for selfish niggardliness at the hands of the other Powers, of perpetual intrigues by the Sultan, of the misrepresentations of a venomous so-called "national" Press and the menace of an implacable and formidable enemy in the Sudan; and it was carried to a brilliantly successful issue without any breach of international engagements or any infringement of the Sultan's prerogative.

Lord Cromer was not a "masterful Resident" in the Indian sense. He was bound by every variety of official restriction, and his power was personal and not technically administrative, though all the administrative departments were practically under British officials, who looked to him for policy and instructions. There was, and is, also a national legislative machinery set up by Lord Dufferin, who was sent to Egypt in November, 1882, to report, and who drew up a Constitution in February, 1883, which was embodied in the Organic Law of April 30th. The Legislative Council thus created, however, is purely consultative and advisory, and the General Assembly possesses the sole but important right of a veto on fresh taxation. The representative element included in these bodies may eventually exert an educative influence, but self-government is still a long way off in Egypt. What was wanted in 1883 was a strong purpose and a clear head. "For at least six years all that could be done was to struggle against bankruptcy, to throw off the incubus of the Sudan, and, by scraping

ALEXANDRIA: THE SEAPORT OF EGYPT AND ITS OLDEST LIVING CITY

Founded about the time of Alexander the Great's occupation of Egypt, a mighty city of the Ptolemies, temporarily ruined by the Arabs and Turks, and restored to prosperity by Mehemet Ali. It was bombarded by the British in 1882.

together funds in order to improve the system of irrigation, to lay the foundations of the prosperity which the country now enjoys."

The Mahdi's insurrection will be related further on. Lord Cromer's first step was the extremely unpopular one of insisting on the abandonment for the present of all attempts to regain the Sudan, which the financial position of Egypt rendered hopeless, until British help were forthcoming, and this was persistently refused.

Maull & Fox

SIR SAMUEL BAKER

Whose governorship of the Sudan, though "paved with good intentions," is described as a campaign of annexation and tyranny.

The next step was to reorganise all the departments of government and regenerate the army and police under British officers, so far as the financial exigencies of the treasury permitted. The modification of the Law of Liquidation by the London Convention of 1885, which permitted a fresh loan of $45,000,000, and relaxed in a slight degree the onerous restrictions of the Caisse de la Dette, gave Lord Cromer a freer hand for the most necessary improvements. The repair of Mougel's ineffectual barrage of the Nile was taken in hand by Sir C. Scott Moncrieff and finished in 1890, whereby, at a cost of $2,100,000, the cotton crop of the Delta—which furnishes about $100,000,000 of the total $125,000,000 of Egyptian produce annually exported—was increased by the value of nearly 5 million dollars a year. Scientific irrigation was the prime necessity of the country, and Anglo-Indian engineers were soon hard at work introducing improved drainage, fresh canals, and hydraulic works, and by vigilant inspection securing to every peasant equally with the richest pasha a just share of the fertilising Nile water—a wholly new feature in Egyptian water distribution. In 1898 Messrs. Aird began the great dams across the Nile at Assouan and Asyut, which enabled 2,000,000 acres, hitherto dry and barren in summer, to be profitably watered, with a gain of over $12,500,000 a year to the productive wealth of Egypt. The result of these measures is seen in the fact that the revenue has been growing at the rate of $1,000,000 a year. In 1881 it was about $45,000,000, and it had risen to $80,000,000 in 1913, leaving a surplus over expenditure of $2,500,000. In 1881 the service of the Debt cost $21,180,000, more than half the total revenue; in 1913, although $65,000,000 more had been borrowed, the Debt cost under $19,667,055 in interest and sinking fund; there is a reserve fund of $55,000,000, and Egyptian stock stands as high as any on the market. Yet direct taxes have been remitted to the amount of over $5,000,000 a year, the corvée has been practically abolished, the land tax reduced to $4.30 an acre, and the total taxation per head of the population has fallen 20 per cent.—to $4.25. Egypt is now more lightly taxed than any country in Europe.

Chalkley Gould

GENERAL CHARLES GORDON

The great reputation which Gordon made during his governorship of the Sudan from 1877 to 1879 led to his reappointment in 1884.

In the same period the volume of trade increased by more than a hundred millions, and in 1913 reached $340,000,000, more than half of which was export. The population, which numbered 11,287,359, according to the census of 1907, increased over 43 per cent. between 1883 and 1907, and the traffic in passengers and goods on the hundreds of new miles of railways has doubled and trebled. A thousand miles of light railways for agricultural purposes have been widely used by the cultivators. The cotton yield, by far the most important in the country and the best and most profitable cotton crop in the world, has nearly trebled, and so has the sugar. The price of agricultural land has doubled in recent

years, reaching as much as $250 an acre when sold in open competition among Egyptian purchasers; while building land in Cairo which was bought for $1.00 in 1890 now fetches from $100 to more than $250 per square metre. The whole area of cultivable land is estimated at 6,000,000 acres, of which less than 1,000,000 remained uncultivated in 1914. About 4,500,000 acres are held by Egyptian cultivators, and there are 1,000,000 holdings of under five acres. A quarter of the land is under cotton which produces more than 7,000,000 kantars (a kantar being roughly 100 lb.), or nearly 450 lb. an acre, and will probably be raised eventually to 10,000,000 kantars. An Agricultural Bank has done good service in advancing loans to the peasants and rescuing them from greedy usurers. The administration of justice has been reformed by the establishment of the Native Tribunals organised by Sir John Scott in 1883, which have gained the respect and confidence of the people; but the Mixed Courts inaugurated in 1876 for civil causes and the Consular Courts held under the capitulations of the Turkish empire still stand in the way of progress and efficient control. Education, though still very backward among the peasantry, is making a considerable advance. The educational budget in 1888 was only $350,000, but it has risen to $1,814,000. The number of Government schools and colleges in the same period increased from fourteen to fifty, the teachers from 185 to 849, and pupils from 2,373 to 11,063; and Government inspection and grants in aid are now extended to some 4,500 village schools with an attendance of 165,000 pupils. The effects of improved educational facilities are seen in the fact that there are now about 12,000 Egyptians employed in the civil service, an increase of 3,500 in ten years, while the Europeans necessarily employed have increased by only 562, and these chiefly in the railway and irrigation branches, which require special qualifications. The regeneration of Egypt under Lord Cromer's wise and tactful management is perhaps the most marvellous reform in Oriental history.

THE TRAGIC DEATH OF GORDON AT KHARTOUM

After the rise of the Sudan Mahdi, Gordon was sent out in 1884 as Governor-General. He relied upon his personal ascendency over the people and the support of the British Government, but both failed him and he was killed by the Mahdi in 1885. From the picture by G. W. Joy, by permission of Messrs. Frost & Reid, Bristol and London.

Since Mehemet Ali's conquest in 1820 the Sudan as far south as the Albert and Victoria Nyanza had been loosely held by Egyptian governors and garrisons, who squeezed as much money as they could out of the Sudanese peoples, and gave them nothing in return but abominable oppression and slave raiding. Sir Samuel Baker's governorship in 1869 to 1873, though "paved with good intentions," was a campaign of annexation and tyranny. Gordon did some good work in the Equatorial Provinces from 1874, and when he was appointed Governor-General of the Sudan, 1877–1879, he made a great reputation, which led to his tragic end in 1885. In 1881 a fanatic of Dongola, Mohammed Ahmed, proclaimed

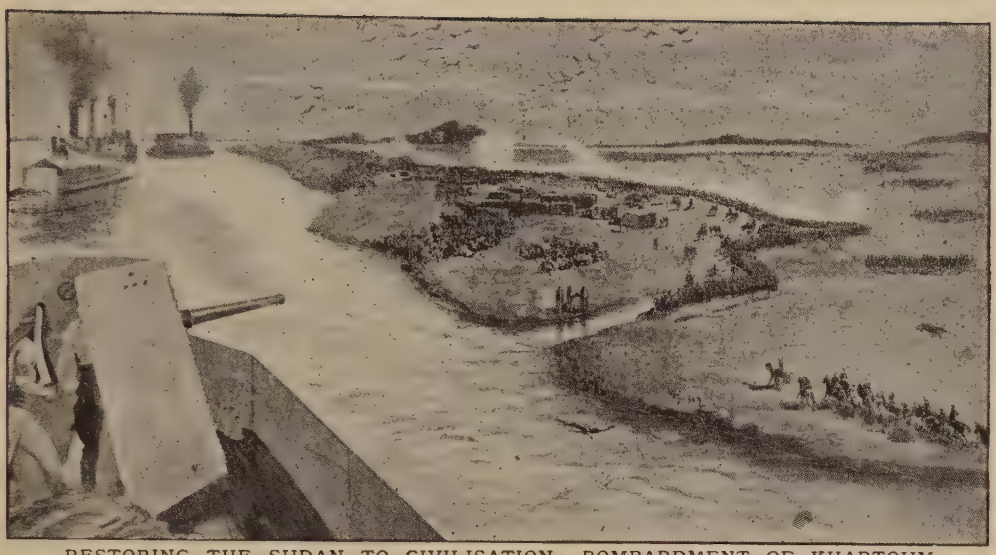
himself "the Mahdi," or quasi-Messiah of Islam, as many a fanatic had done before him, and the whole Egyptian Sudan joyfully rose against the tax-gatherers and slave-drivers who had trampled upon them for two generations, and followed the standard of the new prophet.

VISCOUNT WOLSELEY
When Sir Garnet Wolseley, he was in charge of the expedition sent to relieve General Gordon.
Chancellor

Soon after the Arabi revolt had been suppressed the Egyptian Government sent General Hicks with 11,000 ill-disciplined and half-mutinous native troops to subdue the Mahdi, and the unfortunate army was annihilated near El-Obeyd in Kordofan in November, 1883. The British authorities, who, with deplorable irresolution, had neither countenanced nor forbidden this ill-starred attempt, now definitely decided that the Sudan must be abandoned, and intimated to the Khedive's Government that when advice was given it was to "be followed." The policy of abandonment was very unpopular in Egypt and led to a change of ministry; but, in the financial situation of the country, to reconquer the Sudan without British assistance was impossible. The defeat of General Valentine Baker and 3,500 Egyptian troops by Osman Digna, or Othman Dakna, at Tokar in February, 1884, brought into strong relief the untrustworthiness of the army as then organised and the courage and élan of the "dervishes," as the Mahdi's followers were styled; though General Graham's victories at Teb and Tamanieb with British troops on February 29th and March 13th partly retrieved the disaster. In January, 1884, General Gordon was sent out by Mr. Gladstone's Government to see what could be done in the Sudan. He was made Governor-General, and ordered to withdraw the Egyptian garrisons. He relied upon his personal ascendency over the people and upon the support of the British Government. Both failed him; his task proved impossible even for him. And when at last, under pressure of public opinion, the Gladstone Government sent a relief expedition in August–September under Wolseley, it started too late and took the tedious Nile route, instead of marching from Souakin to Berber, and after defeating the dervishes at Abu-Tlia on January 17th, 1885, but did not come into touch with Khartoum till it was already just in the possession of the Mahdi, who had killed Gordon on January 26th, after a heroic defence of the capital. The British expedition hastily retired, and for eleven years the Sudan was abandoned to a desolating reign of terror which left it starving, depopulated, devastated, and paralysed with fear. The Mahdi, who was a libertine and an impostor, died in June, 1885, and was succeeded by his lieutenant or Khalifa, Abdallah, who was even a worse tyrant than his master. What happened during those awful years when the Sudan was barred off from the rest of the world in impenetrable darkness we know chiefly from the records of two or three prisoners, like Slatin Pasha, who managed to escape from the Khalifa's prisons or were delivered at the reconquest.

LORD KITCHENER
Made Commander-in-Chief of the Egyptian army in 1892, he reconquered the Sudan, 1896-98, and became Consul-General in Egypt, 1911.
Bassano

Reconquest was inevitable; for whoever rules Egypt must command the sources of the Nile, which forms her wealth; and the reconquest became the more imperative owing to



RESTORING THE SUDAN TO CIVILISATION: BOMBARDMENT OF KHARTOUM

After the failure of the Gordon relief expedition, the Sudan was abandoned to the desolating reign of terror of the Mahdi. Eleven years later Kitchener, advancing on Dongola, captured Khartoum, the capital, and restored it to civilisation.

French movements towards the Upper Nile at Fashoda. For four years, indeed, the utmost that could be done was to hold Wadi Halfa, with a supporting garrison at Assouan, and to improve the military and financial resources of Egypt, with the great goal of reconquest ever in mind. General Grenfell's victory with Egyptian troops over the dervishes at Toski on August 3rd, 1889, marked the beginning of confidence in the Egyptian army, which the incessant labours of Wood, Grenfell, and Kitchener were bringing to a high state of efficiency; and the defeat of Osman Digna at Afafit in 1891 at last relieved Souakin and the Red Sea littoral from pressing danger.

OSMAN DIGNA

The leader of the Mahdi's Sudanese troops who defeated the Egyptian army under General Baker in 1884. In the reconquest of the Sudan twelve years later he was captured and imprisoned.

In 1892, Sir Herbert, now Lord, Kitchener became Sirdar or Commander-in-Chief of the Egyptian army, and after four more years of quiet but unrelaxed preparation the advance was made on Dongola in 1896; the dervishes were routed at Firkeh on June 7th, and Dongola occupied in September. A railway was rapidly thrown across the desert to Abu Hamed in 1897, and the dervishes abandoned Berber in a panic. In 1898 the Egyptian expeditionary force was stiffened with British regiments, and on April 7th, 16,000 dervishes were stormed and driven out of their entrenched zariba on the Atbara, and on September 2nd, 40,000 were totally defeated, with the loss of half their number, by 22,000 British and Egyptian troops under Kitchener in the final crushing victory of Omdurman. Khartoum was restored to civilisation. The Khalifa escaped, but was at last run to earth at Umme Dubraykat, and killed with his remaining emirs in battle by Sir Reginald Wingate, the present Sirdar, on November 24th, 1899. Kitchener went up the Nile to Fashoda immediately after the conquest of Khartoum, and found that a small expedition under Major Marchand had already hoisted the French flag there. The Egyptian flag was duly displayed, and Marchand evacuated the place in December.

A joint Anglo-Egyptian Condominium was set up in the Sudan by the Agreement of January 19th, 1899, under a Governor-General to be always appointed by the Khedive on the recommendation

of the British Government; Lord Kitchener of Khartoum became the first Governor-General, and was succeeded, on his taking up a command in South Africa, by Sir R. Wingate. The reconquest of the Sudan was effected with the Anglo-Egyptian loss of only 536 killed and 1,810 wounded in the seventeen engagements between 1885 and 1899; and the cost of the Dongola and Omdurman campaign, 1896–1898, was $11,750,000, of which half was spent upon railways.

Maull & Fox

SIR REGINALD WINGATE
Who, in 1899, succeeded Lord Kitchener as Sirdar of the Egyptian Army.

The new administration had to begin its work in a desolated desert, short of men, short of labour, short of communications, short of food. The Sudan embraces nearly a million square miles —equal to France and Germany combined—of which only 3,125 were cultivated in 1914. The population is about 3,000,000, of whom 3,000 are European. In the years which have passed since the Khalifa's pandemonium was abolished, much has been done. Railways run to Khartoum and connect Port Sudan on the Red Sea with Berber, and Kereima with Abu-Hamed. Khartoum has been rebuilt, and the Gordon College there has begun to introduce education. Domestic slavery has ceased, but the kidnapping of slaves is not easily repressed, and leads to occasional disturbances. Finances have improved, and the Sudan now pays its own way. If irrigation works on a large scale are introduced, it may become a valuable corn and cotton field, to say nothing of its possibilities in the way of rubber, gum, and ostrich feathers.

Whether it proves highly productive or not, its control of the upper waters of the Nile render its possession vital to Egypt.

STANLEY LANE-POOLE

THE BATTLE OF OMDURMAN: THE FORCES OF THE MAHDI ADVANCING TO THEIR DOOM

EGYPT IN OUR OWN TIME

BY STANLEY LANE-POOLE

ONE is apt to think of Egypt merely as the land of pyramids and temples, of wonderful painted tombs and mural inscriptions recording the most ancient and vigorous civilisation in the world. That is all in the past. The Egypt of our own times does not build temples, but huge dams; and the Egypt of the future depends upon agriculture, not archæology. No country is so perfectly and naturally adapted for agriculture. The Nile, which made Egypt by scooping its groove in the desert, makes and re-makes the fecund soil every year, and the fertilising flood needs no help, except to be guided where it should go. The Egyptian might vary the Mohammedan profession of faith, from the material point of view, in the formula: "There is no god but the Nile, and the irrigation engineer is his Prophet." The one necessity in Egypt is "water, water everywhere," and wheresoever the Nile is able to deposit the rich slime it carries along in its 3,300 miles course, there one can sow and reap three crops in the year from the generous earth. The old saying of the Father of History that Egypt is the gift of the Nile is as true to-day as it was two-and-a-half millenniums ago; the only difference is that the gift is better understood and more abundantly enjoyed. The pity is that the Nile did not bore a wider valley while it was about it, and that so much of its precious water, in spite of dams and canals, runs away to waste in the Mediterranean Sea. For Egypt Proper, from the first cataract at Assouan to Alexandria, is so narrow a strip of cultivable land that it contains but 6,500,000 acres, and the total area of the country is but 12,000 square miles, or little less than one-third of the size of Newfoundland. Yet this little strip of land is so rich that it can not only support its population of 11,000,000, but sends away to foreign countries produce and goods to the value of close on $125,000,000

Egypt the Gift of the Nile

The scenery is monotonous and derives the charm that painters try to catch chiefly from atmospheric effects. But for its historic monuments and its vivifying, rejuvenating desert air, Egypt would never have become the resort of the hordes of tourists who annually flock there. After forcing its passage through the granite and syenite rocks of the first cataract, the river, usually about half a mile wide, pursues a naturally uninterrupted and almost unvaried course down the 700 miles to the sea, save where engineering invention has dammed its waters by the great weirs at Esne and Asyut, and the barrage below Cairo. Sometimes it cuts the valley—never more than ten miles across and often much less—into two equal parts, but more often it hugs the eastern boundary hills and spreads over the western plain its deep alluvial deposit, that famous Nile mud, which is the one reason why Egypt is not as barren as the thirsty desert out of which it was scooped. The scene is always much the same till we reach the Delta. In the midst, the dull, brownish, rapid stream; on each side the high, brown, mud banks, here and there topped by a ruined temple or rude mud village with its white mosque or saint's tomb; beyond, the fields of corn or beans or lupin; and still further the rocky barrier formed by the slopes of the desert edge, long, low, red, grey, and dun-coloured ranges of bare sandstone and limestone hills, smooth, tame, and featureless, but without a trace of vegetation, and only rarely rising, as near Thebes, to something like mountainous height and outline. Beyond these bordering hills lies nothing but the hard rocky plateau of the desert, sprinkled with sand and grit and varied here and there

Where Mud is Precious

On the Slopes of the Desert

at long distances by green oases fed by infiltration from the same fertilising river.

The striking want in Egyptian scenery is shade. Excepting comparatively recent plantations near towns, palms are the only trees of importance, though sparse sycamores and acacias, and willows and tamarisk, are to be seen, besides occasional forest trees of different species; and this lack of cover accounts for the absence of any wild beasts of size. Hyenas, jackals, wolves, foxes, etc., abound in desert spots, but the great beasts of prey are not found. The crocodile has followed the hippopotamus further south, in the vain hope of escaping European rifles; but Egypt makes up in her plagues of insects, reptiles, and vermin for the loss of the larger man-eaters. The domestic animals are the camel, horse, and ass for burthen, the buffalo and shorthorn cattle for field-work, and the sheep and goat for food. Dogs, like pigs, are held unclean animals, but are a pest to the traveller, and swarm, like the cats, in every town and village.

Egypt a Shadeless Land

Towns of any size from a European standard are few, but villages are everywhere and are all very much alike, standing some little way back from the river or a canal, and looking much more ruinous than the oldest temples. They are built of mud or sun-dried brick, and the houses—or rather hovels—are constantly falling, and no one dreams of removing the débris. You climb a mound, or push through a gap between high mud walls, and find yourself in a sort of square, perhaps with a few palm-trees and with mud benches or divans round it, and with the headman or sheikh's house, often a hut, at one side. The rest is a tangle of hovels. The village is the home of smells, mosquitoes, and dirty, pot-bellied, blear-eyed little children. It is also the home of the only man who really works in Egypt, outside the over-worked Civil Service, for in these tumbledown mud cabins feeds and sleeps the fellah, the agricultural labourer, who in olden times built all the monuments, and in modern times makes the canals and dikes and dams and roads and railways, and fights dervishes—in short, does almost everything manual that has to be done.

He used to do all this under the corvée system of forced unpaid labour, and often died like a fly in the process; driven to work by the lash and made to pay extortionate taxes, often his defaulting neighbour's as well as his own, on pain of severe floggings on the soles of the feet. Now he is paid like any other free man, and the only time when forced labour is demanded, to the extent of a few thousands instead of hundreds of thousands of labourers, is when an exceptional flood of the Nile requires exceptional efforts to restrain it from carrying destruction over the land. The British régime has abolished the kurbag, with many other abuses. In the old days the fellah was the serf of the pasha, held his plot of land at the pasha's will, and did not know what tax he had to pay or how much. All he knew was that he had to pay a great deal more than he possessed, before his crops were ready to be sold, and that he must therefore either sell his corn standing, at a ruinous loss, or borrow from the local money-lender at a fabulous rate of interest. Now he holds his land in fee simple, knows exactly what taxes he has to pay, and that they are not to be paid till after harvest; and if he finds himself short of money, he has only to go to the Agricultural Bank—

How Britain Has Helped the Fellahin

THE GREAT NILE DAM: SOUTH SIDE OF THE ASYUT BARRAGE

THE GREAT DAM AT ASSOUAN NEAR THE FIRST CATARACT OF THE NILE

one of Lord Cromer's invaluable improvements—and he will get an advance on reasonable terms. In 1906, some 90,000 loans, amounting to $17,500,000, were thus contracted, and the arrears unpaid at the close of the year were only 5 per cent.

The fellah is thus solvent, and if any local official tries extortion of any sort, he knows well enough that an appeal to "Krumar"—*i.e.*, to the embodiment of justice—will protect him. Consequently, he is, as a rule, contented, so far as any Hodge ever was; and as the fellahin, with their families, form four-fifths of the population of Egypt, and a million fellahin now occupy small holdings of less than five acres, the improvement in their status is the best and most important result of recent reforms. The fellah is a fine specimen of a man, and a very hard worker; he does not drink, of course, being a Moslem, and his chief faults are those due to centuries of virtual slavery: he may steal and lie, and cringe, and like all poor men, he is apt to be avaricious. He is extremely obstinate, and firmly believes that his own way is the best. But he is good-natured, kind—except to his beasts—tractable if not rubbed the wrong way, and enjoys a joke and a laugh, and a

A TOWN OF MODERN EGYPT: ASYUT, THE SITE OF A NILE BARRAGE

social evening over the pipes in the village square. The women, who are slightly less numerous than the men, are well-made, slender, and graceful, and do their full share of labour in the fields, and especially in carrying water. Polygamy does not seem to weigh much upon them, partly because it is rare; comparatively few Egyptians can afford to keep several wives, but easy divorce, for no valid cause, is an unquestionable evil. The fellah has the immense advantage of knowing exactly what to do in any given month. He is not at the mercy of uncertain seasons, and the only uncertainty that exists for him, a deficiency of the Nile flood, has been almost wholly abolished by the present system of scientific irrigation. The old system of basin irrigation, when whole fields lay under the Nile water in winter and were insufficiently drained, and then left fallow in the summer, or watered only to a small extent by a laborious chain of hand-pump (shadufs, see page 1632) and water-wheels (sakiyehs) has given place, or is giving place, to perennial irrigation of all lands by canals fed from the huge reservoirs of water now dammed up on the Nile, and to a proper system of land drainage. The time is coming when all the land, and not only the flat Delta as usually heretofore, will be capable of bearing its three crops in the year. So long as the Nile reaches the land, there is no difficulty about seasons. They rotate with the regularity of clockwork, or of the river which governs them. The Nile, flooded by the equatorial rains, begins to rise in June, reaches its greatest height (about 36 feet at Thebes) about the autumnal equinox, and gently falls for the remaining nine months. It is more or less high Nile from July to February, and low Nile from February to the end of June. Winds and temperature follow the Nile. From June to February the prevailing wind is from the north; from February to June it is generally from the south, sometimes rising to a hurricane and sandstorm (samum); but in March and April one may expect the parching dust-winds called Khamasin or Pentecostals. The thermometer gradually rises from low Nile in April, till it reaches 109° Fahr. in the shade in Upper Egypt, and 95° in the Delta, and then slowly cools till it falls to a minimum of 40° and 35° respectively about Christmas. The dry air renders the heat comparatively inoppressive in the upper country, but it is much less bearable as one descends towards the Mediterranean, where mists and damp become more frequent. Freezing is rare, but the nights are often cold, and a drop of 20° in the temperature in a few hours is not unknown.

Certainty of Egypt's Seasons

The Nile's Fixed Time-table

Everything proceeds with such regularity that the agricultural calendar may be fixed to a day. The fellah knows exactly when he can sow his great crops of wheat and barley and beans and clover, or his cotton and rice and indigo; or, again, his broad fields of maize and millet—the dura, which forms the staple of his essentially vegetarian diet. It is true that scientific irrigation has changed some of his ideas, and he finds he can grow more valuable crops and use his land to better advantage than formerly; yet it is but the change from old style to new style, and the regularity of rotation remains a settled fact which may be implicitly relied upon. The old distinction between *rey* and *sharaki* lands will naturally vanish when perennial irrigation is available everywhere. The wealth of Egypt as an essentially agricultural country will exceed even its present marvellous development, and with a further reduction in his present comparatively light taxation, which must follow the adequate taxation of foreigners as soon as more of the unjust privileges secured by the capitulations are relaxed, the fellah freeholder on his small peasant proprietorship will have nothing to complain of. It is to be hoped that he will eventually learn to read and write, for all but a small percentage of the population are at present illiterate, and until education has made much more progress among the people of all classes it is idle to talk about representative institutions and national self-government.

Egypt's Splendid Future

In the towns, of course, there is an educated class, though a very small one, and in spite of the efforts of the Education Department under Fakhri and Artin Pashas, and their adviser, Mr. Dunlop, during the past twenty years—struggling, it must be said, with a necessarily inadequate grant—it is well known that the supply of educated young Egyptians for employment in the Civil Service falls far short of the demand. The larger towns and the two cities of Egypt are chiefly the

CAIRO SHOPKEEPERS

LEMONADE SELLERS

The streets and bazaars of the native quarter of Cairo are almost unrivalled in the East for the variety and interest of their scenes of daily life. The types here illustrated are among the most familiar. These lemonade vendors and shopkeepers tolerate and profit by the European invasion of their town but remain at heart true Orientals.

CAIRO CRAFTSMEN ENGAGED ON THE FAMOUS MUSHARABYAH WORK

There is nothing more characteristic of Arab craftsmanship than the beautiful work in ivory and wood of these carvers, who use their left foot to help in the carving operation and are thus known as the "three-handed men."

creations of Europeans. Even Cairo, the capital, with its history of nearly a thousand years, recalled by a long series of exquisite Saracenic monuments, is now mainly a European city, and tourists are apt to call the true Egyptian quarters "the bazars." One may well regret the progress which has converted the picturesque city of the Mamelukes into what has been, somewhat ambitiously, termed "a bastard Paris," but there can be no question that the change corresponds with the general progress of the country in material prosperity. Without Europeans Egypt would be in the same slough of poverty and backwardness as Asiatic Turkey. It is not merely the horde of tourists who pour money into the country every winter, but the more or less regular winter residents who come to Egypt, and especially to such health resorts as Helwan on the desert border near Cairo, or Luxor up the Nile, for the sake of a warm, dry climate. There is besides a permanent European population, numbering more than 145,000, of whom a third belonged to the quick-witted commercial class of Levantines—a somewhat notorious element in Egyptian town life. Italians come next in number, and then British and French, the Army of Occupation forming a third of the English colony.

European Character of Cairo

The other nationalities are represented in comparatively small numbers, and there are only a few hundred resident Americans in Egypt. The increasing European element, practically an importation (save the Levantines) of the past century, has, of course, profoundly modified the life in the two great cities of Cairo and Alexandria, and has had its influence in most of the fifteen towns that have more than 12,000 inhabitants. Railways, tramcars, post and telegraph offices, have done their part in changing the old Egyptian ways.

Yet one may question whether the Europeanising process has got far beneath the skin as yet. "The East changes very slowly, and the soul of the Eastern not at all. The Cairo jeweller, who will chaffer with you over a few piastres, though he mixes reluctantly, shrinkingly, in the crazy, bustling twentieth century life of Europe that rushes past him, is not of it. In his heart of hearts he looks back longingly to the glorious old days of the Mamelukes, to which he essentially belongs, and regrets the excitement of those stirring times. What good, he asks, comes of all this worry? Justice? More often a man had a need of a little injustice, and a respectable tradesman could usually buy that from the Kadi before these new tribunals were set up! As to fixed taxes and no extortion, that is chiefly a matter for the stupid fellahin; and, after all, the old system worked beautifully when you shirked payment, and your neighbour was bastinadoed for your share. Then all this fiddling with water and drains and streets. What is it all for? When Willcocks or Price Bey have put pipes and patent traps and other godless improvements into the mosques, will one's prayers be any better than they were in the pleasant pervasive odour of the old fetid tanks? The streets are broader, no doubt, to let the Firingis (Allah blacken their faces!) roll by in their two-horse Arabiyas and splash the Faithful with mud; but for this wonderful boon they have taken away the comfortable stone benches from before the shops, and the Cairo tradesman misses his old seat, where unlimited keyf and the meditative shibuk once whiled away the leisure of his never-pressing avocations. No; pure water and drains, and bicycles and tramcars, and a whole array of wretched little black-coated Efendis, pretending to imitate the Kafirs, may be all very well in their place, but they are ugly, uninteresting things, and life at Cairo has been desperately dull since they came in! Life undoubtedly was interesting in the old unregenerate days. There were events then, something to see and think of, and possibly fly from, plenty of blood and assassination, perhaps; but then you could always shut and bar the strong gates of the Quarter, when the Mamelukes or the Berbers, or, worst of all, the black Sudanis, were on the war-path. Now, the gates are taken away, and there are no cavalcades of romantic troopers, beautiful to behold in their array, to ravish your household and give colour to life. In those days it was possible for any man of brain and luck to rise to power and wealth, such wealth as Cairo could not furnish in these blank and honest times. Promotion was ever at hand, and the way was open to the strong, the cunning, and the rich. What were a holocaust of victims, an orgy of rapine, even the deadly ravages of periodical plague and famine, in comparison with the

"The Good Old Days"

Sanitation versus Romance

ONE OF THE MOST WONDERFUL SIGHTS IN CAIRO: THE ARAB UNIVERSITY

Here Arabs meet in thousands to equip themselves for the priesthood. This picture shows the great courtyard of the University. The hall inside is probably as large as the courtyard, and has hundreds of columns. At the foot of each column sits a professor with students about him. Their education consists almost entirely of reading the Koran.

endless opportunities, the infinite variety of those unruly and tumultuous, but never tedious, days ? "

Such are probably the views of a great many old-fashioned townspeople and conservative officials and pashas—of all, in fact, who have been deprived of their old opportunities of corruption and thieving. They are not the views of the " enlightened " Cairene, or of the vast body of the peasantry, who now realise the advantages of British administration. Still, conservatism is the keynote of Eastern character, and he would be a rash man who should prophesy cheerfully concerning the pouring of new wine into old bottles. The outward and material reforms in Egypt are manifest to all, but how far these unquestioned benefits have modified the ideas and prejudices of the natural Cairene it is impossible to judge. There are, in fact, two Cairos—the Cairo of the hotels and tourists and busy progressive European life, and again the Cairo that, not a stone's throw away, branching off at the end of the Muski street, where you will come across scenes that might occur in " The Thousand and One Nights," the same historic costume, the same veiled women, the fierce-looking Bedouins, the strings of camels loaded with country produce, the water-carrier, the wedding procession and circumcision pomp —nothing seems to be changed—and the pungent smell of the East—a smell unmistakable — pervades it all. The little cupboard-like shops are still there, only the shopkeeper smokes cigarettes instead of five-foot-long pipes, but he is as lazy and indifferent to business, as calm and impenetrable, as ever. He is exactly the same sort of person as looked upon the caliph Harun al-Rashid when he went rambling at night, or who listened to the Barber's interminable stories, for the " Arabian Nights " are essentially Cairene in their descriptions of life and manners.

The Changeless East

Life in Old Cairo

The very aspect of the more out-of-the-way streets has little altered in centuries, though they have lost the awnings which once shaded them, and the beautiful lattice windows (meshrebiyas) are fast disappearing. But they are still narrow and dusty and filthy, and after rain indescribably muddy—and incom-

parably picturesque. Most of Cairo is modern, but there are still some of the older, almost mediæval, houses remaining, and a few ruined palaces of the Mameluke emirs, besides the exquisite mosques and tombs, colleges, convents and sebils, in and around the city which record the munificence and taste, the piety and fear of judgment, of a whole series of lords and sultans, from the mosque of the conqueror Amr in "Old Cairo" to the Turkish minarets of Mehemet Ali's mosque on the citadel. Many of these are mere ruins, and most would have almost disappeared by now but for the resolute efforts of the committee which has watched over them for the past quarter of a century and, under the skilled supervision of its architect, Herz Bey, has expended as much as $40,000 to $60,000 a year on the repair and occasionally the complete restoration of these priceless monuments of Saracenic art. The skill which built and adorned them with carvings and mosaics, plaster mouldings and marble, enamelled glass, and chased metal-work inlaid with silver and gold, has long departed, though there are signs in the restoration that work almost, if not quite, equal to the original, can be executed by Herz Bey's craftsmen; and it is possible that the European demand may in a measure revive the lost arts of Cairo. As it is, apart from a few workshops in the capital, there is very little of art industry in Egypt. Coarse earthenware, coarse textiles, rude brass and copper work there is in plenty; but the looms no longer turn out the wondrous iridescent silks of the Fatemid period, and fine ceramic and the damascene art are for the present extinct.

Wonderful Saracenic Buildings

Whatever the future of Egypt may be, it will depend upon its Mohammedan agricultural population directed by British science. It will not be sensibly affected by the native Christians, who form a very small minority. The Copts scarcely seem to take their full share in the general progress of Egypt. Once they were almost the sole source from which the inferior Government officials were taken, since they alone as a rule possessed the necessary skill in book-keeping. Now, though they are under no disabilities, they are generally supplanted by Mohammedans. They have the reputation, rightly or wrongly, of being more ignorant and less trustworthy than their Moslem contemporaries, and certainly their priests do not set them a good example in learning or in civilisation. They have extremely interesting churches and monasteries, where the same rites and liturgies are celebrated in the same tongue as in the fifth century; but the Coptic Church has been torn by factions, and its state is not hopeful.

Decadence of the Copts

The future lies with the Moslems, who form 90 per cent. of the population. That these will justify in a material sense the wise expenditure of capital and intelligence which has brought such extraordinary prosperity to their land cannot be doubted. Whether there will be any revival of a really national or at least Arabic culture remains to be seen. There are signs of some such revival in Arabic studies; but that splendid old monument of Arab learning, in its most restricted and conservative limits, the Azhar University, has not so far favoured an enlargement of its old curriculum, and its prejudice against all European innovations is undiminished. The National University at Cairo may work wonders. The more Egyptians take an interest in culture and in public affairs the better; and it is only an inevitable part of the movement that some of the half educated but ambitious spirits should jump at power for which they are at present unqualified. Until 1914 Britain did not assume openly the protectorate which she had already exerted under an unofficial mask since 1883. For a long time the progress of Egypt was held back by the uncertainty of an indefinite British occupation. That uncertainty was removed by a series of events, and also by the Anglo-French Agreement of 1904; but advance was still checked by international fetters and a few obsolete restrictions, which were not overcome till 1914. Egypt has been freed by Britain from bankruptcy and corrupt tyranny and brought to a marvellous pitch of prosperity, justice and order.

Future of Egypt

STANLEY LANE-POOLE

DEVELOPMENT OF THE SUDAN

THE development of the Sudan under an administration of British officers and civilians, nominally an Anglo-Egyptian Government, is one of the most remarkable things in the history of the early years of the twentieth century. The government established over a vast territory, desolated by the ravages of the Mahdi's warfare, was from the first compelled to act in a multitude of ways to build up some sort of civilisation, and bring order out of chaos. It undertook the responsibilities of landlord and house-builder, of railway construction and management, of provision merchant and clothier—wholesale and retail—and of agriculturist. It built steamers and manned them, not only for commercial transport, but for tourists, and let them out on hire. It owned the ferries, constructed tramways between Khartoum and Omdurman, installed electric light, and became its own water board.

"State Socialism" in the Sudan

Although a good deal of the land is in the hands of private owners who could show some legal title to possession before the Mahdist invasion, the Government remains a very large landowner, holding the whole of Port Sudan, much of Khartoum and Omdurman, and all the so-called desert areas, land in many places which is slowly coming under cultivation. And the Government has steadily refused to part with the freehold of these lands, choosing instead to grant comparatively short leases; by which means it has discouraged speculation and retained for the State the "unearned increment" of land values in the towns.

Of course, criticism has been directed against this policy of "State Socialism," as it has been called, and complaints have been made that capitalist enterprise has been checked by these methods of state ownership. But the Government was faced at the outset by a hopelessly confused state of affairs, and land and people without law or security of life, or the means of improvement, and it assumed an authority in all sorts of directions where authority was required. Moreover, under the direct ownership and supervision of the Government, great advances have been made in sanitation, public decency, social order, and education. In fact, the many departments of official activity can all show excellent results for their labours since the Anglo-Egyptian administration was first set up.

In Khartoum schools have been opened where the Arab and African children are taught, in addition to reading and writing, the industrial arts; for since on achieving manhood the old occupations of battle and slaughter would no longer await them, it seemed good to Lord Kitchener that they should at least have the opportunity of becoming proficient as mechanics and artisans, or even as architects and engineers. Thousands of the Sudanese find employment in the State dockyards and workshops, and on the railways; thousands more will be wanted. Others of the Sudanese have been trained as civil servants in the Gordon College, Khartoum, and in colleges at Omdurman, Suakin, and Rufaa. For a military career, the future native officers of the Sudan Army qualify at the Cadets' College. The Wellcome Institute, with its laboratories and staff of bacteriologists, is possibly doing as much for the future welfare of the Sudan as the schools and colleges. For in these laboratories the destruction of tropical disease is planned, and the problems of tropical vegetation are examined till solutions are found.

Schools and Colleges

The importance of railway construction in the material development of the Sudan cannot be over-estimated. The line from Cairo to Khartoum in 1914 had been extended to El Obeid, 400 miles south, and it awaited completion only at the point where it would join the line from the Cape. From Port Sudan, 30 miles north of Suakin, the Red Sea Railway runs, for 331 miles, to the mouth of the Atbara River, 20 miles south of Berber on the Nile. While the Abu Hamed Railway runs east, for 138 miles, from the Nile to Abu Hamed, the junction for Berber and Khartoum.

Railway Extension

For administrative purposes the Sudan is divided into thirteen provinces. Khartoum, Blue Nile, Dongola, Berber, Senaar, Kassala, Kordofan, White Nile, Bahr-el-Ghasal, Wady Halfa, Suakin, Upper Nile, and Mangalia. Each of these provinces is under a governor, who is a British officer of the Egyptian Army, and are sub-divided into districts under Egyptian officers.

Young Moor

A Lady of Morocco

Kabyle of Morocco

Arab Woman of Algeria

Kabyle Woman

Woman of South Morocco

Jews of Tangiers

TYPES OF THE PEOPLES OF MEDITERRANEAN NORTH AFRICA

S0-ELI-985